Printed for the use of the Foreign Office. July 1920.

CONFIDENTIAL.

(11562)

PART II.

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

EASTERN AFFAIRS.

1919.

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[illegible] the serial numbers [illegible]

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CONFIDENTIAL

Further Correspondence respecting Eastern Affairs

Part II

[1105 [illegible]

[illegible]

(No. 429 Confidential

[illegible] remind the Minister for Foreign Affairs that he had not yet answered my question as to the meaning of a passage in the memorandum which he had communicated to you while in London, referring to an eventual despatch of a contingent from the [illegible] for [illegible] occupation. Such an agreement was, I added, unknown to us, nor was it provided for [illegible]

[illegible] said as there were now British and French troops in Constantinople, he [illegible]

I asked him whether he was [illegible] the Allies were only represented there by naval forces. Baron Sonnino replied that [illegible] been informed that troops were there also. If this information was incorrect [illegible] if itself but if it were correct he expected equal treatment. I [illegible] graph whether any troops had been sent, but that I believed he was mistaken.

[illegible] treated by the Allies. He was evidently considerably nettled by the contention that [illegible] the armistice was deprecated on the ground that Greece would follow suit. He suggested that Italy was one of the Great Powers, she had fought throughout this [illegible] war with the Allies to the utmost extent of her resources and capacity, and had [illegible] undoubted service to the general cause. Greece had created a difficult [illegible] for the Powers through a great part of the war, and had only come in towards [illegible] in the campaign against Bulgaria. The argument of what Greece might [illegible] late was not one which should affect the action of the Great Powers. I said [illegible] we had to consider was not the relative position of Greece with the other [illegible] practical one of preventing that Government from taking advantage [illegible] actual state of Turkey to cause us grave embarrassment, which there was every possibility of their doing if the example were given by one of the Great Powers. Baron Sonnino said that Greece would not venture to do anything contrary to the wishes of Great Britain and France.

He then returned to the question of the agreement regarding Asia Minor, working [illegible] the time becomes impervious to arguments and recalcitrant to reasonable discussion. He repeated once more the history of the agreements of 1916 which had been concluded between Great Britain and France without the knowledge of Italy [illegible] been put off when she asked for information. He had p[illegible] and continuous protests has view had so far prevailed that a further agr[illegible] cluded defining Italian interests. It was true that it had been stipulated that the consent of Russia, who had not been able to take part in the negotiations, must be obtained to this agreement, and he had pressed that it should be obtained without delay. He was told the moment was inopportune owing to the revolutionary movement and it continued to be so till the outbreak of Bolshevism carried Russia out of the Alliance. To maintain that when Russia had ceased to be an Ally the fact [illegible] her consent had not been obtained made that agreement no longer binding on the other contracting parties was going dangerously near the "scrap of paper" view of international agreements. He did not think it was quite fair on himself or on his country. Nor were the Allies treating Italy with great consideration elsewhere. In the Adriatic for instance, obviously and admittedly an Italian interest, the French were taking charge. French warships went from island to island and were received as the champions of the anti-Italian interest, and wer[illegible] Slav populations. This was not the attitude of an Ally [illegible] to make against British officers, who did not follow the [illegible] But there was no disposition on our part to contest the French determi[illegible] charge of the situation. He should have the right it would have been in our [illegible] to see Italy strong and independent, and not to shut our eyes to the gradual extension of French influence, at the expense of Italy, over South Eastern Europe, and he was disappointed that she did not receive our support. The ambition of France was unlimited, and we should realise some day the results of encouraging her to take so free a hand.

Up to this point he had hardly paused to draw breath, but, by the time he had reached the Adriatic conditions were less stormy than they had been on the coast of Asia Minor, and I was able to interrupt here and ask whether, during his recent visit to Paris, where the King had been received with so much apparent enthusiasm, it had [illegible] discuss these questions without heat. He said that the general [illegible] kindly enough to all appearances, but their [illegible] abroad appeared to act with great independence, and interpret the policy of [illegible] Government in their own way. It was Admiral Gauchet who seemed to have the [illegible] Adriatic in his hand, and his action was not in accordance with the friendly professions of the French Government.

I have no definite information as to the g[illegible] to the Adriatic questions which would have enabled me to contest any of the assertions made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs. But I understand that the instructions [illegible] Admiral Kiddle were generally [illegible] Naval Council, and I have had [illegible] must have had [illegible] our political [illegible] of demar[illegible] of action between the Italian supreme command and the Armee [illegible], as indicated in the memorandum of the [illegible] at once be approved by the Au[illegible] here."

The complaints of the Minister for Foreign Affairs were al[illegible] election to the Adriatic, but I may add that, while I am [illegible] No. 43 of the 16th instant to Sir C. des Graz that the [illegible] Foreign Office of the behaviour of the Italians to the Sla[illegible] wn, the Italian papers are full of reports of the persecution of the Italian population by the Slav and Croatian element, especially at Spalato, while vessels are said to be prevented from approaching the quays, flags are torn down and so on. The probability is that each of the two local groups, Slav and Italian, in these towns lose no opportunity of making complaint of the behaviour of the other, and that their sympathisers on either side make the most of such incidents for political purposes. I have not reported the constant repetition of the grievances of the Italian population, put forward in the Italian press, as it did not seem to me that much value could be attached to such [illegible] Signor M[illegible] has frequently complained of persecution in the Italian [illegible] similar complaints of the persecution of Italians by the Slavs are repeatedly circulated here.

I have, &c.
RENNELL RODD

[1382] No. 1

M. Pichon to the King of the Hedjaz.—(Communicated to Foreign Office by M. de Fleuriau, January 2, 1919.)

JE tiens à affirmer à votre Excellence que le Gouvernement français a été très heureux et sera encore très heureux d'offrir l'hospitalité à S.A.R. l'Emir Feysal comme [illegible] ami et au fils d'un Souverain indépendant et allié. Il a regretté de n'être pas [illegible] des intentions de S.M. le Roi Hussein. S'il eût été prévenu [illegible] temps voulu, il n'eût pas manqué de lui faire connaître, d'accord [illegible] britanniques, qu'aucune décision définitive n'a encore été prise quant à la représentation au Congrès de la Paix des États qui, ainsi que le Royaume du Hedjaz, se sont formés au cours de la présente guerre. Leur participa[illegible] reconnaissance par tous les [illegible] alliés devenue définitive.

S.M. Hussein peut être assurée que le Gouvernement français recommandera à ses Alliés la reconnaissance du Royaume indépendant du Hedjaz. Il est donc disposé à accueillir le Pr[illegible] son retour de Londres et à lui offrir l'hospitalité la plus amicale jusqu'au [illegible] il sera possible de le faire reconnaître comme le représentant officiel du Royaume du Hedjaz.

[3006] No. 3.

Note communicated by M. Cambon, January 6, 1919.

EN attendant l'établissement d'un nouveau régime juridique en Turquie, le Gouvernement fran[illegible] à Constantinople même Mr. Waugh et M. Gillière puissent échanger leurs vues sur cette question, de façon à apporter à leurs Gouvernements respectifs les éclaircissements nécessaires.

En se référant à sa note du 18 de ce mois, l'Ambassadeur de France a l'honneur de demander au Gouvernement britannique de vouloir bien, s'il est du même avis, donner à Mr. Waugh des instructions dans ce sens.

M. Paul Cambon saluer, &c.

Ambassade de France, Londres,
le 27 décembre, 1918.

3007] No. 4

Note on the Necessity for Judicial Reform in Turkey.—(Communicated by M. Cambon January 6, 1919.)

[illegible] eau les portes de [illegible] lence de la France [illegible] ot d'une bonne justice. Pour [illegible] que nous créerons à l'avenir en Turquie puissent prospérer pour que les capitaux si considérables que nous y avons engagés et ceux que nous serons amenés à y engager encore puissent fructifier, il faut qu'ils soient assurés de trouver dans ce pays ce qui leur a fait jusqu'ici complètement défaut—une justice qui soit une justice.

On a déploré souvent la décadence de notre commerce en Orient; c'est un fait qui

a des causes diverses. Une des premières, le principal peut-être, est le manque de sécurité judiciaire et la conviction que nos commerçants avaient de voir leurs intérêts toujours sacrifiés en cas de contestation, avec leurs correspondants indigènes. Ils voyaient, par exemple, les faillites ottomanes se terminer régulièrement par des [illegible] conditions, et en fait ils se désintéressaient de plus en plus d'un marché où les garanties les plus nécessaires leur faisaient défaut. Les maisons françaises les plus importantes ne voulaient plus faire d'affaires en Turquie [illegible] trouver une justice sûre et impar[illegible] lieu d'espérer qu'il reprendrait [illegible] Or[illegible] tance qui doit tout naturellement lui appartenir.

[illegible] de créer en Turquie un nouveau régime judiciaire. Que doit-il être ? et tout d'abord dans quelle mesure y a-t-il lieu de rétablir les Capitu[illegible]

Le Gouvernement jeune-turc, à la veille du jour où il allait se lancer dans la guerre à la remorque de l'Allemagne, a décrété solennellement la dénonciation des Capitulations. Cette décision, unilatérale et arbitraire, proclamée avec emphase [illegible] par la violence, a pu entrer en vigueur par suite des circonstances. [illegible] tions des Puissances intéressées. En droit, elle est nulle et [illegible] nous empêche de rétablir purement et simplement les Capitula[illegible] Mais est-ce vraiment utile, et dans quelle mesure y avons-[illegible] intérêt

L'Allemagne et l'Autriche ont protesté quand le Gouvernement ottoman a décrété l'abolition des Capitulations. Protestation de pure forme et sans sincérité. Plus tard, elles ont, au moins tacitement, adhéré à un ordre de chose[illegible] fond, être les bénéficiaires, les Capitulations ne pouvant qu'être une gêne pour ceux qui se considéraient comme les futurs maîtres de la Turquie. L'Allemagne et l'Autriche ont ainsi perdu tout droit à réclamer le retour de l'ancien état de choses [illegible] possible, cependant, si on rétablissait purement et simplement les Capitu[illegible] en[illegible] bénéfice ? Ne risquerions-nous pas alors de faire le jeu de nos ennemis [illegible] influence des Alliés qui doit être dominante maintenant en Orient ; elle doit être affranchie de toute gêne. En dehors même de ces considérations, le retour pur et simple à l'ancien état de choses est-il souhaitable ?

Examinons quel était dans ses grandes lignes, avant la pré[illegible] Capitulations par les Jeunes Turcs, le régime judiciaire de l'étranger en [illegible] triple point de vue de ses rapports avec [illegible] entre les sujets otto[illegible]

Dans ses rapports avec ses [illegible] vait exclusivement de [illegible] tribunal consulaire, tant en mat[illegible] pénal. C'est là pour nous un privilège d'une importance capitale qu'il [illegible] rait être question d'abandonner. Sur ce point les Capitulations doivent être m[illegible]

Les tribunaux consulaires étaient également compétents, dans les mêmes matières pour toutes les contestations entre étrangers de nationalités différentes. [illegible] compétence était de règle absolue, tant qu'il n'y avait pas d'Ottomans en cause. L'affaire, dans ce cas, conformément à la règle de droit *actor sequitur forum rei*, était portée devant le tribunal du défendeur. Celui-ci [illegible] it donc assuré d'être jugé par ses juges naturels et conformément à ses lois.

Cette procédure, qui a succédé à celle des Commissions mixtes instituées au début et qui a fonctionné régulièrement pendant trois quarts de siècle environ, a rendu les plus grands services aux étrangers de toutes nationalités [illegible] en Turquie ou y faisant des opérations commerciales. C'était la solution la plus heureuse qu'il fût possible d'imaginer sous l'empire des Capitulations. Mais ce régime n'était pas sans inconvénients. Nos compatriotes, obligés d'actionner leurs adversaires devant les [illegible] ment pas toujours auprès de certains de ces tribunaux toutes les garanties désirables, tant au point de vue du savoir que de l'impartialité des juges. Ceux-ci, même quand ils avaient [illegible] certain heureusement le cas le plus souvent, la conscience et le respect [illegible] leurs devoirs de magistrats, ne pouvaient pas toujours se défendre de certaines tra[illegible] pour leurs nationaux.

D'autre part, l'exécution des décisions des tribunaux consulaires [illegible] admise qu'à l'égard de leurs nationaux, l'introduction d'une demande reconventionnelle n'était pas possible devant le tribunal saisi de la demande principale quand le demandeur était étranger. Cette action devait être portée devant le tribunal du demandeur principal, ou le chacun d'entre eux s'il y avait plusieurs demandeurs de nationalités différentes. De là, dans certain cas, des lenteurs et des frais excessifs, et cette conséquence fâcheuse quelquefois, que des actions résultant d'une même affaire pouvaient être résolues de façon très différente par chacun des tribunaux saisis, jugeant chacun d'après une loi différente. Le système n'était donc pas parfait. Il est possible d'en trouver [illegible] plus heureux.

Mais, c'est surtout dans les différences entre étrangers et m[illegible] que le régime qui fonctionnait en Turquie avant la guerre laissait à désirer. Dès qu'il y avait un intérêt ottoman en cause, les tribunaux ottomans étaient seuls compétents, soit que l'étranger fût demandeur, soit qu'il fût défendeur. Certaines garanties étaient seulement assurées à l'étranger devant les tribunaux ottomans. Ces garanties étaient de deux sortes : une garantie générale, d'abord l'assistance du drogman devant les tribunaux mixtes de commerce et devant les tribunaux de répression pénale ; une autre, spéciale aux tribunaux mixtes de commerce, [illegible] jonction dans chaque affaire où un étranger était partie, de deux assesseurs de sa nationalité, garantie illusoire en réalité, car à côté de ces deux assesseurs pris dans la colonie de l'étranger, juges d'occasion, désignés par le consul et acceptant quelquefois cette mission a [illegible] ment souvent la [illegible] et les usages turcs, se trouvaient toujours trois juges ottomans de carrière, dont le président, qui avaient seul réellement la direction des débats et la décision de l'affaire. On peut dire que les prétendus tribunaux mixtes de commerce, tels qu'ils existaient en Turquie avant la guerre n'étaient mixtes qu'en apparence. Pour qui connaît la mentalité des indigènes, musulmans ou rayas, et les influences qui s'exerçaient dans les prétoires ottomans, il est facile de comprendre combien les jugements rendus dans ces conditions offraient et [illegible] de justice et de moralité [illegible] drogman et l'étendue très large que les missions étrangères, [illegible] à son droit de contrôle, appartenait un certain correctif à ces inconvénients, mais dans un cas seulement : quand l'étranger était défendeur. Dans ce cas, sa garantie était complète, l'exécution des décisions judiciaires rendues par les tribunaux ottomans contre un étranger n'était possible que par l'intermédiaire de son consulat. Si le drogman avait refusé de signer le *qarar*, l'exécution était refusée et le jugement restait lettre morte — solution très avantageuse évidemment pour l'étranger, mais qui n'était pas sans inconvénient en droit pur, car l'indigène lésé protestait contre ce qu'il considérait, avec raison, comme un déni de justice. Un conflit diplomatique se greffait sur un différend d'ordre judiciaire. Le mal entendu s'aggravait alors chaque [illegible] le justice était continuellement violée.

D'autre part, quand l'étranger était demandeur, ce qui est de beaucoup le cas le plus fréquent, le contrôle du drogman [illegible] *qarar*, sa décision ne pouvait avoir en effet aucune sanction, l'affaire étant jugée à [illegible] pour la même cause par le même demandeur. Combien de déboires ottomans ont [illegible] étrangers devant les tribunaux du Tedjaret. Nos compatriotes [illegible] Respectueux observateurs des lois du pays [illegible] profession, ils ont rarement l'occasion [illegible] commerciale. Il est encore plus rare qu'ils sont [illegible] quelques individus très peu nombreux fort peu intéressants et qui, par un abus [illegible] effet des Capitulations, se trouvent bénéficier en fait très souvent d'une scandaleuse impunité. Il peut arriver, d'autre part, en matière pénale, qu'un français honorable [illegible] détention préventive dans les prisons ottomanes, ait à subir les effets d'une condamnation excessive ou même inique [illegible] dans ce cas dépourvue de sanction pratique, il en résulte que nos compatriotes [illegible] sont à peu près privés en fait de toute garantie réelle de justice devant les tribunaux [illegible] durer. Il est indispensable de créer en Turquie une [illegible] judiciaire et jamais les circonstances n'ont été plus favorables à [illegible] devrait être conçue d[illegible] tribunaux mixtes qu[illegible] dont l'institution a rendu de si [illegible]

[illegible] n'a abouti qu'à la suite de longues et laborieuses négociations. [illegible] par Nubar Pacha elle s'est heurtée longtemps aux résistances des Puissances [illegible] rer. Cette réforme qui, dans l'esprit de Nubar Pacha [illegible] plus gênantes des Capitulations a eu, cependant, les plus heureux effets pour les [illegible] européens en instituant en Egypte une justice éclairée et impartiale qui est un [illegible] bienfait pour ce pays.

Sans entrer dans le détail de cette organisation, il suffit de rappeler ici que les tribunaux mixtes d'Egypte sont composés de juges indigènes et de juges étrangers nommés par le Gouvernement égyptien, et que la majorité dans chaque tribunal et pour chaque affaire ont toujours assurée à l'élément étranger. Les juges étrangers sont présentés au Gouvernement égyptien par le Gouvernement du pays auquel ils appartien [illegible] qu'il y aurait lieu d'instituer en Turquie les nouveaux tribunaux

A la majorité de juges ottomans, en toute matière, dans toute cause où des étrangers seraient parties, et à tous les degrés de juridiction, doit être substituée [illegible] majorité de juges étrangers. On pourrait également envisager une réforme qui s'étendrait non seulement aux tribunaux appelés à connaître des procès où des étrangers sont intéressés, mais aux tribunaux spéciaux aux indigènes, eux mêmes par l'introduction sous une forme à déterminer d'un haut contrôle étranger dans l'intérêt supérieur de la justice. Certes, une pareille innovation rencontrerait des résistances de la part des Gouvernements ottomans, mais ce serait le plus grand service à rendre aux indigènes. La révolution jeune-turque a adopté notre belle devise : *Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*, à laquelle elle a ajouté le mot *Justice*. Cette adjonction, dans l'esprit de la plupart des Jeunes-Turcs, était en réalité une sorte de protestat [illegible] les privilèges assurés aux étrangers par les Capitulations. Mais, prise à la lett [illegible] revendication ne fût plus justifiée. Jamais, [illegible] justice n'a existé en Turquie, et cela plus encore pour les indigènes que pour les étrangers protégés en somme par les Capitulations et par l'action de leurs Ambassadeurs et de leurs consuls. Ce serait rendre au pays tout entier un service éminent que de la doter, par une sorte de tutelle étrangère, d'une justice digne de ce nom. [illegible] actuelles permettraient sans doute d'imposer au Gou [illegible] et le principe en est admis par nous et par nos Alliés.

Quoi qu'il en soit réduite aux affaires dans lesquelles les étrangers sont [illegible] en Turquie. Pour cela, un accord entre les Puissances alliées est nécessaire et il doit suffire. L'Allemagne et l'Autriche ont perdu tout droit à réc [illegible] les Capitulations. Quant aux autres États intéressés, ils souffrent des mêmes maux qu [illegible] et ne refuseraient certainement pas d'accepter une réforme dont leurs na [illegible] profiteraient comme les nôtres. Ils ne devraient, [illegible] préparation et la mise en œuvre de la défense, dont la direction ne peut [illegible] qu'à la France. C'est notre droit, en effet, qui a servi de base à la première ré [illegible] d'où sont sorti les tribunaux ou Tidjaret. Les codes ottomans sont calqués sur les [illegible] base unique à celle des tribunaux mixtes de commerce ottoman. C'est à nos codes que recouraient toujours les magistrats du Tidjaret avant la promulgation de Medjelle, pour combler les lacunes des codes ottomans. Si cette situation a été quelque peu modifiée depuis cette promulgation (de la façon la plus désavantageuse d'ailleurs aux droits de tous les étrangers) il n'en est pas moins vrai que le droit français est le seul droit admis devant les tribunaux de la réforme en Turquie dont il est la loi principale. Enfin, la langue française est la seule langue étrangère admise à côté de la langue turque devant ces mêmes tribunaux. C'est presque toujours en français qu'ont lieu les plaidoiries, les avocats ottomans eux-mêmes plaidant le plus souvent en [illegible] réforme judiciaire devrait être faite. Elle ne serait en réalité que le développement logique et nécessaire de la réforme inaugurée sous le règne d'Abdul Aziz et pour [illegible] par le Gouvernement ottoman avec plus d'apparence que de réalité, mais to [illegible]

Tous ces étrangers résidant en Turquie et les Ottom [illegible] quelques temps applaudiraient à une réforme qui assurerait le bien-être et la fortune du pays, en lui donnant cette chose inappréciable et nouvelle en Turquie : la justice. Nous trouverons, de notre côté, dans la nou [illegible] un puissant et très [illegible] instrument d'influence, car il serait naturel que les juges étrangers fussent [illegible] en majorité parmi les magistrats français, car notre langue, même si une la [illegible] étrangère est admise plus tard dans les plaidoiries ottomanes, serait toujours en fait la véritable langue judiciaire, notre droit enfin sera de plus en plus la loi de nouveaux tribunaux, les codes existants devront être revisés et complétés d'après nos codes, en tenant compte seulement de certains usages locaux

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[6861] No. 5.

Sir R. Rodd to Mr. Balfour.—(Received January 13.

(No. 10.)

Sir, *Rome, January 7, 1919.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 11 of yesterday's date, announcing that orders had been given to suspend the military preparations for a landing in Asia Minor, it may be as well, in view of the importance of the question, that I should transmit to you translations of the two private communications in which this decision was conveyed to me by the President of the Council and the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The letter of the President of the Council is as follows:—

"Dear Ambassador,

In accordance with my promise I have conferred this evening with Sonnino, and I am happy to inform you that he had spontaneously adopted the point of view which I spontaneously also expressed to you, that is to say, that we were bound to defer amicably to the desire expressed by the British Government, which was based on reasons carrying undeniable weight. Sonnino assured me that he had written to you in this sense, and his letter will have already reached you, or is no doubt about to [illegible]

The letter from Baron Sonnino is to the following effect:

"Dear Ambassador,

"In reply to your letter, and in deference to the urgent representations which you have made in the name of the British Government, as well as to give time for the necessary understanding, I have begged our military authorities to suspend operations in Asia Minor.

[illegible] A
[illegible] NNELL RODD

[7179] No. 6

Note communicated by M. de Fleuriau, [illegible]

LE Chef de l'État-Major de l'Armée de Mésopotamie a remis à l'officier français [illegible] à cette armée une note, dont voici le principal passage:

Il n'y a plus de chances de vous donner l'occasion de suivre des opérations militaires. Aussi le Général Marshall pense que vous seriez heureux de quitter la Mésopotamie et de retourner en France; et il a télégraphié au War Office que, comme votre mention ici vous fait seulement perdre un temps précieux, il propose de vous renvoyer en France aussitôt que l'occasion favorable d'un bateau se présent [illegible]

Aussitôt après cette communication, et sans attendre la réponse du War Office, des dispositions ont été prises par les autorités militaires de Mésopotamie afin d'assurer le départ du Commandant Den [illegible]

M. de F [illegible] les Affaires Etr [illegible] de Bagdad vis-à-vis d'un officier français, attaché à l'armée britannique de Mésopotam [illegible] Ce n'est pas le premier procédé de ce genre que l'Ambassade est obligée de relever et il rappelle notamment la note de M. Paul Cambon à Mr. Balfour, en date du 1er de [illegible] dernier. Parce qu'il est fermement résolu à ne pas entraver l'action de ses Alliées dans la zone qui leur est réservée par les accords existants et à seconder au besoin cette action, le Gouvernement français ressent très vivement l'effet de procédés et d'intrigues qui [illegible] à l'égard de ses agents un caractère désobligeant. M. Pichon est bien [illegible] que les fonctionnaires britanniques en Mésopotamie n'agissent pas ainsi sur des instructions de Londres, et il demande que ces fonctionnaires soient contraints à s'inspirer dans leurs rapports avec les agents et officiers français d'un esprit conforme aux devoirs de l'Alliance.

Ambassade de France, Londres,
le 13 janvier, 1919.

[213617] No. 7.

Foreign Office to War Office.

Sir, *Foreign Office, January 16, 1919.*

I AM directed by Earl Curzon of Kedleston to state, for the information of the Army Council, that recent correspondence on the subject of retaliatory measures to be adopted in the event of the surrender of Medina [illegible] delayed has emphasised the necessity for arriving at a more definite understanding than has hitherto [illegible] as Lord Curzon is aware been reached as to the division of responsibility [illegible] Allied Governments for the [illegible] position in those districts of Asiatic Turkey which are not in our [illegible] occupation. The former point has already been raised casually by Baron Sonnino in conversation with His Majesty's Ambassador at Rome, while the latter is likely to assume practical importance in the near future owing to the intention of the French to send consular officers and Red Cross units to Smyrna [illegible] imminent arrival of a large American Relief Mission in Asia [illegible]

In these circumstances Lord Curzon would be glad to be informed whether the opinion of the Army Council

(a.) The responsibility for securing the fulfilment of [illegible] with Turkey devolves solely upon His Majesty's Government; and, if so, whether His Majesty's [illegible] this purpose without consulting their Allies [illegible]

(b.) Whether there is any foundation for the belief which appears to be current that while the supreme command in European Turkey is vested in General Franchet d'Esperey, British commanders enjoy full independence on the other side of the Straits and throughout Asiatic Turkey, including the districts which are not yet in Allied military occupation, such as Smyrna, Trebizond, &c. Can it be assumed, for instance, that our military position in Asiatic Turkey entitles us to claim to be consulted before any expedition or mission is despatched by another Power to the unoccupied regions of that area?

I am, &c.
J. A. C. TILLEY.

[13762] No. 8

The Earl of Derby to Earl Curzon.—(Received January 25.)

By Bag.

[illegible] from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs stating that, according to information which has reached that Department, General Officer Commanding Allied Forces in the Levant is opposed to despatch of reinforcements which French Government had decided to send to the Levant, and that this opposition would appear to be due to the fear lest the arrival in Syria of fresh French troops should arouse feelings of uneasiness and discontent among the Mussulmans. Note observes that His Majesty's Government is aware of the expressions of attachment which all the inhabitants of Syria and Lebanon, whether Christian or Mussulman, have lavishly expressed to France since beginning of Allied advance in the Levant, and that there have been, or should there be in the future, manifestations of another nature in certain points of the zone reserved to French interests according to the [illegible] May, 1916, respecting Asia Minor, such manifestations can only be considered as due to single individuals, coming, for the most part, from districts outside that zone, and acting at the instigation of Pan Arab groups or of Xenophobe [illegible]

[illegible] continues the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, can only have importance if their authors believe themselves in a position to benefit from the support, or at least the friendly tolerance, of all, or a part, of the elements of occupation, and in this connection Ministry states that it considers it its duty to point out to the Embassy that according to information which it has received, certain British officers in the Levant appear to be animated by a spirit which is little in accord with the Anglo-French Agreement [illegible] Asia Minor [illegible] which His Majesty's Government have no doubt sent to them in regard to the manner in which these arrangements are to be carried out.

In [illegible] note states that the French Government has no doubt that His Majesty's Government will make a point of drawing the attention of these officers to the necessity of taking care that their attitude can in no way be considered as encouraging the intrigues mentioned above. French Government consequently are of opinion that no weight should be attached to the considerations which may have been put forward with a view to postponing the despatch of reinforcements which they have decided to send to Syria with a view to undertaking for themselves, at least to a great extent, the administration of the territorial zone attributed to the French sphere of influence in Asia Minor.

(Communicated to peace delegation.)

[3008] No. 9

Papers communicated by M. de Fleuriau, January 26.)

(1.)

L'AGENT du Ministre des Affaires Étrangères à Constantinople estime que, pour [illegible] les autorités turques, il est nécessaire d'enlever à la Porte tout [illegible] politique ottomane de bascule entre les Puissances, et [illegible] cela, de manifester une entente complète entre les représentants français et britanniques. M. Fouques Duparc a constaté que les instructions des représentants [illegible] étaient plus larges que celles des représentants britanniques, et il a exprimé [illegible] que ses collègues anglais reçoivent des instructions les autorisant à envisager [illegible] autres que l'exécution pure et simple de l'armistice. M. Pichon partage le sentiment de M. Fouques Duparc et il a autorisé M. de Fleuriau à communiquer, à titre confidentiel et avec prière de restitution, les instructions qu'il a données aux collaborateurs civils de l'Amiral Amet.

Ambassade de France, Londres,
le 6 janvier, 1919.

Pour faire suite à la communication de M. de Fleuriau en date du 6 de [illegible] à la demande faite le 24 courant par téléphone, l'Ambassade de France a [illegible] venir déposer au Foreign Office les lettres de services et instructions [illegible] ment français à divers de ses agents à Constantinople.

L'Ambassade de France serait très reconnaissante au Foreign Office de vouloir bien lui renvoyer ces documents lorsqu'ils auront cessé d'être utiles.

Ambassade de France, Londres,
le 24 janvier [illegible]

Le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, à M. le Lieutenant-Colonel Weyl, Paris.

(*Lettre d*[illegible]

[illegible] République à Constantinople jusqu'au moment où la période d'armistice prendra fin [illegible] dans sa mission. Vous avez été désigné pour remplir les fonctions de conseiller pour les questions industrielles et commerciales.

[illegible] consistera, en premier lieu, à fournir au Haut-Commissaire tous avis [illegible] problèmes d'ordre industriel et économique qui se poseront; en second lieu, à [illegible] la reprise de l'activité des sociétés et établissements français, à les grouper de [illegible] à maintenir entre eux une bonne entente et l'union nécessaire à la restauration de l'influence française. J'ai confiance que votre haute compétence, votre profonde connaissance des questions d'Orient, le crédit moral dont vous jouissiez à Constantinople,

facilteront grandement la tâche de l'Amiral Haut-Commissaire, et que réunis autour de vous les chefs d'entreprises et de sociétés françaises sauront rétablir et développer, même pendant la période d'armistice le prestige de notre industrie et de [illegible]

14

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères à M. le Colonel Foulon, chargé de la Réorganisation de la Police et de la Gendarmerie en Turquie

(*Lettre de service*)

Le Gouvernement a décidé de nommer le Vice-Amiral Amet Haut-Commissaire de la République à Constantinople jusqu'au moment où la période de l'[illegible] fin. Un certain nombre de conseillers lui sont adjoints. Vous avez été [illegible] l'associer dans toutes les questions de sûreté générale et de surveillance des ressortissants de la France et des pays alliés. Vous aurez en outre à étudier les réformes qui vous paraîtront souhaitables dans l'organisation de la police et de la gendarmerie en Turquie.

Vous recevrez à ce titre une indemnité mensuelle de 2,000 fr. sur le chapitre G du budget de mon Département en plus de votre solde.

Je me réserve de vous faire adjoindre ultérieurement M. le Lieutenant Feuill[illegible] a été attaché, pendant la plus grande partie des hostilités, au service de renseignements de l'Ambassade de France à Berne pour les questions [illegible]

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères à M. Cellière, Ministre plénipotentiaire de la République française, Paris.

(*Lettre de service*)

Le Gouvernement a décidé de nommer le Vice-Amiral Amet, Haut-Commissaire de la République française à Constantinople, jusqu'au moment où la période [illegible] prendra fin. Un certain nombre de conseillers civils lui sont adjoints. [illegible] été désigné pour remplir les fonctions [illegible] juridiques [illegible] chapitre G du budget de mon Département.

Votre rôle consistera à donner au Haut-Commissaire tous avis sur les questions administratives et judiciaires qui se poseront et à l'assister dans le règlement [illegible], soit avec les autorités locales, soit avec les autorités alliées. En outre, vous [illegible] à étudier les réformes que vous paraîtrait [illegible] en Turquie, et à envoyer à mon Département des propositions précises et d'ordre pratique pouvant servir aux négociations des traités de paix à préparer.

Dans la période d'armistice il me paraît nécessaire de se placer sur le terrain des Capitulations. Elles ont été abolies par un acte unilatéral des Turcs [illegible] et les Etats-Unis ont protesté. Il y aurait [illegible] pour les Hauts Commissaires alliés d'exiger pour les ressortissants alliés, et les autres le rétablissement immédiat des garanties que leur assurait le régime dit des Capitulations. [illegible] quelle part les tribunaux ottomans et les fonctionnaires ottomans [illegible] au cours de la guerre, ont prouvé ces qualités nécessaires pour leur confier [illegible] sauvegarde des intérêts de nos nationaux. Vous attirerez dès votre [illegible] l'attention du Haut Commissaire sur ce point [illegible] démarche commune des Hauts Commissaires alliés.

Enfin, la parfaite connaissance que vous avez de la Colonie [illegible] Constantinople me fait souhaiter que M. du Gardier qui sera particulièrement [illegible] des intérêts de cette colonie, prenne auprès de vous son direct[illegible]

15.

Le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères à M. Picard, ingénieur en chef des Travaux publics

(*Lettre de service*)

Le Gouvernement a décidé de nommer le Vice-Amiral Amet, Haut-Commissaire de la République à Constantinople, jusqu'au moment où la période de l'armistice

prendra fin. Un certain nombre de conseillers civils lui sont adjoints. Vous avez été désigné pour remplir les fonctions de conseiller technique en matière de travaux publics. Vous recevrez à ce titre une indemnité mensuelle de 6,000 fr. sur le chapitre G du bu[illegible]

[illegible] questions qui se poseront au point de vue des travaux publics en Turquie et à l'assister [illegible] alliées. En outre, vous aurez à étudier les réformes qui vous paraîtront souhaitables dans l'organisation générale des services des travaux publics en Turquie et à envoyer à mon Département des propositions précises et d'ordre pratique pouvant servir aux négociateurs des traités de paix à pr[illegible]

Paris, le 25 novembre, 1918.

Questions à étudier.

Établissement d'une monnaie saine dans le pays

Il semble que la solution du problème monétaire pourrait être trouvée dans la [illegible]tion suivante.

[illegible] supposant que les billets [illegible] de la Dette publique valent [illegible] billets de la Banque [illegible] on remettrait au porteur de [illegible] d'État 1 livre turque émise par la Banque ottomane, et [illegible] entre l'Empire allemand de 4 livres turques remboursables [illegible]

[illegible]sion de billets faite par la Banque ottomane en vue de cet échange serait pour compte du Trésor turc. Celui-ci devrait affecter comme garantie des revenus libres suffisants pour amortir cette dette [illegible] cinq ou trente ans au plus. Les revenus ainsi affectés seraient gérés par la Dette publique ottomane prévue pour l'amortissement contre une somme égale de billets annulés.

Questions à examiner

(a) Quel est le montant exact du papier-monnaie émis par l'entremise de la Dette publique? Quel est le montant des billets garantis par l'or déposé auprès [illegible] par les bons du Trésor allemand? Est-ce que la totalité des billets garantis par l'or est encore en circulation? Quelle a été la valeur moyenne de tous ces billets par [illegible] Quelle est la valeur actuelle?

[illegible] sont les arrangements passés avec le Gouvernement allemand au sujet de ces émissions?

(b) Le projet envisagé ci-dessus et [illegible] tant à échanger le papier-monnaie contre des billets de banque représentant la valeur moyenne de ce papier et la remise pour la différence de bons spéciaux remboursables, lorsque le Gouvernement allemand paiera les bons du Trésor, est-il praticable?

[illegible] ce projet paraît équitable au point de vue des intérêts des détenteurs du [illegible] quelle est cependant la répercussion que son application pourrait avoir sur les conditions économiques du pays, cherté de vie, salaires, &c.

(d) Si le projet en question est praticable, dans l'intérêt général, s'il peut avoir une répercussion avantageuse pour les différents intérêts français au point de vue de [illegible] en une monnaie saine tant des revenus affectés au service des emprunts, [illegible] des sociétés de chemins de fer et autres, quels sont, d'autre part, [illegible] ni seraient lésés par son application (Banque Impériale ottomane, Régie des [illegible] Banque de Salonique ou autres sociétés, particuliers).

[illegible] pour le remboursement des dépôts en banque et l'exécution des contrats, [illegible] quadrer pour déterminer la monnaie exigible? Un dépôt [illegible] devrait être remboursé après la réforme que pour un cinq [illegible] monnaie.

[illegible] être appliqué et que la Banque Impériale ottomane [illegible] de concession, quels sont les droits et avantages qui [illegible] lui être confirmés et quelles seraient les garanties p[illegible] pour assurer l'amortissement annuel des billets de banque à émettre?

(*g*) Quel serait le sentiment du Gouvernement sur ce programme et s'il n'est pas praticable, quels autres moyens suggère-t-il pour la restauration monétaire ?

2. *Emprunt du Gouvernement ottoman—Coupons restés en souffrance.*

(*a.*) Quel est le montant des coupons laissés en souffrance pendant la guerre, des titres appartenant à des Français ? Distinguer entre la Dette unifiée et les Emprunts gérés par l'Administration de la Dette publique, d'une part, et les autres. Même question pour les titres amortis.

(*b.*) Quel est le montant approximatif des coupons restés en souffrance et appartenant aux ressortissants des États alliés ? Même distinction qu'au paragraphe (*a*) ; même question pour les titres amortis.

(*c.*) Quelles sont les sommes dont le Conseil d'Administration de la Dette dispose pour le paiement des coupons et titres amortis, tant pour le titres de la Dette unifiée que pour les titres dont les gages sont gérés par [illegible]

En quelle monnaie et où ces disponibilités sont-elles placées ?

(*d.*) Montant et composition des réserves de la Dette où sont-elles dé[illegible]

(*e*) Pour les coupons et titres amortis des emprunts non gérés par la Dette, peut-on demander au Gouvernement ottoman de verser immédiatement les fonds [illegible] ?

(*f*) En répondant à ces questions, considérer que le paiement des coupons et titres amortis en question doit être assuré de toute nécessité, puisque les ressortissants des États ennemis et des pays neutres ont été régulièrement payés.

N. B.—Dans la suggestion à faire il faudra, *autant que possible*, tenir compte de l'intérêt qu'il y aurait à ce que les revenus futurs qui constituent la garantie des emprunts soient utilisés (ils doivent l'être) sans compromettre le service de [illegible] emprunts dans l'avenir.

3. *Garantie kilométrique des Chemins de Fer.*

(*a.*) Quelles sont les sommes dues aux compagnies à [illegible] l'exploitation ?

(*b.*) Y a-t-il dans les caisses de la Dette publique des sommes disponibles pour faire face au paiement, même partiel, des sommes dues aux compagnies ? En quelle monnaie et où se trouvent ces disponibilités ?

(*c*) En tout cas, quels sont les moyens qu'on peut suggérer pour le règlement [illegible] en souffrance ? Ne pas perdre de vue qu'il y a intérêt à laisser libres [illegible] ns futurs, du moins en tant qu'ils sont nécessaires au service de la garantie.

(*d.*) Dans cet ordre d'idées, examiner s'il ne conviendrait pas pour les compagnies d'obtenir une prolongation et des améliorations de concession, qui compenseraient le [illegible] affectés puissent assurer dans l'avenir le service des titres des chemins de fer sans nouveau retard.

(*e*) Quelles sont les sommes qui seraient approximativement nécessaires aux [illegible] plus tôt ?

Quels sont les moyens proposés pour faire constater au plus tôt les sommes dues par le Gouvernement de ce chef ?

(*f*) A supposer que le recouvrement à opérer sur le Gouvernement soit retardé, quels sont les arrangements qu'on pourrait faire avec les établissements financiers pour se procurer ces sommes et avec quelles gar[illegible] Conviendrait-il provisoirement [illegible] faire moratoires en Turquie les [illegible]

(*g.*) Y a-t-il d'autres compagnies, appartenant à des ressortissants alliés, qui soient dans le cas des compagnies françaises, quelle est leur situation ?

Ajouter tous renseignements relatifs aux compagnies ressortissant à des États [illegible]

4. *Autres sociétés financières et industrielles dont la réserve d'exploitation est en souffrance.*

Quelle est leur situation vis-à-vis du Gouvernement ? Quelle est leur créance ? Quels sont les moyens propres à leur permettre de reprendre : 1° leur exploitation, 2° le [illegible] de leurs titres ?

5. *Concessions nuisibles aux intérêts français.*

(*a.*) Quelles sont les concessions accordées à des sujets ennemis ou à des sujets du pays et qui sont nuisibles aux intérêts français ? Leur date, leur importance et leur valeur [illegible]

[illegible] l'importance de ces entreprises au point de vue de l'influence et des intérêts français [illegible] quel est leur capital, leur rendement et l'intérêt qu'il y aurait à les racheter ?

(*c.*) Quelles sont les sommes que la Turquie (État, sociétés financières ou autres) doit à l'Allemagne et à l'Autriche ?

6. *Situation financière générale de la Turquie.*

(*a.*) Quelle était la dette de l'État avant la guerre et comment était-elle répartie à l'étranger ?

(*b*) Quelles sont les dettes contractées pendant la guerre envers les États alliés [illegible]

[illegible] les dettes contractées dans le pays ?

[illegible] Turquie ?

[illegible] Empire avant la guerre de 1914 ?

[illegible] diminution des revenus de l'Empire qu'on prévoit du chef de [illegible] de la Syrie, de l'Arabie et éventuellement de [illegible] la Dette publique qui reviendrait [illegible] balkanique, qu'après la [illegible] dettes existantes avant [illegible]

[illegible] calculs en tenant compte que la répartition des dettes pourrait être [illegible] aux revenus de l'État turc retirait des provinces démembrées par rapport à ses revenus totaux.

(*bb*) Quels sont les nouveaux impôts créés dans l'Empire pendant la guerre, quel [illegible] autres pourraient être créés ?

(*c*) Quelle économie représenterait la suppression du budget de la marine et la [illegible]

(*j*) [illegible]

(*k*) Convient-il d'établir un contrôle financier et sous que[illegible]

7. *Dette publique.*

[illegible] tous renseignements sur la question de la Dette pendant la guerre. [illegible] le Conseil a-t-il dépassé ses attributions ou négligé l'exercice de ses droits ? [illegible] vient-il d'élargir les attributions de la Dette ? Dans quelle mesure ? Quelles [illegible] porter à la composition du Conseil ? Les membres du Conseil [illegible] dataires des porteurs ? Ne conviendrait-il pas que [illegible]

(17306

M. Cambon to Earl Curzon.—(Received January 31.)

LE Gouvernement français vient de faire savoir à M. Paul Cambon que le directeur [illegible] Société du Chemin de fer de Jaffa à Jérusalem avait par deux notes, en date du [illegible] décembre dernier, attiré l'attention du Général Allenby et du Colonel Stace sur les [illegible] modifications intervenues par suite de la guerre dans l'exploitation de la voie ferrée en [illegible] question et sur les problèmes [illegible] il faudrait reprendre une exploitation normale.

L'Ambassadeur de France a l'honneur de faire parvenir ci-joint à sa Seigneurie le

Secrétaire d'Etat pour les Affaires Etrangères copie de la note adressée par M. Pavie au Général Allenby.

M. Pichon a invité M. Paul Cambon à signaler à toute l'attention du Gouvernement britannique les considérations exposées dans ce document.

M. Paul Cambon saisit &c.

Ambassade de France, Londres
le 30 janvier 1919.

Enclosure in No. 10.

Note communicated to General Allenby by M. Pavie respecting Jaffa–Jerusalem Railway.

LE Chemin de fer de Jaffa à Jérusalem, qui s'est trouvé pendant trois années aux mains des Turcs et pendant plus d'un an aux mains des Alliés pour ses besoins de la guerre, a subi les pires dégâts.

Amalgamé aux autres lignes par les Turcs, il fut en partie [illegible] pendant les opérations et surtout au moment de la retraite des [illegible].

Les Alliés, pour la poursuite de leurs succès, ont achevé de faire disparaître tout ce qui restait encore des installations primitives, pour mettre à la place des voies et du matériel spécialement destinés à la guerre.

[illegible]

Que la voie de 1 mètre d'écartement n'existe plus entre Jaffa et Lydda, et qu'elle a été mise à voie large de 1 m. 44 centim. par les Alliés entre Lydda et Jérusalem.

Que la gare principale de Jaffa n'a plus d'atelier de réparations, plus de magasins de matières et de pièces de rechange, plus de bureaux, &c.

Que les gares intermédiaires sont ou démolies ou déplacées.

Que le matériel roulant et moteur est disparu; il ne reste ni une locomotive, ni une voiture à voyageurs, ni un wagon.

Qu'enfin les archives, plans, dossiers, &c., sont ou détruits ou éparpillés à Damas ailleurs.

Le personnel lui-même est à reconstituer, des agents sont morts, d'autres partis pour ne plus revenir.

Il résulte de cette situation déplorable que la remise en route de l'exploitation dans sa forme primitive sera très difficile et demandera sans doute de longs mois, et est donnée la pénurie des matières premières, la difficulté de trouver du [illegible] en Europe ou ailleurs, et la presque impossibilité de se trouver actuellement un [illegible] approprié.

Cependant, il semble bien qu'un moyen est actuellement à disposition pour arriver très rapidement à un meilleur résultat.

L'armée anglaise exploite pour ses besoins la ligne à voie élargie [illegible] Lydda et Jérusalem; elle possède une main d'œuvre [illegible] matériel de voie, ainsi que du matériel roulant et moteur en quantité; elle possède également en abondance des approvisionnements de matières de consommation et d'entretien, fer, cuivre, acier, bois, [illegible].

Il serait donc aisé de reconstituer, d'accord avec la société du chemin de fer, la partie de voie Lydda–Jaffa avec ses ateliers, magasins et bureaux; il serait de même aisé de fournir à la société des locomotives, des voitures à [illegible] et fourgons, pendant qu'il y en a des quantités dans la région.

Le chemin de fer pourrait ainsi, dès lors, être rapidement [illegible] fonctionner, et la société pourrait reprendre un service régulier [illegible] temps et dans des conditions à déterminer les services de l'armée [illegible].

De cette façon, aucune interruption n'aurait lieu entre la cessation de l'exploitation par les militaires et la reprise par les civils, et la Palestine n'aurait pas à subir après quatre années de service les privations de tout moyen de transport entre Jaffa, son port naturel, et Jérusalem, sa capitale.

[illegible] toutes sortes, qui seraient ainsi faites par l'armée [illegible] en état le chemin de fer, seraient facturées au prix actuel, et [illegible] aurait un chapitre des dépenses à rembourser par les Turcs.

[illegible], croyons-nous, un moyen facile et rapide de redonner à la Palestine la jouissance d'un organisme qui est grandement nécessaire pour le rétablissement de la vie normale, et même pour la liquidation des affaires militaires.

Cette solution offrirait l'avantage d'être facile à réaliser et il suffirait d'un peu de bonne volonté pour faire l'accord désirable entre les intéressés.

La Société du Chemin de fer de Jaffa à Jérusalem est prête, en ce qui la concerne, à se mettre à l'œuvre dès maintenant [illegible].

A. PAVIE.

Jaffa, le 23 décembre 1918.

8609 No. 11

[illegible] *Foreign Office.—(Received February 3.)*

Sir, [illegible], 1919.

I AM commanded by the Army Council to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 16th January relative to the responsibility for securing the fulfilment by the Turks of the terms of the armistice concluded with her, and the position of British commanders [illegible] the General Franchet d'Esperey.

As regards the former question, I am to state that the responsibility for enforcing compliance with the armistice terms has never been laid definitely upon any single Power and the appointment by the French, Italian, and Greek Governments of High Commissioners at Constantinople shows that these Governments consider that they too, to some extent, share the responsibility for securing the fulfilment of the terms [illegible] of responsibility was more or less definitely defined at a meeting of Allied [illegible] at 10, Downing Street, on the 3rd December, 1918, at which the following resolution was passed:—

"The British, French, and Italian Governments agreed that while the British [illegible] should remain under General Franchet d'Esperey, the rest of General Milne's [illegible] might be transferred to the Caucasus and elsewhere, and in that case should [illegible] under the command of General Franchet d'Esperey. The transfer [illegible] to in each case by the Government concerned."

From this it would appear that the French are responsible for Turkey in Europe, while it might be inferred that Turkey in Asia has been placed under British [illegible].

The Army Council do not consider His Majesty's Government are entitled to take military action in Turkey in Europe without consultation with the French Government. As regards Turkey in Asia, the Council are of opinion that should the question of taking military action arise, His Majesty's Government would be entitled to take such action, if necessary, without consulting their Allies. In the latter [illegible] I am to say that the fact that the terms of the armistice were discussed and concluded by representatives of Turkey and Great Britain only, and that the war [illegible] Turkey, except the Gallipoli campaign, has been carried out almost entirely by British troops, while any future military action to ensure the fulfilment of the terms of the armistice as regards Turkey in Asia would devolve mainly on British troops, strengthens the claim that we can take such action.

As regards the second question in paragraph 2 of your letter, the Army Council are of opinion that it can be safely assumed that any expedition or mission which other Powers may at any time desire to despatch to the unoccupied regions in Asiatic Turkey should certainly not be sent without consultation with His Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
R. H. BRADE.

[21940]

The Earl of Derby to Earl Curzon.—(Received February [illegible]

(No. 144.)

My Lord, *Paris, February 7 [illegible]*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith, with refer[illegible] No. 271 of this morning, copy of the French Go[illegible] complaining of the attitude of British officers and offic[illegible]

[illegible]

DERBY

Enclosure in [illegible]

Note.

LE Gouvernement de la République se voit, à son vif regret, dans la nécessité de signaler de nouveau à la plus sérieuse attention du Gouvernement de Londres l'attitude inamicale adoptée à l'égard des intérêts français par certains officiers [illegible] opposée à celle qu'on serait en droit d'attendre de représentants instruits des devoirs que l'alliance leur impose. Fidèle à une ligne de conduite dont il ne cesse, pour sa [illegible] français considère qu'une telle politique ne peut se prolonger sans de graves in[illegible] et les ordres ont été si souvent mal interprétés par certains de ses fonctionnaires, ne pense comme lui qu'il est nécessaire de rappeler tous ces fonctionnaires et officiers à une juste appréciation du respect réciproque dû aux intérêts et aux aspirations respectifs des deux Puissances alliées.

Les faits de cet ordre se sont multipliés, depuis deux ou trois mois particulièrement, sur tous les points des territoires occupés en Asie-Mineure par les contingents alliés, au point que leur nombre même leur donne, aux yeux des populations [illegible] ses agents s'inspirer plus docilement des vues que le Cabinet de Londres ne peut [illegible] ur l'étroite coopération franco-anglaise en Asie-Mineure, oblige [illegible] vernement de la République à signaler brièvement les manifestations les plus [illegible] ces de cet état d'esprit.

En Mésopotamie, ce sont les déclarations réitérées de l'état major anglais, se refusant à reconnaître les droits traditionnels, confirmés à notre pays par les accords de 1916, sur le vilayet de Mossoul, proclamant même leur ignorance de ces accords dont notre attaché militaire se voit contraint de leur prouver l'existence. Ce sont les bruits de la création d'un futur Empire arabe s'étendant jusqu'aux frontières persanes, d'un Kurdistan autonome protégé [illegible] l'Angleterre, d'un morcellement éventuel de la Mésopotamie entre deux ou trois Puissances rivales, bruits semés à profusion par les centres de propagande créés par l'état major dès son entrée en zone française. De telles rumeurs, propres à semer le trouble et l'inquiétude dans l'esprit des indigènes, permettent d'exploiter à son tour cet énervement factice et de le transformer en manifestations de la volonté populaire: cette agitation, œuvre d'une minorité turbulente, étant d'ailleurs toujours au préjudice de l'influence française. Les avanies aux écoles françaises, aux protégés français, aux chefs religieux animés de sentiments favorables à la France, les insultes infligées par le Colonel Leachman aux indigènes parlant notre langue ne se comptent plus. Il semble que certains officiers anglais aient pris à tâche de prouver de toute manière à la population que la France n'est qu'une Puissance inférieure qu'il est même inutile de mentionner son nom dans les déclarations officielles [illegible] et qu'au surplus le rôle déjà bien effacé qu'elle y joue en ce moment est essentielle[illegible] Marshall et le Colonel Wilson trouvent un regrettable écho dans le Capitaine Salmon, de l'Intelligence Office de Bagdad, lorsqu'il se permet d'y ajouter que "la France sera bien assez payée avec l'Alsace-Lorraine."

Et non seulement on affecte d'ignorer et nos agents et les droits formels qu'ils

représentent, mais on les empêche d'accomplir les missions officielles dont ils sont [illegible] refusent obstinément à notre consul à Bassorah l'autorisation de se rendre à Mossoul afin d'y répartir entre les indigents au nom de la France la somme qui lui a été envoyée à cet effet. Aux représentations faites à Londres par M. Paul Cambon, [illegible] Office objecte qu'à son grand regret il ne peut s'immiscer dans une a[illegible] purement militaire, et aux réclamations du consul au High Civil Commissioner, on répond qu'il n'est pas désirable que la France soit admise à suppléer [illegible] faisance anglaise, tandis que M. Roux, consul français, est mis finalement [illegible] l'impossibilité de s'acquitter lui-même de sa mission, un agent américain porteur [illegible] sommes considérables s'est vu ouvrir sans délai l'accès de Mossoul, après tant d'autres.

Tout récemment enfin, c'est le propre chef de notre Mission militaire que le commandement anglais prend sur lui de congédier de la manière la plus offensante ne pouvant supporter qu'il remplisse son devoir avec la plus entière correction, en désirant, conformément à ses instructions, faciliter la tâche des officiers anglais dans la zone d'influence reconnue à la Grande Bretagne par des accords portant la signature des deux Gouvernements.

Si nous passons maintenant [illegible] stater que ce même esprit y rég[illegible] eu les militaires. La tactique est identique, donner aux populations l'impression que, dans la zone même où doit s'exercer leur influence, les agents français ne sont en tout que les seconds dociles et effacés de leurs collègues anglais. Vis-à-vis du Haut [illegible] missaire de la République ou de son adjoint, certains membres de l'état major du Général Allenby manifestent une attitude agressive. On prétend limiter dans des bornes arbitrairement fixées l'activité et les fonctions des représentants [illegible] çais, et lorsque M. [illegible] Picot objecte qu'une telle attitude est évidemment contraire aux vœux des Gouvernements intéressés, son interlocuteur lui répond qu'il ign[illegible] les Gouvernements et ne connaît que les ordres du War Office.

Certains officiers semblent prendre à tâche d'aggraver encore l'effet de cette attitude, en déclarant en toute occasion, comme leurs collègues de Mésopotamie, que [illegible] France en Syrie est appelée à disparaître à bref délai. C'est Djemil Bey, accrédité à Beyrouth par le G.H.Q., allant chaque matin prendre les ordres de l'Intelligence Office et réunissant ensuite les éléments les plus antifrançais de la [illegible] qui va répétant dans les milieux politiques de Beyrouth et de Damas que "la seule solution possible pour la Syrie est la domination chérifienne avec collaboration britannique," opinion à laquelle sa situation d'ancien chef des Affaires indigènes adjoint au Gouverneur de Jérusalem en 1917, donne une singulière autorité. C'est le Général Money, cherchant à provoquer chez les musulmans de Palestine un mouvement hostile à l'influence française qu'il déclare soumise, pour la zone [illegible] rienne, à la ratification ultérieure des Puissances et de la population elle-même. C'est, enfin, le Général Allenby lui même entraîné par son entourage à donner en octobre 1918 sa parole à l'Émir Feysal "que les mesures prises pour confier certains territoires occupés à l'administration français, ne sauraient en aucune façon engager l'avenir."

Le Général Bulfin colporte publiquement cette thèse et répète aux indigènes que les agents du Haut Commissariat français n'engagent que leur propre responsabilité en prétendant fixer l'avenir du pays, c'est le même qui refusait naguère, [illegible] relever de leurs fonctions les autorités chérifiennes à Beyrouth et dans les villes de [illegible] rienne ou même, singulière prétention de sa part, d'autoriser les troupes françaises à effectuer leurs déplacements sur des navires français. Le Général Bulfin, dont l'attitude à l'égard de nos représentants est souvent à peine correcte, constitue pour nos officiers l'obstacle le plus sérieux à l'exercice normal de leur [illegible]

En présence de pareils faits, le Gouvernement français ne peut que renouveler de la manière la plus pressante les observations qu'il a déjà faites en si grand nombre. Il est regrettable qu'au mépris évident des ordres du Gouvernement de Londres, ces officiers continuent par tous les moyens une propagande qui va s'accentuant chaque jour et dont le but avoué est de faire mépriser et haïr la France par les populations indigènes, au risque de susciter des mouvements aussi contraires à leurs propres intérêts qu'aux nôtres. Il ne manque déjà pas de voix en Syrie pour réclamer contre l'"impérialisme anglais," et l'on ne s'aurait s'en étonner en présence d'une multitude de faits aussi offensants pour les droits des Syriens que pour

ceux de la Puissance protectrice. Depuis le jour où les émissaires chérifiens, avec la bienveillante tolérance d'officiers britanniques, devancèrent les troupes [illegible] pour planter sur toute la côte syrienne le drapeau du Roi du Hedjaz, jusqu'à la [illegible] soustraire à l'administration française quatre districts (Hasbeya, Rasbeia, Baalbeck et Safed, formellement compris dans la région dévolue à notre action directe par les accords de 1916, rien n'a été épargné par certains officiers et fonctionnaires de ce [illegible] obligatoire de timbres-poste anglais, la création de journaux, la publication de tracts renfermant les accusations les moins fondées contre nous (par exemple, notre intention prétendue de supprimer l'usage de la langue arabe'), ne sont que des épisodes de cette campagne si peu conforme à l'esprit de conciliation que la France ne cesse, pour sa part, de faire observer par ses officiers.

A la propagande active pour le régime anglo-chérifien correspond, si l'on peut dire, une propagande passive contre tout ce qui peut contribuer à donner aux [illegible] délégations syriennes ou libanaises à destination de Paris, interdiction de débarquer opposée avec entêtement aux demandes réitérées des religieux français de Terre-Sainte, difficultés créées en Egypte aux commerçants français qui veulent reprendre leurs affaires en Palestine ou en Syrie, refus d'accueillir, pour le contingent français, des renforts réclamés d'urgence par les autorités françaises responsables de l'ordre public dans les territoires confiés à leurs soins, refus d'autoriser ces mêmes autorités à créer à Beyrouth, un organisme facilitant le ravitaillement de nos troupes.

Il n'est pas jusqu'à la censure égyptienne qui ne concourre à cette politique, en ordonnant la suppression, dans les journaux, de toute "définition exacte de l'action française en Syrie", c'est cette même censure qui n'a pas craint d'appliquer ses [illegible] scriptions au discours prononcé le 20 décembre, au Parlement français, par [illegible] ministre des Affaires Etrangères.

Il est remarquable que le zèle déployé en Syrie par ces agents britanniques le [illegible] plus souvent, au profit de la souveraineté du Malik du Hedjaz. Grâce à [illegible] complicité de ces agents, l'Emir Feysal, chef de nomades trai[illegible] culture et ses traditions historiques devaient opposer à une domination des Bédouins. Ses émissaires installent partout des fonctionnaires en son nom, arborent son drapeau envers et contre toutes les remontrances justifiées à ce sujet, organisent à leur chef grâce à la complicité des éléments les plus suspects des réceptions triomphales dans les villes où il lui plaît d'affirmer prématurément son triomphe.

Doté par le Gouvernement anglais, l'Emir Feysal dépense la plus grande partie de ses revenus en dons en espèces ou en nature, le plus souvent assez considérables, connaissant la valeur d'arguments de cette espèce auprès des populations orientales. A Alep, à Beyrouth, à Damas où son frère lui succède durant son absence actuelle, il tranche du Souverain, maintient ses garnisons et ses fonctionnaires en face des nôtres, prétend constituer la Syrie en royaume indépendant au nom de Sa Majesté le Roi Husséin et déclare que le Liban, "cette perle de l'Empire arabe," étant "un bien sans maître," il est aussi fondé que quiconque à s'en rendre possesseur.

Il fait entrer ses troupes à Antioche au lendemain même du jour où l'accès de la ville, zone française, a été interdit aux détachements français. Partout reçu et fêté par les officiers britanniques, surtout par le Général Bulfin, auquel il cède les chevaux qui servent à ce général à récompenser toutes les personnalités anti-françaises, l'Emir Feysal encourage ouvertement ses partisans et réussit à inquiéter jusqu'aux Druses et à inquiéter la population musulmane désireuse de se soustraire à l'autorité d'une "théocratie fanatique."

L'attitude de certains agents anglais s'est encore affirmée, lorsque, non contents de décliner la proposition d'un contrôle financier commun limitant les largesses intéressées de l'Emir, ils ont envoyé celui-ci en France à l'insu du Gouvernement français, qui ne fut officiellement prévenu qu'après l'embarquement de l'Emir à Beyrouth. Il y a eu là, au simple point de vue de la correction diplomatique, une faute grave de la part de ceux qui ont pris l'initiative de ce voyage, sans même se préoccuper de ménager la dignité du pays allié dans lequel devait se rendre ce chef arabe.

Le but de toutes ces intrigues, non moins que leur résultat trop évident, a été de mettre chaque fois la France en présence d'un fait accompli. Hier encore, le Haut-Commissaire français se voyait obligé de signaler au Département une marque nouvelle de la désinvolture avec laquelle on traite les engagements signés par la Grande-Bretagne, de sa propre initiative, l'état-major des forces alliées en Palestine-

Syrie s'est permis de modifier d'une manière essentiellement arbitraire la limite des circonscriptions territoriales soumises à l'influence française dans la région d'Alep et en Cilicie.

Le Gouvernement de la République, confiant dans l'esprit amical qui anime le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté britannique, et persuadé qu'il ne peut couvrir les manœuvres de subordonnés mal éclairés, se devait de les relever, afin qu'on ne puisse un jour lui reprocher d'avoir laissé se développer une action de nature à nuire à la [illegible] confiance et intimité qui doit régner entre deux nations unies par des sacrifices et un idéal communs.

Paris, le 6 février 1919. S. P.

[23473] No. 13.

Vice-Admiral Sir S. Calthorpe to Earl Curzon.—(Received February 11.)

(No. 288.) R.
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, February 9, 1919.*

FOLLOWING from General Allenby, dated the 8th February, which he requests may be communicated to War Office:—

[illegible] 7th [illegible] at [illegible] Mo[illegible] W[illegible] [illegible] nformed them that conditions given below were to [illegible] in area under the command of my force. I allowed no argument [illegible] conditions by them. Conditions were as follows:—

"1. Ali Ishan, G.O.C. 6th Army, to be removed.

"2. [illegible] 6th Army to be disarmed, and its guns, machine-guns, and rifles to be handed [illegible] appointed place.

"3. Inhabitants will be disarmed when ordered by me.

"4. Such Turkish gendarmerie in areas under my control as are not requir[illegible] by [illegible]

"5. Turkish gendarmerie in areas under my control to be directly demobilised under my [illegible]

"5. Such Turkish officials as are reported unsatisfactory will be removed by my [illegible] approval.

"6. Armenians will be repatriated by me when this is desirable. Their houses, [illegible]

"7. Facilities shall be given for my officers to visit any places to assist in repatriation [illegible] property of Armenians.

"8. At my discretion I shall arrest any persons charged with crimes and any persons charged [illegible]

"9. I shall control all railways east of Konia.

"10. I shall control all telegraphs and telephones in area under my control. No [illegible]

"11. I propose to repatriate troops of the disbanded 6th Army at the rate of 900 a week, commencing on (date to be arranged later).

"12. Turkish authorities are to surrender all deserters, including those of our [illegible]

"13. It must be understood that I have the power to occupy any place I wish.'

"*Note.*—The word 'continue' in paragraph 8 means: the Egyptian Expeditionary [illegible] power to control Bagdad railways [illegible] hand. Transport by [illegible] Egyptian [illegible] Egypt. Egyptian Expeditionary Force shall have power to prevent Bagdad railways from carrying any kind of traffic at any time.

"[illegible] General [illegible] French and Italian High Commissioners. I informed them of my reasons for visiting Constantinople [illegible]

[25211] No. 14.

Earl Curzon to the Earl of Derby.

(No. 933.)

My Lord [illegible]

THE French Ambassador came to [illegible] and personal, rather than official, conversations, in which he excels, but which not infrequently develop into discussions of a serious and strictly official character. On the present occasion he discoursed for considerably more than an hour upon several aspects of the situation.

To the first of these, namely, the proceedings of the Peace Conference in Paris, [illegible]

A[illegible] dwelt little more than repeat[illegible] the views which he had urged on a previous occasion, and which I have already placed on re[illegible]

I did, however, on this occasion state with much greater fulness than before the opposite side of the [illegible]

In reply to his reminder that the preliminary peace negotiations between France and Germany in 1871 had occupied but a few weeks before the signature of peace, while the territorial and other details had been left to be threshed out afterwards, and had occupied a period of fifteen months, I urged that there was no analogy [illegible] case at this. The fate of Alsace-Lorraine was then determined by the completeness of the German victory; the only two parties to the negotiations were France and Germany, and the determination of the actual frontier was a small matter which could with safety be postponed. Now, in the case of Germany, we were dealing not with one frontier or with one State alone. The whole of Europe was interested in the settlement, the greater part of it was directly involved, the frontiers of Germany could not be determined without in the first place settling the frontiers of various other States, and the solution of these matters, of which I gave Poland as an illustration, was an indispensable preliminary to the drawing up of peace terms and their ultimate dictation to the enemy.

I also explained to the Ambassador the point of view from which the British representatives in Paris had advocated the Prinkipo suggestion. With a view to ascertaining the French attitude, I [illegible] military and forward policy, to declare war a[illegible] and destroy the Bolsheviks Government. But this policy require[illegible] I gathered, none of the great Allies were willing to provi[illegible] expenditure, which none would accept.

M. Cambon agreed that this policy was out of the question.

A middle course might, I pointed out, be pursued by continuing to support the various Russian political groups or quasi-Governments by such means as lay in our power, without actually assisting them with troops or invading Russia.

This policy, the Ambassador thought, had already been rendered futile by its almost complete lack of success. All the various Governments or groups to which I referred were crumbling: the Ukraine had collapsed, Krasnof had disappeared, Denikin could not be trusted to do anything effective, and Omsk seemed to be on the verge of failure. He could not think that any good would result from a continuation of these futile efforts.

M. Cambon accordingly favoured the third alternative, which was to abandon these efforts, to leave the country, and allow Russia to determine her own fate. He admitted the extreme undesirability and danger of a triumphant Bolshevism which would probably combine with Germany to crush Poland and the other States on that side, and which might easily become a menace to the world. But he saw no other [illegible] that any such conclusion, if arrived at and advocated by ourselves, would meet with support in Paris.

In urging the rapid settlement of peace with Germany, the Ambassador said that he contemplated with genuine alarm the situation in which, after months had been [illegible] the German Government which the latter would absolutely decline to accept. In such circumstances, he asked, what would be done?

I replied that the principal weapon which would remain in the hands of the Allies

then would be their military strength, and I hoped that as little as possible would be done to impair it; another weapon would be the military occupation of German territory; a third would be the influence that could still be exercised by the British [illegible] and the fourth, and probably most effective, would be the continuance of the blockade.

This led M. Cambon to urge, with great emphasis, the policy of not yielding to [illegible] pressure of President Wilson and the Americans for the relaxation or raising of the blockade, but resolutely adhering to it until the conclusion of peace.

I informed him that, in a discussion at the War Cabinet that morning, the same view had been expressed and had met with unanimous approval; that I believed it was equally the view of our representatives in Paris; and that, for my own part, I hoped most strongly that we should keep intact what I considered to be the most powerful of the offensive weapons that remained in our hands.

From these subjects the Ambassador passed on to discuss that which was his real [illegible] pation, namely, the uncomfortable condition of affairs that had arisen between [illegible] h and ourselves out of many incidents in the Middle East. He brought [illegible] after another, the numerous cases in which the French Government [illegible] that their officials or sympathisers or subjects had been treated in the most [illegible] by the British civil or military authorities in these regions. He said [illegible] mosphere was being engendered in which, although the individual incidents might sometimes be small, in their totality they could not fail to be injurious to harmonious relations between the two peoples in these countries, while they produced [illegible] not without its dangerous features. He mentioned in turn the refusal by the British military authorities to numerous French subjects and Syrian merchants under French protection of permission to return to Syria; the refusal of the Mesopotamian authorities to allow the French consul to take relief to [illegible] of the same authorities to allow the F[illegible] military authorities in Mesopotamia to turn the French military attaché out of the country. He attributed the greater part of these incidents to the temper and tone of young officers of the Indian army, who came to Mesopotamia, Syria, and [illegible] impregnated with the autocratic ideas and manners which they had acquired in dealing with the natives in India, and who showed an unconcealed hostility to the French. He could only regard these incidents as a deliberate plot to deprive the French of the legitimate objects of their ambition in the East. He further instanced a number of recent incidents in Constantinople, notably the seizure, by the orders of General Milne, of the Ottoman banks. He said that this step, which had been under [illegible] dly discussion between the Allied Powers in that city, was taken by General Milne without notice to anyone, even the British High Commissioner (Admiral Calthorpe), and that it was an abuse of the powers entrusted to the British general officer in command. The Ambassador did not, however, mention the taking over of [illegible] nitary administration of Constantinople by the British High Commissioner a few weeks ago.

In reply, I seized the opportunity to tell the Ambassador that there was another side to the case, which I was quite prepared to place before him, which threw a very different complexion on several of the incidents to which he referred, and the main features of which, speaking from memory, I proceeded to outline. I said that General Allenby seemed throughout not only to have taken up an attitude of rigid impartiality, but to have shown wherever he could not only reasonable, but exceptional, consideration to French claims.

To this the Ambassador did not demur.

I went on to say that, before I accepted the charge against the young officers of the Indian army, I should wish to know whether it was these officers who were at fault, and that, even if the Ambassador were correct in assuming that military service in India le[illegible] to an autocratic manner towards natives, I did not see why a British officer of Indian experience should be any more unfriendly to the French than one who had served in Europe. I said that I should be able to place before M. Cambon a series of cases in which French officers had acted with extreme impetuosity and indiscretion, and had in some cases required the protection and assistance of the British military authorities, because of the unwisdom of their conduct. As regards French action in Syria, I should like him to know that, whereas the French had arranged for a special deputation from the Lebanon, whose impartiality and representative character were open to grave doubt, to proceed from Beirout to Paris to advocate the claims of France, the British authorities had consistently deprecated, and even refused permission for the

embarkation of, many other bodies who had wished to go to Paris in order to state the anti-French side of the case. I said that I thought the Ambassador was mistaken in thinking that the French were everywhere welcomed in the regions to which he was referring, and that, had our attitude been really what he supposed, things might have been made much less pleasant for them than had actually been the case.

As regards the particular incidents in Mesopotamia I replied that the French consul had not been encouraged to go to Mosul, because relief arrangements were [illegible] adequately provided for by the military authorities in that region. I was not familiar with the case of the French consul at Basra. I did, however, deprecate the action which had been proposed by our military authorities with regard to the French military attaché in Bagdad.

In regard to Constantinople, I believed that the action of General Milne in respect of the banks was justified by him on military grounds, and as such fell within his [illegible] general officer in supreme military command. The Committee of [illegible] and Progress in Constantinople was in close touch with these banks, which were also engaged in transactions with German institutions. The prompt suspension of the banks therefore became a matter of military necessity. So little had it been intended to affront the French and Italians, that controllers of those nationalities had been placed in charge on the succeeding day.

When M. Cambon mentioned the subject of the unannounced arrival of the Emir Feisal at Marseilles, I answered that I believed this had been due to a delay in the arrival or decyphering of a telegram, and that really it was too absurd to suppose that [illegible] possibly wish to spring upon the French Government a surprise which, inasmuch as the Emir was going first to their country, they had so many means of meeting. But as regards the Emir Feisal, I said that the boot appeared to me to be upon the other leg, and that I had noted with equal surprise and regret the line which had been taken by leading French newspapers, even those supposed to be in close connection with the French Government, with regard to the statement of his claims which had been made by the Emir at a meeting of the Peace Conference last week. It seemed to me almost an outrage that this Arab potentate, who had been deputed to Paris to represent the views of his father—a monarch who had fought bravely on our side and assisted us to win the war—should, because he stated the claims of his family and race in an extreme form (a form for which we had no responsibility, and one which contained proposals with which I did not in every instance agree), therefore be denounced as a British puppet in receipt of British pay.

I further said that I did not think that an amicable solution of these difficulties was likely to be facilitated by the publication of carefully prepared schemes of French administration, French acquisition, and even French annexation in the entire group of territories from Palestine on the south to the Black Sea on the north, which were being promulgated in France. It was not surprising that claims of this description should excite suspicion, and I agreed with the Ambassador in thinking that it was high time that the air should be cleared.

I also asked leave to tell him quite frankly that, in my view, the main ground of the irritation which existed if it did exist, in Syria and Mesopotamia was the belief that the French were disposed to take undue advantage of the conditions of the Sykes-Picot Agreement, and to insist upon adherence not merely to the spirit but to the [illegible] obsolete and impracticable; which both Governments knew must be superseded by [illegible] cancelled by the Self-Determination Agreement of the French and British Governments in November last. I asked why it should not be possible to admit at once that the Sykes-Picot Agreement was impossible and out of date, and thus to put an end to pretensions based upon it, which were evidently the source of increasing friction [illegible] incidents should be allowed to occur, and that anything of such a nature should be allowed to cloud the atmosphere of Anglo-French relations at a time when the closest co-operation and harmony was in the widest interests essential.

The Ambassador said, in reply, that he would like nothing better than an opportunity of discussing the larger question; that, though he had spoken to me without official inspiration, there was nothing that he would welcome more than official authority to pursue the matter without delay; and that, whether this were accorded to him or not, whether the matter was to be discussed in Paris or elsewhere (and in Paris he seemed to think that an excess of emotion was not balanced by a corresponding excess of knowledge), he thought that nothing but good could result from an interchange of views here.

I gathered from what he said, both on this and previous occasions, that he has in his mind a scheme for the entire settlement of the Syrian question, and that he seeks an opportunity of placing it before the British Government. Whether such a policy would be that of the Quai d'Orsay in Paris or not, I have no means of knowing. But he confessed to a grave feeling of dismay lest, in the absence of President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George, and Signor Orlando, and the alleged illness of Mr. Balfour, the matter should be slurred over or forgotten in Paris, while incidents continue to occur in the Eastern parts of the world which would make an amicable solution more and more difficult. He declared to me his intention of informing M. Pichon of the general character of our conversation and the advice with which he had ended it. I undertook to write to Mr. Balfour and ascertain from him what action was being taken in Paris, and whether any steps should be taken here.

My own position would, I feel, be rendered easier by a clear understanding on this point, for it is more than embarrassing to listen every week to long statements of French grievances, coupled with urgent appeals for an early consideration of the matter in its widest aspect, and to find myself in a position where I can say so little in reply.

I am, &c.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[24702] **No. 15**

Mr. Balfour to Earl Curzon.—(Received February 13.)

(No. 64.)

MR. BALFOUR presents his compliments to Lord Curzon, and transmits herewith notes respecting Italian interests in Turkey in Asia.

British Delegation, Paris,
February 12, 1919.

Enclosure 1 in No. 15

M. de Martino to Lord Hardinge.

Délégation italienne à la Conférence de la Paix,
Paris, le 6 février, 1919.

Mon cher Ambassadeur,

CONFORMÉMENT au désir que vous avez bien voulu m'exprimer à l'occasion de notre conversation d'hier, je m'empresse de vous fournir quelques indications concernant la situation actuelle de l'Italie par rapport aux questions de la Turquie d'Asie.

1. Les demandes de M. Vénizélos concernant l'Asie Mineure s'étendent sur une partie considérable de la zone qui a été reconnue aux intérêts italiens par suite des accords avec les Alliés. Une commission technique va se réunir incessamment pour examiner ces demandes. Il semble opportun qu'une entente s'établisse entre les Alliés avant de discuter les aspirations grecques.

2. Les accords entre les Alliés sont les suivants:

Convention de mai 1914, entre les sociétés anglaise et italienne, conclue sous les [illegible] du Chemin de fer Smyrne-Aïdin et prolongement.

Article 9 du Traité de Londres du 26 avril, 1915.

Entente de Saint-Jean de Maurienne (avril 1917).

Accord anglo-franco-italien du 18 août, 1917.

3. Nous ne pouvons pas nous ranger à la thèse que ce dernier accord n'est plus valable parce qu'il manque de l'assentiment du Gouvernement russe, mais nous [illegible] En tout cas, tant que de nouveaux accords ne soient intervenus, l'accord de 1917 lie les parties contractantes.

4. Nous ne faisons pas d'objection, pour ce qui nous concerne, au point de vue exposé dans la déclaration anglo-française de novembre dernier, qui concerne simplement les principes d'administration des territoires envisagés, mais ne touche pas le fond de la question, c'est-à-dire le principe de proportionnalité et d'équité. Du reste,

la note du Marquis Impériali du 6 novembre, 1918, contient une dé[illegible] celle des deux Gouvernements alliés.

5. Le Gouvernement italien, pour démontrer son attitude [illegible] tenir compte du desir à maintes reprises exprimé par le Gouver[illegible] ne se refuserait pas à faire des concessions à la Grèce, à condition d'être assuré que le restant de la zone reconnue d'intérêts italiens soit mis hors de contestation, et [illegible] telles en faveur de la Grèce comportent des [illegible] e l'Italie.

[illegible] après des concessions éventuelles à la Grèce, soit assuré à l'Ita[illegible] et qu'il admet en principe que ces concessions à la Grèce comportent des co[illegible] lesquelles devraient être négociées amiablement entre les Alliés.

Je suis à votre disposition pour tout éclaircissement ultérieur, et je saisis, &c.

G. DE MARTINO

Enclosure 2 in No. 15

Lord Hardinge to M. de Martino

Dear M. de Martino,

February 11, 1919

I WISH to thank you for the note which [illegible] on the 6th February, concerning the views of the Italian [illegible] to the question of Asiatic Turkey.

These views have been laid by me before Mr Balfour, but having regard to the [illegible] pending the final decision of the Conference. [illegible] has, however, been [illegible] the questions in dispute between Gr[illegible]

[illegible]rds the agreement of 1917, I am instructed to draw the attention of the Italian Government to Mr Balfour's note to Marquis Imperiali of the 26th November, a copy of which is enclosed herein for convenience of reference.*

I believe me, &c.

HARDINGE OF PENSHURST

[25904]

No. 16

The Earl of Derby to Earl Curzon.—(Received February 17.)

(No. 321.) [By Bag.]

(Telegraphic. *En clair.*)

Paris, February 14, 1919

MY telegram No. 192 of 28th January and Sir G. Graham's telegram No. 262 of 5th February.

Further note from French Government states that in view of certain measures [illegible] during past few weeks [illegible] French Government consider it expedient to draw attention of His Majesty's Government to the unilateral nature of decisions carried out by British authorities without concurrence of French General and Admiral entrusted respectively with [illegible]

It is observed that fact of French Government having agreed to allow British [illegible] of Allies does not imply any abandon[illegible] officers in question, wh[illegible]

French Government consider that these separate initiatives on [illegible] necessary, more especially as regards measures taken in respect of control of (1) police, (2) banks, and (3) railways.

As regards (1) French Government express surprise that step affecting safety of

* See Part I, No. 37.

troops could have been taken without consulting in any way General Franchet d'Esperey, Commander-in-chief of Allied Ar[illegible]

As regards (2) French Government point out that note by which French representative was informed of occupation of enemy banks, stated that detachments of British troops employed for this purpose had no need of assistance of French troops, and that British officer had already been instructed to assume general control of occupied of[illegible] In opinion of French Government these two points are irreconcilable both with equality [illegible] rights of occupying Powers and with predominance of French interests in banks at Const[illegible]

As [illegible] French Government state that they learn that General M[illegible] proposes to set up an exclusively British control of railways in Turkey in Asia, but that in view of importance of French interests invested in these enterprises French Govern[illegible]

French [illegible] interests by British High Commissioner and military authorities have already been spread abroad, and have much disturbed French public opinion, which takes special interest in Mediterranean questions, and would not understand that the hereditary influence exercised for many ages in the Turkish Empire should be ruined by the very Ally in whom she placed her fullest confidence.

French Government being anxious to avoid any dissension among Allies, beta[illegible] Turks, but rightly anxious to safeguard interests of her nationals in the [illegible] that a Commission composed of British and French [illegible] immediately at Paris to settle conditions for rigorous execution in Turkey [illegible] luded by Allies concerning conduct of war and application of clauses of armistice. They propose to appoint following representatives on this Commission: M. Se[illegible] Under Secretary of State at Ministry of Finance, M. Gout, who is a Ma[illegible] [illegible], and M. Kammerer, who has rank of consul g[illegible]

[illegible]ling appointment of British delegates, French Government hope that, [illegible]cordance with wish expressed by M. Pichon in his note of the 5th February ([illegible] 262) His Majesty's Government will at once request [illegible] to refrain from taking any initiative calculated [illegible] tation with their [illegible]

(Copy sent Peace Delegation.)

[17673]

No. 17

Earl Curzon to Mr. Balfour.

[illegible]

Foreign Office, February 21, 1919.

THE French Ambassador called upon Sir R. Graham on the 30th January and spoke with regard to the proposals for British and French co-operation in the oil [illegible] Excellency left a paper which is being dealt with separately.

M. [illegible]mion then said, that, although speaking without authority from the French Government, he desired to call Sir R. Graham's serious attention to the attitude of the British military authorities in the Middle and Near East towards the French, and the series of small but disagreeable incidents which were continually arising between the British and French in that part of the world. He recognised that nothing of this kind could seriously affect the good relations which existed, and must continue to exist, [illegible] the British and French Governments. At the same time they were [illegible]d to produce a very real feeling of irritation and mistrust. His Excellency [illegible] to the treatment of the French consul at Bagdad, and the French [illegible]tary attaché by the General Officer Commanding in Mesopotamia, and complained further that, although under the agreement of 1916 the control of Mosul has been allotted to France, the British military authorities were refusing permission to any French agents or officers to proceed there. He realised perfectly well that there were important oil deposits at Mosul of which the British desired to obtain control. French interests at Mosul were not vital, and although they held to the agreement come to, the French Government would probably be very ready to surrender their rights in Mosul in return for participation in the development of the oil industry in the district. There was, however, another locality in which no compromise was possible. This was

Syria. His Excellency recognised that French interests in the country were possibly rather sentimental than material, and that French feeling in regard to them was exaggerated. At the same time the feeling that existed was very strong indeed. Yet in spite of the agreement, which gave France a predominant rôle in Syria, the British military authorities were doing [illegible] proper path, due to damage French influence and prestige. When the French Government made complaints on the subject, the Foreign Office sheltered behind the War Office, and the War Office behind the forceful personality of the British general officer commanding. His Excellency [illegible] cited one or two cases in which General Allenby or his subordinates had, he alleged, behaved with scant consideration to French officers. He accused our subordinate officers of encouraging a local campaign against the French and a future French [illegible] General Allenby was now objecting to a small French force being despatched to Beirout. It was, however, absolutely necessary for French authority and prestige that there should be a greater display of French military force in Syria. At present the inhabitants only saw, or believed in, the British Army. M. Cambon concluded by [illegible] that both the letter and spirit of the Agreement of 1916 should be carried into effect, and he expressed his conviction that no serious imputation would ever be cast on British good faith in the matter.

Sir R. Graham replied to his Excellency that, speaking with even less authority but equal frankness, he felt bound to say that we had received certain recent communications from the French [illegible] this and kindred matters with surprise. Their tone was quite unwarranted by the facts of the situation. Peace had not yet been [illegible] the Middle East had not yet been [illegible] by the Peace Conference. General Allenby was responsible not only for military [illegible] but also for order and good government in the occupied districts. If, as Sir R. Graham believed, he considered that the arrival of fresh French troops would be a danger, he was perfectly right to insist upon his point. The General had acted with perfect loyalty throughout, and had appointed French officers to administer the French areas whenever this was possible. But we had heard through General Clayton how ineffective and unsatisfactory the young officers appointed had been. General Allenby had pressed for the despatch of competent French administrative officials, but instead of that only an increase of military forces was contemplated.

M. Cambon said that what was now wanted was rath[illegible] force, but that he noted with interest the suggestion [illegible] officials, and would like to have it made to him officially [illegible] ght be considered by his Government. H[illegible]ver, if such officials arrived, they would have to take their [illegible] would have a certain degree of independence [illegible] re not encouraging. Sir R. Graham replied that it seemed to him evident that so long as General Allenby was com[illegible] all officials would have to take orders fro[illegible]

CURZON OF KEDLESTON

30046

Earl Curzon to the Earl of Derby.

M[illegible]

Foreign Office, February 25, 1919.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 387 of the 24th instant, relative to the Anglo-French difficulty in Constantinople, I transmit to your Excellency herewith a copy of a memorandum prepared by my direction in this Department setting forth the various points at issue, together with a further memorandum drawn up at the War Office,* making certain additions to these points.

These memoranda will, I think, make the present position qu[illegible] Excellency.

Meanwhile it is proposed that the C[illegible] of the Imperial General [illegible] pressed to P[illegible] take up the matter with the French [illegible] and, if circumstances permit, with the President of the Council himself.

[illegible]

CURZON OF KEDLESTON

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* Not printed.

Enclosure in No. 18

Memorandum respecting Anglo-French Difficulties at Constantinople.

General.

1. WE must insist that the situation in Syria is on an entirely different footing from that at Constantinople and that no possible parallel exists between them.

Syria is in the military occupation of a victorious army, and no Government or authority exists there save that which the General in command may consider it advisable to impose.

[illegible] at all; it is the seat of the Turkish [illegible] t, and the proper channel for all communications [illegible] Commissioners who have been appointed for that purpose.

A[illegible] of war still exists between the Allies and Turkey, and no measures [illegible] existence of a state of war should be taken.

[illegible] view of the British military authorities is that General Franchet d'Esperey's [illegible] and is confined to the territories of those countries against which he has conducted [illegible] other territories as may fall within his sphere as a [illegible] ral headquarters at Constantinople [illegible] with the Balkans via Constanza.

[illegible] and in accordance with the arrangement reached at Versailles on the [illegible] of interference there than General Allenby would have, say [illegible] Malta in [illegible] The relations between General Franchet d'Esperey [illegible] Turkey are entirely a matter of military discipline, but neither General has [illegible] Turkey [illegible] being in effective military occupation, to [illegible] save purely military matters affecting his command, [illegible] Turkish Government on all other questions being reserved to the H[illegible]

Particular.

1. *Taking over of Police and Sanitation of Constantinople.*

The French complain that this step was taken without previous consultation with [illegible] merely not disputed that the measure was desirable in itself, and our military authorities hold that General M[illegible] officer in effective command at the time, was justified in taking this step on purely military grounds.

2. *Gendarmerie.*

General Franchet d'Esperey's intention, apparently, is to institute, in co-operation with the Turkish Government, a gendarmerie force under Colonel Fenton for the whole of Turkey, both European and Asiatic.

Such a scheme conflicts in three important respects with the general principles mentioned in the first part of this m[illegible]

(a.) It ignores the state of war, the institution of a gendarmerie by a French [illegible] war in an enemy country being obviously incompatible with war conditions.

(b.) It contemplates the exercise of authority in what is claimed to be an exclusively British military sphere.

(c.) It is not a purely military matter, and therefore is outside General Franchet [illegible]

[illegible] General Milne were to approach the Government at Sophia with a scheme [illegible] under a French officer is ad[illegible]

3. *Banks.*

Here, too, it is agreed that action was desirable and the Allied High Commissioners had just come to [illegible] tunate mistake, and some regret [illegible]

4. *Railways.*

We had been given to understand by Admiral Calthorpe that a satisfactory arrangement had been reached [illegible] whole intricate question of the ultimate disposal of the Turkish railway [illegible] must be decided by the Peace Conference, and, pending such decision and the resumption of peaceful [illegible] ble and sensible arrangement [illegible]

[illegible]

tion ought to be susceptible of arrangement locally and is [illegible] a purely [illegible]

5. *Censorship.*

General Franchet [illegible] General's action in ignoring the [illegible] thority of the latter and [illegible]

7. *Arrest and Punishment of Turkish* [illegible]

General Franchet d'Esperey has interfered with the arrangements which we had made for the arrest and custody of Turkish offenders. He insists that guilty persons in occupied territory should be arrested and [illegible] Turks, and that preliminary proceedings against them [illegible] Turks, and that preliminary the Turks cannot be treated [illegible] nits. Our contention is that escape of Rechid Bey, and [illegible] safe custody, as witness the recent take place in [illegible] proceedings should [illegible] Conference. The matter is under discussion with the French Government, to whom we have intimated that if they are [illegible] ment to any other safe place which they [illegible]

[illegible] he present connexion as showing the universal [illegible] ry's propensity for interference.

8. *Proposed Visit of General Franchet d'Esperey to Black Sea Ports.*

[illegible]

[31750] No. 19

The Earl of Derby to the [illegible] *Delegate, &c.*

[illegible]

[illegible] with a copy of the previous note, and I have only received it to-day.

I have, &c.
DERBY

[illegible]

Notes respecting attitude of Sherefian Authorities.

(1.)

[illegible] ant d'être avisé par son Haut Commissaire [illegible] ités seraient également sérieuses pour la [illegible]

Riza Pacha, a[illegible] commandant en chef eût accrédité auprès de lui le payeur principal [illegible] reconnaît maintenant qu'il a en effet reçu à ce sujet un conseil du G.H.Q., mais qu'il ne se considère nullement comme lié par cette communication.

Le cas [illegible] Par ailleurs, le Gouvernement [illegible] français auprès de l'autorité locale à Damas [illegible] Cette situation constitue [illegible] entraver dans sa mission et constitutionnaire délégué dans le même but par le Gouvernement anglais.

[illegible] péril évident et grave à laisser ainsi soustraire à toute surveillance, [illegible] vernements connexes qu'ils se consentent en vue d'assurer la marche régulière de l'administration locale.

[illegible] à gérer à eux seuls leurs [illegible] qui se croient assez nombreux par certaines autorités [illegible] refuser à tout contrôle des fonds considérables qu'ils remploient à la propagande [illegible] active et toujours la [illegible]

Paris, le 14 février [illegible]

(2.)

En se référant [illegible] 1919, relative à l'attitude des autorités chérifiennes vis-[illegible] Moulin, conseiller financier français, le Ministre des Affaires Étrang[illegible] ler à nouveau l'attention de l'Ambassade de Sa Majesté britannique sur l'urgence que présente [illegible] question où les deux G[illegible] avaient également intéressés.

Le Haut Commissaire de la République en Syrie vient de communiquer au Département, sous la da[illegible] 14 février dernier, des renseignements d'où il ressort que [illegible] frontière de la zone de Damas [illegible]

[illegible] état de choses aussi regrettable se prolonge au détriment de [illegible] de ses intérêts. Il

serait donc très obligé à l'Ambassade de vouloir bien insister auprès du Gouvernement de Sa Majesté afin que le Commandement militaire anglais en Syrie reçoive les instructions nécessaires pour faire respecter par les fonctionnaires chérifiens en accord avec le Haut Commissaire de la République le droit de contrôle que les Alliés se sont engagés à exercer à cet égard.

Paris, le 21 février, 1919.

138361

No. 20

Earl Curzon to the Earl of Derby.

(No. 408.)

My Lord,

Foreign Office, March 5, 1919.

THE weekly visit of the French Ambassador to the Foreign Office provided him with an opportunity of raising several points of minor and [illegible] or two of [illegible] importance.

He was concerned with the present position of the Jaffa [illegible] Railway, the French ownership and management of which had been completely set on one side since the commencement of the war in Palestine, but which he thought might now be safely reinstated in the general interest. He strongly urged that representations might be made to General Allenby to this effect.

The next question raised by the Ambassador related to the proposal to send a French financial adviser to Persia. This the French Government had been requested by the Persian [illegible] to do, and, in view of their previous connection with the [illegible] Government had no political interests or ambitions in Persia, which they frankly recognise falls within the British sphere of influence, and, if we desired that they should not comply with the request, they were quite willing to desist. The Ambassador informed me that he believed that the Persian Government had addressed a somewhat similar appeal for assistance to America. I replied that I was not [illegible] least surprised at the information, because it was the fashion [illegible] not merely two strings, but half a dozen strings [illegible] very Oriental [illegible] was to employ one Power against the other [illegible] however to be [illegible]

[illegible] position in Persia itself. In view of the [illegible] was being kept upon her financial legs exclusively by Great Britain [illegible] ing for her army; to some extent for [illegible] Great Britain. If the French Government [illegible] whether we thought it desirable that the French should [illegible] been addressed to them I could only answer in the [illegible] to a note which he handed to me, and has a com[illegible]

His Excellency [illegible] to a discussion of the situation as regards [illegible] He said he was not at all clear in his own mind as to what ought [illegible] of that city, whether the Turks should be expelled or not from [illegible] international administration should, in the former [illegible] up in its place, or whether Constantinople should be handed over to the ch[illegible] mandatory Power. He was not aware of the opinions of his own [illegible] [illegible] impression that any decision had be[illegible] them, but as I had devoted a good deal of my life to a study of the question of the East, he would like to discuss the matter with me, and [illegible] my views with a view to forming his own. I replied that I [illegible] not speak officially on the part of His Majesty's Government, for two reasons. In the first place, although the matter had be[illegible] [illegible] had [illegible]

[illegible] not desired my personal views, [illegible] wider significance, I was quite prepared to give them.

I may say, in passing, that my part[illegible] for desiring to give them, and for [illegible] the op[illegible] it afforded to [illegible] r doing so, was that I wished to divert the

[illegible] the future controlling power of Constantinople themselves. Differing opinions [illegible] held as to the degree of advantage or peril resulting from such an arrangement [illegible] a disturbing force in the [illegible] ministration of Constantinople was international or was consigned to an individual [illegible] ever so long as the Turkish Government remained there, Stambul would be the [illegible]

one of the stated objects of the Allies since the [illegible] in the event of Allied victory Constantinople [illegible] promised by Great Britain and France to Russia.

Personally I [illegible] this promise to Russia as one of the great mistakes of the [illegible] I could not understand how the British and French Governments had ever agreed to such a concession [illegible] ich the Ambassador expressed his cordial agre[illegible] Russian itself, I should have regarded it as [illegible] down the Bosphorus, and involved in all the dangers and intrigues of the Mediterranean and the Levant.

[illegible] ed to the other great European Powers, [illegible] ly unwisely in their own as well as in the public [illegible] sh a turn. Were the invitation addressed to my [illegible] n their hands, urging that, as Britain was the [illegible] world and as all the countries between Europe and [illegible] a fell more or less within the locus [illegible] our influence the gate of the East should therefore, naturally, be entrusted to our hands, I would yet, if the decision rested with me, decline to be tempted by such an offer and would unhesitatingly refuse it.

[illegible] know what was the view entertained in France. I was aware that [illegible] in her position I sho[illegible] warm friend of France. I was greatly surprised, and indeed [illegible] moment when although she had reached the south of her [illegible] security which she already possesses in so many parts of the world, be apparently [illegible] s to extend the sphere of her influence so as to embrace Tangier on the one side. [illegible] eagerness with which European Powers, alre[illegible]

out for fresh loads which would certainly be troublesome, and might even be crushing in the days to [illegible] People in England [illegible] I viewed with no small apprehension the future that it opened up and the responsibility which it might entail. If I held these views about Palestine [illegible] Constantinople. Unattractive as the prospect of an international administration [illegible] I would myself prefer to see it set up on the Bosphorus rather than that any [illegible] Power should undertake the task. I did not see why, in the limited territorial area that might be left to such an administration in the event of the expulsion of the Turks and of the restricted functions which it would be called upon to perform, an international body or commission might not be charged with the task. There could hardly be any misgovernment because there would be so little to govern. The questions concerned would be mainly those of commerce and navigation, and with the disappearance of the Turk the greater part of the opportunity for intrigue would disappear also.

[illegible] were the views which my study of the question had led me to form, but I repeated in conclusion that they were only those of a student and traveller and carried no official authority. The Ambassador appeared to attach greater importance to my utterances than I was disposed to do myself, and said that they accorded in the main with the opinions he had himself formed.

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON

(36425)

M. Cambon to Earl Curzon.—(Received March 7.)

PAR une note en date du 30 janvier dernier, l'Ambassadeur de France avait attiré l'attention du Gouvernement britannique sur la situation de la Société française du Chemin de fer de Jaffa à Jérusalem, telle qu'elle se trouvait exposée dans une communication de son directeur, M. Pavie, au Général Allenby, en date du 23 décembre dernier.

Le grand quartier général anglais en Asie Mineure a répondu à M. Pavie, le 16 janvier, qu'il n'était pas à présent en mesure de traiter ce qui touche la politique d'après guerre des chemins de fer militaires.

[illegible] a pris connaissance de cette réponse de notre [illegible] français engagés dans le Chemin de fer de Jaffa à [illegible] M. Pichon estime que cette société doit bénéficier des droits reconnus à [illegible] autres entreprises similaires dans les territoires occupés de la Turquie d'A[illegible]

Le Gouvernement français a invité M. Paul Cambon à demander au Gouvern[illegible] britannique de bien vouloir envoyer des instruct[illegible] quartier général du Général Allenby pour que la situation du chemin de [illegible] question ne soit plus l'objet du régime particulier qui lui est actuellement appliqué.

M. Paul Cambon, saisit, &c.

Ambassade de France, Londres,
le 5 mars, 1919.

[40673]

No. [illegible]

Mr. Balfour to Earl Curzon.—(Received March 14.)

(No. [illegible])

My Lord,

British Delegation, Paris, March 12, 1919.

I HAVE to refer to a note communicated to His Majesty's Ambassador here by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs on the 6th February regarding Franco-British relations in the occupied territories of Turkey in Asia, which was transmitted to you officially by Lord Derby. I now transmit to you a copy of a further memorandum handed to Lord Milner by M. Pichon on the 8th March on the same subject.

I should be glad to be informed of the reply which has been, or may eventually be, sent to M. Pichon's memorandum of the 6th February, and at the same time to be

furnished with your Lordship's observations on the specific incidents referred to in the memorandum enclosed, so far as they are not already covered by the reply sent or to be sent by the Foreign Office to M. Pichon's previous communication.

I am, &c.
(For Mr. Balfour),
LOUIS MALLET

Enclosure 1 in No. 22.

Memorandum communicated by M. Pichon to Lord Milner.

RELEVÉ DE QUELQUES-UNES DES MENÉES DIRIGÉES CONTRE L'INFLUENCE FRANÇAISE ET CONTRE LES [illegible] EN ASIE MINEURE.

Territoires syriens soustraits à l'influence française.

LE 27 octobre, 1918, le Haut-Commissaire français en Palestine informe le [illegible] la [illegible]

Le [illegible] M. [illegible] le Général Allenby a [illegible] de Safed à l'administration française.

Le 22 janvier, M. Picot a été avisé par Sir Mark Sykes que le fait de la [illegible] est inst[illegible]

(2.)

Patriarche chaldéen.

Le [illegible] autorités britanniques des nouvelles du Patriarche chaldéen du Mossoul.

Le 17 novembre, il avise le Département qu'il n'a pas encore la ré[illegible]

Même communication le 23 novembre.

Le [illegible] M. [illegible] française que le Patriarche, faute de secours, se trouve dans une misère noire.

Le consul de France à Bassora télégraphie le [illegible] février, 1919, que le Colonel Leachman a ordonné au Patriarche de ne même pas répondre aux lettres annonçant les envois de fonds par le Gouvernement français.

Le consul de France à Bassora télégraphie le 12 janvier, 1919, qu'il ignore encore à cette date si le Patriarche a enfin reçu les fonds à lui destinés.

Le [illegible] avise le Département, le 24 janvier, 1919, que le Patriarche, arrivé la veille à Bagdad, a voyagé dans un wagon à bestiaux et que personne n'a été le saluer à la gare de la part des Anglais.

(3.)

Secours aux Indigents de Mossoul.

Le 6 novembre, 1918, le Département envoie au consul de France à Bassora, M. [illegible] le Mossoul, [illegible] le Cabinet de Londres de ses intentions à cet égard.

Le 14 [illegible] M. [illegible] que plusieurs indigènes [illegible] déjà pu rentrer dans cette ville, avise le Département qu'il sollicite des autorités anglaises la même permission.

Le 16 novembre, M. Balfour informe M. P. Cambon qu'il est obligé [illegible] consentir au voyage de nos représentants de prendre au préalable l'avis du Commandant en Chef anglais.

Le 17 [illegible] M. [illegible] Département [illegible] plus d'une agence s'occupe de cette question.

Le 20 novembre, M. R[illegible] fait savoir au Département que le Chef [illegible]

lui a répondu que les autorités militaires anglaises en voient pas le moyen de modifier les précédents ordres.

Le 23 novembre, M. Roux signale que l'argent recueilli par la Croix-Rouge de Bagdad est mis à la disposition des fonctionnaires britanniques de Mossoul pour secourir les misérables de la ville. Le même jour, M. Balfour répond à M. P. Cambon qu'il attend l'avis des autorités militaires britanniques pour autoriser nos agents à g[illegible] Mossoul.

Le 30 décembre, 1918, M. Roux télégraphie qu'en vue d'obvier aux difficultés [illegible] parvenir la somme dont il est chargé par des traités à son ordre.

Le 6 janvier, 1919, M. Roux et le Commandant Sciard, au bout de près de deux mois d'attente inutile, confient la distribution des secours à Mgr Sero[illegible]

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(4)

Colonel Leachman.

[illegible] Bassora télégraphie le 26 novembre, 1918, que le Lieutenant-[illegible] té désigné comme administrateur civil de la ville et du vilayet de Mossoul, dont le Gouvernement britannique a assumé la charge, par le Général Marshall.

Le même télégraphie le 25 décembre au Département que le Colonel Leachman a réuni les membres des communautés pour leur défendre de recevoir de l'argent français et de répondre aux instructions envoyées à ce sujet par le consul de France.

Le 8 février une dépêche de M. Roux confirme la précédente. Le Colonel Leachman a interdit les secours français sous peine de punition. En revanche, il en fait distribuer au nom de l'Angleterre et autorise un missionnaire américain faisant [illegible] la propagande anglaise à circuler librement dans la région de Mossoul. Le C[illegible] Leachman a préféré devant le Patriarche chaldéen la menace de la déportation.

[illegible] 10 janvier, M. Roux informe le Département que le Colonel Leachman refuse à l'archevêque arménien de Bagdad le droit de télégraphier ses vœux de nouvelle année au consul de France, et le force à restituer aux Turcs de petits esclaves arméniens qu'il a naguère retrouvés.

Le Commandant Sciard télégraphie que le Lieutenant Colonel Leachman répand [illegible] Mésopotamie le bruit de violents mouvements antifrançais en Syrie ainsi qu'au Liban, et d'une révolte contre la garnison française de Beyrouth.

(5)

Propagande anglaise.

Le 28 novembre, 1918, le consul de France à Bassora signale au Departe[illegible] l'intensité croissante de la propagande anglaise en Mésopotamie sur les notables et les chefs musulmans, pour les amener à réclamer le protectorat anglais.

Le 3 décembre, le même consul de France télégraphie en rendant compte de l'état d'esprit fâcheux à l'égard de la France créé par la propagande zélée des fonctionnaires [illegible]

[illegible] dre, le même signale l'ouverture de bureaux de poste civile anglais en [illegible] Mossoul [illegible] anglaise à Mossoul, où les anglais cherchent à entretenir l'impression qu'ils doivent y rester.

Le 8 février, M. Roux annonce que le drapeau anglais a été officiellement hissé, en zone fra[illegible]

M. G. Picot signale le 3 décembre, 1918, à l'issue de sa tournée dans le Liban, la mauvaise humeur sensible des officiers anglais à l'égard des démonstrations en sa faveur. A Sgorto, ces officiers proclament l'annulation des accords de 1916.

(7.)

M. Picot signale le 4 décembre, 1918, qu'une garnison chérifienne est entrée à Antioche le lendemain du jour où on a refusé l'entrée de la ville aux contingents français.

(8.)

Le consul de France à Larnaca télégraphie en date du 9 décembre, 1918, que l'Intelligence Service de Famagouste travaille les Druses en faveur de l'Angleterre et envoie des émissaires recueillir des signatures en ce sens dans le Liban.

(9)

M. G. Picot signale dans sa dépêche du 10 décembre que l'Emir Zeid, dépense sans compter, à Damas, pour la propagande chérifienne, l'argent que l'Angleterre et la France lui avancent pour les besoins de l'administration.

(10)

Officiers anglais en Syrie.

M. Coulondre, délégué du Haut-Commissaire français en Palestine-Syrie, déclare ce qui suit :

[illegible] Général Allenby [illegible] Faisal se [illegible] pour confier à l'administration française certains territoires occupés ne sauraient en aucune façon engager l'avenir.

Le Général Bulfin déclare aux Syriens que les représentants français n'engagent que leur responsabilité personnelle en procédant à l'organisation futur du pays.

Le Général Bulfin refuse d'amener le drapeau chérifien et de relever de leurs fonctions les autorités chérifiennes dans les villes de la zone d'action française ; il faut un ordre exprès du Commandant en Chef pour le forcer à reconnaître nos droits.

(11)

Le [illegible] 27 [illegible] tiennent, augmentant l'anarchie et la terreur dans le pays.

[illegible] signale dans sa dépêche du 28 décembre, 1918, que les Chérifiens [illegible] de leur propagande antifrançaise en zone [illegible] leurs garnisons en face des nôtres, malgré les ordres mêmes du Général Allenby. Proclamations et manifestations antifrançaises à Beyrouth et à Saïda provoquées par des appels séditieux d'origine chérifienne.

(13)

Le consul de France à Port-Saïd télégraphie le 31 décembre, 1918, que les délégués libanais arrêtés par la police égyptienne le 27 décembre n'ont pu repartir ; il faut attendre les ordres du Général Allenby ou du Haut-Commissaire britannique au Caire.

(14.)

Censure égyptienne.

M. [illegible] Département en date du [illegible] que la Censure égyptienne a reçu l'ordre de signaler au G.Q.G. anglais les pièces émanant de fonctionnaires français et faisant mention du refus opposé par les autorités britanniques au départ des délégués syriens.

Le 7 janvier, M. Pontalis, signale [illegible] discours de M. P[illegible] la France en Sy[illegible] W[illegible] du Général Allenby.

Le 9 janvier, le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères télégraphie à Londres sa protestation très vive contre cette mesure.

Le 18 janvier, M. Pontalis informe le Département que le seul résultat de cette protestation a été de faire publier par les autorités britanniques un résumé du discours en question en y omettant toute allusion à la Palestine. La Censure continue à laisser à nos adversaires toute liberté de s'exprimer [illegible]

(15.)

Commandant Sciard.

Le Commandant Sciard signale le 3 janvier, 1919, que l'on cherche à déchiffrer ses télégrammes de service.

Il télégraphie le 4 janvier que le Colonel Wilson, Civil Commissioner à Bagdad a télégraphié à Londres pour réclamer le rappel du chef de la Mission militaire fran[illegible] archiviste honoraire du consulat français de Bagdad. Le Commandant Sciard et [illegible] sont surveillés.

Le Commandant Sciard informe par dépêche du 9 janvier le Ministre de la Guerre qu'il a reçu du chef d'Etat Major général britannique une lettre l'invitant au nom du Général Marshall à quitter la Mésopotamie aussitôt. Le 11 janvier, l'Etat Major britannique prend les dispositions destinées à assurer son départ avant d'avoir reçu les réponses de Londres et de Paris.

Le 14 janvier, le Chargé d'Affaires de France à Londres avise qu'il a protesté contre l'expulsion arbitraire et inamicale du Commandant Sciard par les autorités militaires anglaises.

(16.)

L'Amiral Gueyard télégraphie le 8 janvier que les autorités britanniques pour[illegible] nettement et par les moyens les moins recommandables une politique [illegible] Il signale notamment :

Le Général Bulfin, qui s'acharne en toute occasion à desservir la France.
[illegible] Bey et Haddad Bey.
[illegible] Général Belo.
Le Général Mahney, qui a donné l'ordre de " faire du bruit en Syrie pour contrecarrer l'action de la France.

Le Général Clayton, principal agent de la politique antifrançaise.
Le Colonel Storrs, Gouverneur de Jérusalem (territoire int[illegible]
L'autorisation d'a[illegible] en Palestine, toujours accordée aux p[illegible] refusée aux pétrin et même à nos ressortissants.
Le War Trade Department nous suscite partout de grandes difficultés.

(17.)

Le Commandant Sarrou signale dans son rapport en date du 13 janvier que lors de sa tournée au Caire et à Alexandrie, du 3 au 7 janvier, l'Alliance libanaise et l'Alliance syrienne continuaient avec acharnement leur campagne de presse antifrançaise. Le [illegible] soutient par tous les moyens à sa disposition la propagande intense menée contre notre action en Syrie ; à signaler le Colonel Lawrence et le Général Clayton.

(18.)

M. Picot signale dans sa dépêche du 14 janvier que la propagande chérifienne redouble d'intensité, les agents extorquent par la menace ou par l'or des signatures en faveur du Malik. Une coopérative d'officiers britanniques encourage cette propagande [illegible] pour son [illegible] Les faits se passent à Beyrouth et en zone d'action directe française.

(19.)

M. Georges Picot signale au Département le 19 janvier, 1919 [illegible] Chef des forces britanniques en Syrie me fait savoir à l'atta[illegible] s'oppose à l'envoi des renforts pour le corps expéditionnaire français.

(20.)

L'Amiral du Cassard télégraphie le 22 janvier, 1919, que le retour à Jérusalem du Patriarche Damianos est exploité par les Anglais contre l'influence française et que le mouvement est dirigé par le Général Storrs, Gouverneur de Jérusalem.

(21.)

Le consul de France à Larnaca avise le Département par sa dépêche du 27 janvier qu'il a été informé des sommes considérables que les autorités anglaises dépensent en S[illegible] pour détruire l'influence française, contre laquelle elle subventionnent notamment [illegible] journaliste égyptien Kouri. L'action anglaise à Chypre est de jour en jour plus [illegible]able.

(22.)

[illegible] en date du 28 janvier que les agents [illegible] à signer une pétition demandant [illegible] moment en Syrie.

(23.)

M. Georges Picot télégraphie au Département en date du 11 février, 1919 : Le Commandant en Chef des forces alliées en Syrie a fait notifier par le général commandant le XXIe Corps britannique au Capitaine de vaisseau Duchemin, commandant la base navale de Beyrouth que ce port était sous son seul contrôle et sous l'autorité unique du délégué du G.H.Q., le rôle de l'officier français se bornant à la liaison avec les forces navales françaises.

(24.)

Le Capitaine de vaisseau Duchemin ne relevant, en vertu des instructions formelles qu'il a reçues, que de l'Amiral Nancy, il est inadmissible que l'Etat-Major britannique en Syrie veuille mettre à profit l'absence momentanée du Général Allenby pour tenter d'évincer de ses fonctions un officier français, auquel le commandant des forces navales alliées du Levant a confié le commandant de la base navale de [illegible]

Le consul de France à Larnaca télégraphie au Département en [illegible] que les autorités anglaises, après avoir dressé la liste des réfugi[illegible] désireux de retourner dans cette ville, prennent leurs dispositions pour rapatrier au plus [illegible] derniers, alors que les réfugiés de Latakieh, tous protégés français, se voient, [illegible] le retourner.

No. 23

Minutes of a Conference on the Pilgrimage, held at the Foreign Office on Tuesday, March 18, 1919.

Present

Foreign Office	Mr Kaiston Mr Loyd Major Young
War Office	Captain Macindoe.
Treasury	Mr Waterfield
Ministry of Shipping	Mr. A[illegible] Mr [illegible]
Colonial Office	Mr Cowell
Local Government Board	Dr Low Lieutenant-Colonel Wilkinson
India Office	Mr Wakely

THE following points were discussed :—

1.—(a.) *Policy towards the Pilgrimage. Are His Majesty's Government to confine themselves, as in the past, to guarding the interests of British subjects, or are they to accept general responsibility for ensuring that King Hussein* [illegible]

The Meeting were of opinion that, in view of the political situation arising out of the Arab revolt and of the support given by His Majesty's Government to K[illegible] Hussein during the war, His Majesty's Government could not confine themselves, as in the past, to guarding the interests of British pilgrims.

In view of the fact that His Majesty's Government will undoubtedly be blamed for any obvious falling off in the local pilgrimage arrangements in the Hedjaz, it was considered that, although no general responsibility could be accepted by His M[illegible] [illegible] desirable, from the point of view of His Majesty's Government, that adequate precautions should be taken during the coming pilgrimage for the protection of pilgrims both from the point of view of defence and sanitation. While there was no reason to encourage a bumper pilgrimage, it was essential that it should be successful, and that no handle should be given to pro-Turkish and anti-Sherif propaganda.

1.—(b) *In the latter case what financial support will be necessary for King Hussein, and on which Department of His Majesty's Government should the necessary expenditure be a charge?*

The Meeting were of opinion that for this year, at any rate, King Hussein would require financial support to enable him, among other things, to carry out the necessary measures to ensure that the pilgrimage should be a success, and they considered that this support should in the first place, be a charge on Imperial funds. It was understood that the Treasury were averse from contributing directly towards the pilgrimage arrangements as such, but that they would accept the general principle that the expenditure involved in these arrangements should be taken into consideration when [illegible] King Hussein. This understanding was without prejudice to the discretion of the Treasury to suggest that the Indian and Egyptian Governments ought be asked to bear some proportion of the expenditure involved in payments of the subsidy.

[illegible] expense of the necessary sanitary arrangements at Jeddah and Yembo was [illegible] this year. As regards the defence measures, it was suggested [illegible] Foreign Office should telegraph to Sir M Cheetham for an estimate of the normal expenditure under this head. It was realised that, in the event of hostile aggression on the part of Ibn Saud, it might become necessary to contemplate the provision of further financial support.

It was understood, however, that the Treasury were strongly of opinion that any expenses on account of military defence should be met by King Hussein from the existing subsidy, which includes a very large sum for military purposes generally, and that pressure should be put upon him to take adequate precautions for the protection of the pilgrims by threat of reducing or discontinuing his subsidy.

2. *What shipping facilities can be made available, and what is the approximate number of pilgrims who will have to be dealt with?*

The Meeting, while recognising the desirability of reopening the pilgrimage to the fu[illegible] special steps should not be taken to provide shipping facilities for pilgrims, but that the [illegible] disposal of such tonnage as would be free from control at the pilgrimage season. It was not anticipated that any very large quantity of shipping was likely to be available, though an accurate forecast would be difficult to obtain. It was agreed that it might be advisable that a general warning of the probable shortage of shipping should be issued, with a view to obviating as far as possible the necessity for providing special [illegible] as possible, no step should be taken which might be interpreted as a discouragement to the pilgrimage on other grounds, and that every effort should be made to provide accommodation for such pilgrims as might present themselves at British ports in spite of the general warning that there was likely to be a shortage of shipping.

With regard to the Dutch East Indies, it was thought that the shipping situation would almost certainly admit of the small number of pilgrims anticipated by Captain Lee Warner being conveyed to the Hedjaz.

3. *What facilities, if any, should be given to pilgrims from Syria and Palestine?*

The Meeting considered that this question could not be answered without previous reference to General Allenby. It was suggested that the War Office, in consultation with the Foreign Office, should obtain his general views on the number of pilgrims likely to proceed from Syria and Palestine, and should also inform him generally of the position as regards quarantine, at the same time making it clear that it was, from a political point of view, essential that he should take no step which might be interpreted as discouraging intending pilgrims except to their own advantage.

4. *What measures are desirable, from the purely sanitary point of view, for pilgrims proceeding (a) by sea, (b) by land?*

(a.) It was considered that pilgrims should be quarantined both on their inward and outward journey at Kamaran, Tor, and Suakim, and also at Jeddah and Yembo. It was agreed that the formation of a small inter-departmental committee consisting of [illegible] Office, Egyptian Government, Government of India, and Local Government Board (Ministry of Health) was highly desirable for the purpose of working out in detail proposals as to sanitary arrangements. It was suggested that this committee should meet at an early date and, after hearing the views of Major C. P Thomson, D.S.O., R.A.M.C., and possibly of Dr. Norman White, who is shortly expected from India, should make recommendations on the lines of Dr. Buchanan's proposals, of which a copy is attached, subject to the conclusions arrived at by the meeting in the course of their general discussion. It was agreed that this inter-departmental committee should not only consider the steps necessary for this [illegible] quarantine arrangements connected with the pilgrimage, for submission to the [illegible] to ensure co-ordination of the steps taken by the various Departments of His Majesty's Government.

(b.) With regard to pilgrims proceeding by land, it was understood that the [illegible] a month for pilgrims from Syria and Palestine. There was some difference of opinion as to whether this was in itself a sufficient safeguard, and it was foreseen that in the event of an outbreak of infectious disease at Mecca it might be necessary to impose quarantine for the return journey at some suitable station on the existing line. The alternative of encouraging pilgrims from Syria and Palestine to proceed by sea was [illegible] position should be discussed in the proposed War Office telegram to General Allenby.

5. *By what administrative authorities should the various measures be applied?*

The Meeting were of opinion that quarantine arrangements in connection with this year's pilgrimage should be undertaken as follows:—

(a.) Kameran: by the Government of India.
(b.) Tor: by the Egyptian Government
(c.) Suakin: by the Sudan Government
(d.) Jeddah and Yembo: by King Hussein, under the supervision of the British Agent at Jeddah, acting under the orders of the High Commissioner, Cairo.

Each of these administrative authorities should conform to the requirements laid down by the International Sanitary Convention.

It was agreed that the measure of interference or control necessary to ensure that King Hussein should fulfil the conditions laid down by international quarantine regulations, was primarily a question for the High Commissioner at Cairo, and it was suggested that the Foreign Office should instruct Sir M. Cheetham to report as soon as possible whether, in his opinion, it would be possible or expedient to bring pressure to bear upon King Hussein through his subsidy, or whether it would be desirable that quarantine arrangements at Jeddah should be placed under direct British control.

6. *How should these measures be financed?*

After some discussion it was generally agreed that the respective administrative authorities mentioned under (a), (b), and (c) above should, in the first place, finance the measures adopted by them, and that they should levy such dues from pilgrims as were formerly levied by the Turkish Government, subject to any modifications which might be approved by His Majesty's Government. The question of the ultimate incidence of any expenditure incurred was [illegible] not to be decided until it was known what authority or authorities would in future be responsible in each case for the discharge of the duties formerly entrusted to the Constantinople Board of Health. It was [illegible] that, pending a final settlement of the question, the necessary expenditure should be met by the administrative authorities concerned on the understanding that it would ultimately be debited in each case to the authority becoming responsible in future for the sanitary arrangements in question, in anticipation of possible future recovery.

As regards the expenditure at Jeddah and Yembo, the Meeting were of opinion that this should be met by King Hussein, who should be encouraged to levy such dues as were formerly levied by the Turkish Government.

Annex

Note by Dr. Buchanan, handed in by Dr. Low.

Mecca Pilgrimage.

ASSUMING that the Conference to-morrow takes the line that to meet 1919 conditions

(a.) Kameran should be made [illegible];
(b.) Tor should be fully re-established (Egyptian Government);
(c.) A British quarantine station should be established at Jeddah (free of all expense to the King of the Hedjaz, but obligatory as regards all vessels bringing pilgrims).*

The Jeddah station to deal with the direct African traffic, and to supplement Kameran and Tor.

(d.) Co-ordination of the system at Kameran, Tor, and Jeddah is essential;
(e.) For 1919 land pilgrimage via the Hedjaz Railway will not be allowed, so that the railway quarantine station is not of importance at the moment;

[illegible] pilgrims, we ought to be able to make our own [illegible] arrangements that the Jeddah station must be an effective one,

The following scheme might be considered:—

(A.) The Conference to appoint a small working Inter-Departmental Committee in London, say one member each representing:—

Foreign Office,
India,
[illegible],
Local Government Board (Ministry of Health).

(B.) The Committee to be arranged by the Foreign Office, and to report to the Foreign Office, which would apply to the Treasury, for sanction.

(C.) The Committee to be approved by the Treasury and have power to spend money (amount need not be large—see G below).

(D.) The duty of the Committee to be—

1. To secure a sufficient interim arrangement to safeguard the pilgrimage in 1919.
2. To report on measures which appear practicable for future pilgrimages, and which can be submitted as a British policy to the next International Conference.

(E.) The Committee would at once appoint a medical officer of experience to go to Egypt and the Red Sea and advise—

(a.) What interim measures are practicable and necessary at Kameran.
(b.) " " " at Tor.
(c.) " " " at Jeddah.
(d.) How, when the pilgrimage season is on, regular co-operation and systematic [illegible]

He should be empowered, within necessary limits, to take action on the spot for the above purposes.

(F.) The Committee to appoint this officer, or another officer, to act as director, of the Hedjaz quarantine service during the pilgrimage, to have authority (with the sanction of Indian and Egyptian Governments respectively) over Kameran and Tor *qua* the pilgrim arrangements.

(G.) It is anticipated that the Committee will not need much direct expenditure at Kameran or Tor. The whole arrangement is temporary, and the work of the Committee or its representative will be mainly in laying down the essential minimal requirements which are practicable, and could be carried out, at Kameran, at the expense of the Italian Government, and at Tor, at the expense of the Egyptian Government.

At Jeddah, however, it may not be practicable for the quarantine station to be arranged and worked by the Indian or Egyptian authorities. In that case the Committee, through its representative, would have to arrange for the station and staff. For the short period [illegible] personnel, material, and transport could be obtained largely by arrangement with the military or naval authorities. The Committee, either direct or through the Foreign Office, would invite the assistance of the War Office, Admiralty, &c., in the matter.

(H.) The simplest plan would be to ask the Foreign Office to include a sum for the Committee in their estimates and consider afterwards its allocation between the Foreign Office, Ministry of Health, Egypt, and India Office if this is necessary. (Say, £6,000*l.*, if the Committee is to be responsible for Jeddah.)

(J.) Representation:—

Sir H. Charles might perhaps act for the India Office; Dr. Goodman, late Assistant-Director Egyptian Public Health Service, now resident address, the Union, Cambridge—would probably be approved by the Egyptian authorities, and be most useful; the Foreign Office would probably have a [illegible] at the Egyptian Department or of their Commercial and Quarantine Department; for the Local Government Board I could be a member if desired.

I think the Committee ought to get Dr. Thomson to meet them as soon as he comes over from Egypt (see the papers—he starts about the 15th); and also should see Dr. Norman White, who is to be over for the Inter-Allied Sanitary Conference at Paris.

These men could help in various ways, and in the selection of a representative medical officer to go and settle matters. If the Local Government Board is asked or [illegible] to send a man, I should be prepared to ask the Board to send Dr Wilkinson if [illegible]

G S B

March 17, 1919

[43332 No. 24

M. Cambon to Earl Curzon.—(Received March 19.)

PAR une note en date du 5 de ce mois, l'Ambassadeur de France a attiré l'attention du Gouvernement britannique sur la communication adressée, le 16 janvier par le grand quartier général anglais en Asie Mineure au directeur de la Compagnie des Chemins de [illegible]

Cette même affaire a a[illegible] 15 février dernier, une nouvelle protestation au Général Allenby contre :

1. L'engagement par les officiers de l'armée anglaise d'anciens agents de la société, à titre d'employés civils, sur la ligne de Jaffa à Jérusalem

2. L'exploitation commerciale de la ligne par les autorités militaires britanniques qui effectuaient des transports de voyageurs civils et de marchandises privées avec tarifs spéciaux

Le Gouvernement français estime justifiées ces protestations de la compagnie. Il serait heureux de recevoir aussi rapidement que possible, au sujet de ces affaires, une réponse du Gouvernement [illegible]

M Paul Cambon saisit [illegible]

Ambassade de France, Londres,
le 18 mars 1919

21910] No. 25.

Earl Curzon to M Cambon

Your Excellency, *Foreign Office, March 19, 1919*

I RECEIVED from His Majesty's Ambassador in Paris some time ago a copy of a note addressed to him by M Pichon on the 6th February in which the French Government complained of the attitude adopted by certain British military officers and officials in the occupied territories of Syria and Mesopotamia. The text of this note was doubtless also communicated to your Excellency, but I have the honour to enclose a copy for convenience of reference

His Majesty's Government were greatly surprised at both the tone and substance of this communication. They could not but regret that the French Government should have thought it necessary to make these accusations couched in so unusual and even unfriendly a form, at a time when the Peace Conference is engaged in the French capital in endeavouring to reach a lasting settlement of all international disputes. Indeed, I had hoped, particularly after my conversations with your Excellency, in which we have reviewed the entire situation in a very different spirit, that it might not have been necessary to take up the challenge so sharply thrown down at Paris. However, during the last few days there has arrived another long list of alleged grievances handed by M Pichon in Paris to Lord Milner reflecting the same frame of mind, and in some cases reiterating the same complaints In these circumstances I have no alternative but to address to your Excellency the more sustained and serious reply from which I would gladly have abstained I must, however, make this preliminary observation. Your Excellency will readily understand that the persons accused by a friendly and Allied Government of having so far forgotten their duty as to enter into intrigues of the nature indicated in M. Pichon's notes must be given the opportunity of defending themselves, and that it will therefore, be impossible for me to deal in detail with the various accusations made until the Commanders-in-chief of the two armies have been consulted and have been able to question their subordinates. The fact that the French Government have made such an enquiry inevitable both by the nature of the charges and the form in which they have considered it necessary to present them, is regrettable, since an [illegible] between the officers and members of the two nations which His Majesty's Government so earnestly desire to see established in every theatre of action.

But M. Pichon's two notes raise, besides the more personal questions, others of a more general character, on which I have more than once had the honour of [illegible]ing to your Excellency the views of His Majesty's Government. The [illegible]here of mistrust which has engendered these accusations has arisen in my opinion in the first place from the conclusion of an agreement between our two Governments which a wider knowledge at the time would have shown to be impracticable, and which the progress of events has long since rendered obsolete, and in the second place from the attempt to apply its terms and conditions without modification to a position to which they are entirely unsuited

There would appear, moreover, to exist fundamental differences of opinion between the two Governments as to the circumstances in which this Agreement of 1916 was intended to take effect, and as to the extent to which it has already been affected by subsequent declarations and arrangements. In the opinion of His Majesty's Government, the whole text and spirit of the Agreement show that it was not meant to become operative save as a part of the final settlement of all matters arisi[illegible] out of the [illegible] state of war [illegible] and I may point out in passing that it still exists—a military régime must be maintained in full force in enemy-occupied territory. Such is understood to be the considered view of the French Government with regard to the Western Front, and it is obvious that the [illegible] to apply with even greater force to semi-civilized territories such as those which are now under consideration Such a régime is obviously incompatible with the full and immediate realization of the programme laid down in the 1916 Agreement, even were the full and textual validity of that document assumed, and if His Majesty's Government have so far relaxed the application of this principle as to [illegible] by the *modus vivendi* of the 30th September, 1918, their French Allies to [illegible]te some of the privileges accruing to them under the Agreement before they [illegible] to the desire of His Majesty's Government to show their willingness to meet French wishes in a friendly spirit and not to any obligation imposed by the terms of the Agreement itself The Commanders-in-chief of the Armies of Occupation, therefore, retain sole responsibility for the maintenance of law and order in the areas of [illegible] from the rights of supreme authority which this responsibility implies.

[illegible] that, whatever the intrinsic value of the Agreement may be, its application cannot be claimed so long as a state of war exists and that the only powers which the French can claim to exercise by right in the occupied territories are those conceded to them by the *modus vivendi* of the 30th September, 1918

The second point of difference between the two Governments relates to the validity of the Agreement itself, and this, in the light of the considerations set forth [illegible] eventually be given to it at the contemplated termination of the state of war has already been largely modified by the Anglo-French Declaration of the 18th [illegible] between the Allied Governments as a basis of the war settlement must necessarily come within the purview of the Peace Conference and be ratified, modified or rescinded by that body. Indeed that process has already been commenced in Paris, and may be expected before long to reach a final stage.

It is to a genuine misunderstanding on these fundamental questions rather than to any desire to create or to magnify points of local difference that I am inclined to attribute the unfortunate incidents and disagreements that have arisen, culminating as they have done in a series of grave personal charges which the French Government have thought fit to bring against British officers and even against the Generals in command of the British armies in the field Upon this point I must speak with frankness.

Far from thwarting legitimate French aspirations, General Allenby has, to the knowledge of His Majesty's Government, urged the French Representative for many months past to give to him more efficient co-operation, and with this end in view to secure the appointment of French officers of standing with ripe administra-

tive experience to aid him in his difficult task. So far all his efforts in this direction have been in vain. He has seen with the greatest solicitude the danger or serious trouble with the Arabs which the failure to supply sufficient or efficient administrative French personnel has frequently caused, and in every case he has done his best to help and advise. The late Sir Mark Sykes [illegible] mission of His Majesty's Government [illegible] Arabs and the French [illegible] Allies [illegible] M. Picot [illegible] repudiation made originally both in his own name and in that of the officers under his command. This repudiation he will no doubt be in a position, if required, to confirm and substantiate in the course of his impending visit to Paris. To His Majesty's Government indeed the charge of undermining the popularity of the French in Syria is peculiarly galling and unjustified, since all the information in their possession tends to show that both General Allenby and his officers have throughout exerted themselves to combat the anti-[illegible] which, in spite of the existence of many [illegible] undoubtedly exists in that country, and which (as it would be easy within my power, were I so disposed, to prove), the action of French officers and officials has not invariably tended to allay.

The French Government in their note have also complained that the censorship is exercised to the detriment of their cause in Syria. To this accusation His Majesty's Government [illegible] throughout to suppress with vigour the many attempts which have been made to ventilate in the press manifestations of anti-French feeling. So loyally indeed has this policy been followed that it has caused grave popular discontent on many occasions, and has caused serious embarrassment to the local authorities. Similar difficulties have arisen in regard to the control of the Syrian press in Egypt.

I venture to hope that your Excellency, in bringing the views of His Majesty's Government to the notice of your Government, will inform M. Pichon that the tone of his Excellency's communication has provoked in their minds a feeling of equal surprise and regret, and that His Majesty's Government consider, from the information received by them, that the British administrators and officers in the occupied territories, far from working against French interests, have done their best to co-operate with their French Allies in the very difficult circumstances produced on the one hand by the antagonistic attitude of the Arabs towards the French, and on the other hand by the failure of the French Government to supply an administrative personnel possessing the experience and authority necessary to cope with so complex and delicate a situation.

The information contained in M. Pichon's latest note seems indeed to indicate that a number of these officials find an outlet for their activities in telegraphing [illegible] complaints as to incidents [illegible] which appear to be [illegible] and which in the large majority of cases ought to admit of local solution.

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[44986] No. 26.

India Office to Foreign Office.—(Received March 22.)

Sir,

India Office, March 21, 1919.

I AM directed by the Secretary of State for India to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th February, 1919, transmitting, for the observations of this Department, a copy of a note from the French Government formulating a series of complaints against the attitude said to be adopted by local British officials towards French interests and officers in Syria and Mesopotamia.

Mr. Secretary Montagu proposes to confine his reply to the section of the note dealing with Mesopotamia, with which he is [illegible] It appears that the specific complaints brought against the British authorities in Mesopotamia relate to two incidents only, viz.:—

1. The treatment of the French military attaché: and
2. The refusal to permit the French consul, M. Roux, to proceed to Mosul.

As regards 1, Mr. Montagu understands that the case of Commandant Seard has [illegible] correspondence enclosed in your letter of the 24th February). There seems nothing further to be said on this point. The circumstances in which it was thought necessary to discourage M. Roux's project of undertaking a charitable mission to Mosul were explained in the Civil Commissioner's telegram dated the 15th November, 1918, a copy of which is enclosed herewith for convenience of reference. It appears from Earl Curzon's despatch to the [illegible] that [illegible] this point have [illegible] communication to [illegible]

[illegible] years acting [illegible] thority to French rights and pretensions in Mesopotamia, their alleged [illegible] Government in the eyes of the native inhabitants, and activity in spreading rumours and in countenancing propaganda work detrimental to the repute of France as a great Power. [illegible] absence of any evidence supporting these serious [illegible] is entitled to meet them by an expression of [illegible] of in the possibility of British officers acting in a spirit so utterly contrary to the [illegible] His Majesty's Government. Mr. Montagu has on more than one occasion (see the [illegible] Wilson the necessity of scrupulously respecting French rights in those portions [illegible] Government in all other respects with such whole-hearted zeal and [illegible] this one particular, have neglected either the spirit or the letter of the orders conveyed to him from this Office.

Mr. Montagu [illegible] that if it were his desire (as is far from being the case) [illegible] controversial [illegible] difficulty material for counter-charges against French officials and others in Mesopotamia.

I have, &c.
T. W. HOLDERNESS.

Enclosure 1 in No. 26.

Civil Commissioner, Bagdad, to Viceroy of India.

(Telegraphic.) *Bagdad, November 15, 1918.*

FRENCH consul at Basra telegraphs, 15th November:—

"Having received orders from my Government to undertake a charitable mission to Mosul [illegible] be much obliged if you would ask military authorities to give me the necessary facility to accomplish this mission."

With the approval of General Officer Commanding-in-chief, I have replied that poor relief is at present a responsibility which is being undertaken by military administration in Mosul and that it [illegible] necessary or desirable that more than one agency should deal with matter.

(Repeated to Delhi and Cairo.)

Enclosure 2 in No. 26.

Secretary of State for India to Civil Commissioner, Bagdad.

(Telegraphic.) *India Office, December 9, 1918.*

YOUR telegram, dated 24th November. Political arrangements in Upper Euphrates.

My telegram of 5th November conveyed instructions of His Majesty's Government as to policy to be pursued in occupied districts falling within Area A as defined by

Sykes-Picot agreement. There is nothing in those instructions to preclude appointment of political officers in Area A wherever requirements of military administration necessitate, but they hardly cover despatch of political officer to spot so remote from zone of military occupation as Deir-ez-Zor. Unless there are strong reasons to contrary based on needs of military administration, Political Officer Abu Kemal should be instructed not to proceed further up Euphrates into Area A without specific instructions from His Majesty's Government. Similar considerations apply to political measures in northern districts of Mosul Vilayet, see your telegram dated 3rd December. Genuine needs of military administration must be criterion of political [illegible]

(Very confidential.)

We are hopeful of inducing French Government to renounce claims in Mosul area, but in meantime it is most important to avoid giving them impression that we are acting in disregard of provisions of Sykes-Picot agreement. Only result would be to make them more tenacious of their claims.

(Repeated to Viceroy.)

Enclosure 3 in No. 26.

From Secretary of State for India to Civil Commissioner, Baghdad.

(Telegraphic.) *India Office, December 20, 1918.*

YOUR telegram, dated 20th November: Railway construction [illegible]

His Majesty's Government fully appreciate your point. But as you have already been informed, French Government regard Sykes-Picot agreement as still valid. We hope to persuade them to withdraw their claim to Mosul, but until we have done so, any infringement of Sykes-Picot agreement will only make negotiations more difficult and thus tend to defeat our object. This must be governing consideration in [illegible] with all proposals for extending British influence in Area A, except in matters of [illegible] necessity to military administration. There appears to be no such necessity for construction of earthworks beyond British sphere, which must accordingly be disallowed.

Similar considerations apply to railway surveys into Kurd country and extension [illegible] and Tekrit as discussed in your telegram dated 14th November. Up to [illegible] British sphere work may be undertaken, provided necessary personnel available and local officers satisfied there is no undue risk of disturbance. But it must not be extended into Area A.

(Repeated to Viceroy.)

[44835] No. 7

Director of Military Operations to Foreign Office.—(Received March 22.)

(Secret.)

THE Director of Military Operations presents his compliments to the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and begs to forward for the information of Lord Curzon a copy of a French note handed to the Chief of the Imperial General Staff in Paris by M. Clemenceau. This note contains the French observations on the [illegible] M. Clemenceau on the subject of Franco-British relations in Constantinople and Syria.

Major-General Radcliffe understands that since the receipt of this note no action has been taken in Paris pending the arrival of General Allenby, in consultation with whom the whole matter was to be discussed.

Major-General Radcliffe also understands that General Franchet d'Esperey has now gone to Odessa, where the serious military situation may possibly require his presence for some time to come. In these circumstances it may be anticipated that no further action by the French authorities at Constantinople is probable for the present.

War Office, March 21, 1919.

Enclosure in No. 27

French Observations respecting Franco-British Relations in Constantinople and Syria.

Situation générale.

1. Il a été allégué que la situation en Syrie est d'une nature entièrement différente de celle qui existe à Constantinople et qu'il n'est pas possible d'établir entre elles un parallèle.

La Syrie est sous l'occupation militaire d'une armée victorieuse et il n'existe aucun autre Gouvernement [illegible] de toutes [illegible] Gouvernements alliés qui ont été nommés dans ce but.

2. Il a été allégué que le commandement du Général Franchet d'Esperey est limité aux territoires des pays contre lesquels il a conduit les opérations militaires et tous autres territoires pouvant tomber dans sa sphère comme résultat direct de ses opérations. Sa sphère est donc les Balkans; l'établissement de son Quartier général à Constantinople n'a eu pour unique but que de faciliter ses communications avec les Balkans et Constantza.

Par analogie et conformément à l'accord de Versailles, les sphères des Généraux Allenby, Milne et Marshall s'étendent sur toute la Turquie d'Asie, et le Général Franchet d'Esperey n'a pas plus de droit d'y intervenir que le Général Allenby ne l'aurait, par exemple, en Bulgarie.

Observations.

Situation générale.

1. Les Hauts-Commissaires [illegible] tinople ont été institués pour faire appliquer les clauses de l'Armistice du 31 octobre 1918 avec la Turquie.

[illegible] et les détroits sont soumis à l'occupation militaire par les Alliés, en [illegible] Article 1er de l'Armistice [illegible] alliées d'occupation [illegible] Wilson, puis Général Milne, enfin Général Franchet d'Esperey, commandant en chef les armées alliées d'Orient).

La preuve en est que le Général Milne tant qu'il a commandé à Constantinople au nom des Alliés—avant l'arrivée du Général d'Esperey—a pris une série de mesures [illegible] occupation de la T.S.F., des banques, police et hygiène de la ville, &c., qui sont nettement des actes de commandement et qui n'étaient pas en effet du ressort des [illegible]

Il était naturel que le Général d'Esperey, commandant en chef les armées alliées en Orient, transportant le siège de son commandement à Constantinople ait revisé et adapté à la situation nouvelle les mesures qui avaient été prises par le Général Milne.

A remarquer que le Général Milne [illegible] pendant le temps où il a [illegible] forces alliées locales à Constantinople n'a fait participer que les Anglais aux mesures qu'il a prises, tandis que le Général d'Esperey [illegible] Alliés [illegible] celles qu'il a prescrites.

Le Général d'Esperey a conduit les opérations contre la Turquie au même titre que le Général Allenby.

Il est même probable que les succès de l'armée d'Orient et la menace d'une offensive directe et déjà commencée sur Constantinople, plus encore que l'entrée [illegible]

Le fait que le Général Milne avait, sous la haute autorité du Général Franchet d'Esperey, le commandement de l'aile droite des armées d'Orient, comme le Voïvoïte Michitch en commandait le centre et le Général Henrys l'aile gauche, ne signifie pas que la Turquie d'Europe ou d'Asie fut [illegible] anglaise.

A aucun moment, il n'a été convenu

[illegible] Général [illegible] aucune portion de l'Anatolie. [illegible] cette région n'a jamais été occupée par les troupes du Général Allenby; par suite, ces troupes n'ont pas plus de droits que celles du Général d'Esperey à s'étendre en Anatolie.

La seule convention connue est celle de Paris du 23 décembre 1917, relative à l'action en Russie méridionale et qui attribue à la zone anglaise le [illegible] Géorgie et le Kurdistan; à la zone fr[illegible] la Bessarabie, l'Ukraine [illegible]

La résolution 6 de l'accord de [illegible] du 8 décembre 1918, spécifie [illegible] troupes anglaises de l'armée du [illegible] Milne, qui passent d'Europe en Asie, sous la condition d'un accord préalable entre les Gouvernements alliés, cessent d'être sous les ordres du Général d'Esperey [illegible] ne signifie nullement que ce [illegible] besoin d'une autorisation desdits [illegible] ments pour porter en Anatolie des troupes relevant de son autorité.

3. Ainsi qu'il a été dit plus h[illegible], les Hauts-Commissaires sont chargés de l'application des clauses de l'Armistice avec la Turquie.

En ce qui concerne les mesures prises par le Général Fran[illegible] arrivée à [illegible]antinople, il est re[illegible] Général Milne avait déjà [illegible] tant que commandant en chef local, par suite de l'absence du Général d'Esperey) pris des mesures du même ordre et sans l'intervention des Hauts-Commissaires — voir ci-dessous "Banques".

Il était donc naturel qu'à son arrivée le Général Franchet d'Esperey reprenne ces mesures à son compte, les revise ou les adapte à la situation nouvelle.

2. Il a été avancé que les relations entre le Général Franchet d'Esperey et le Général Milne en Turquie d'Europe n'existent que [illegible] terrain de la discipline militaire, mais [illegible] l'un ni l'autre de ces généraux n'a le droit, dans les zones qui ne sont pas reconnues comme états sous une occupation militaire effective, d'exercer une autorité civile, ni d'avoir des rapports directs avec le Gouvernement turc pour les questions, sauf celles purement militaires, touchant son commandement. Les communications directes avec le Gouvernement turc pour toutes les autres questions sont réservées aux Hauts-Commissaires.

Situation particulière.

1. *Mesures de Police et d'Hygiène à Con[illegible]ple.*

La France se plaint que ces mesures ont été prises sans consultation préalable du Général Franchet d'Esperey. Il ne semble pas contesté que cette mesure était désirable en elle-même et le Général Milne, comme officier le plus ancien commandant effectivement à ce moment, avait qualité pour prendre cette décision sur le terrain purement militaire.

Situation particulière

1. *Mesures de Police et d'Hygiène à Constantinople.*

(Sans observations.)
(Voir IV ci-dessus.)

2. *Gendarmerie.*

L'intention du Général Franchet d'Esperey semble être d'instituer en coopération avec le Gouvernement turc une force de gendarmerie sous les ordres du

2. *Organisation de la Gendarmerie.*

Il est à remarquer :

(1.) Qu'en Turquie, c'est une mesure de sûreté générale qui intéresse directement

Colonel Foulon pour toute la Turquie, l'Europe et l'Asie.

Un tel plan ne s'accorde pas avec les principes généraux mentionnés précédemment, sur trois points différents :

(*a.*) Il ignore l'état de guerre, l'institution d'une gendarmerie par un officier français dans un pays ennemi étant évidemment incompatible avec les conditions de la guerre.

(*b.*) Il projette l'exercice de l'autorité dans une sphère revendiquée comme celle de l'autorité militaire britannique à l'exclusion de toute autre.

(*c.*) Il n'est pas d'ordre purement militaire; il n'est donc pas de la compétence du Général Franchet d'Espérey.

C'est comme si le Général Milne communiquait avec le Gouvernement de Sofia dans le but d'instituer une gendarmerie pour toute la Bulgarie sous les ordres [illegible]

D'autre part le droit du Général d'Esperey d'organiser la police à Constantinople sous les ordres d'un officier français est reconnu.

(2.) Que le Général d'Esperey a demandé aux armées alliées de participer à cette organisation en fournissant des officiers, &c.;

(3.) Qu'encore une fois, si l'autorité militaire britannique revendique comme la sienne une certaine zone (vraisemblablement l'Anatolie), aucun accord entre les Gouvernements n'a encore attribué de zone séparée sinon en Russie méridionale, Caucase ou Levant.

3. *Banques.*

Ici aussi il est admis qu'une intervention était désirable et les Hauts-Commissaires alliés viennent de prendre une résolution dans le même sens.

Le grief de la France semble être que cette intervention a été faite sans en avoir été avertie, et que la participation des troupes françaises a été refusée. On pourrait faire remarquer à la France que le secret était essentiel pour le succès de l'opération dans le but d'empêcher l'enlèvement de livres compromettants et le transfert de Comité d'Union et Progrès ou de fonds ennemis. Mais il eût été préférable que le Général Milne agisse en cette occasion d'accord avec les Hauts-Commissaires, et le refus d'employer des troupes françaises semble avoir été une faute malheureuse, et des regrets peuvent être exprimés pour ce motif.

3. *Banques.*

Sans observations.)

4. *Chemins de fer.*

On a cru comprendre par l'Amiral Calthorpe qu'un arrangement satisfaisant avait été obtenu localement sur cette question et que les Français avaient satisfaction en assumant le contrôle des chemins de fer en Turquie d'Europe et en Bulgarie, le contrôle des chemins de fer de Turquie d'Asie devant être entre les mains anglaises.

Toute la question compliquée du contrôle des chemins de fer turcs doit être décidée par la Conférence de la Paix; en attendant sa décision et la reprise de l'état de paix, le seul arrangement possible et utile semble

4. *Chemins de fer.*

Une Commission supérieure des chemins de fer turcs a été instituée à Constantinople sous la présidence du Colonel Delauney dans les conditions générales adoptées pour l'"affaire alliée" des chemins de fer de Macédoine. Cette Commission attribuait au contrôle français les chemins de fer de Turquie d'Europe, au contrôle anglais les chemins de fer de Turquie d'Asie. Ce *modus vivendi* paraît convenable, étant entendu que la question compliquée des chemins de fer turcs sera résolue à la Conférence de la Paix.

être que le contrôle des chemins de fer soit réparti suivant les sphères militaires respectives.

La station de T.S.F. d'Osmanie.

Cette question semble être [illegible] d'un arrangement local et [illegible] tère militaire plutôt que p[illegible]

5. T.S.F. d'Osmanie.

[Sans observations.]

6. Censure.

Le Général Franchet d'Esperey semble avoir pris ses propres arrangements pour la censure avec le Gouvernement turc et écarté ainsi le plan arrangé par les Hauts-Commissaires alliés avec les autorités turques. La question n'est pas que les arrangements du Général Franchet d'Esperey soient bons ou mauvais en eux mêmes, mais une sérieuse question de principe est intéressée, et le fait de l'intervention du Général ignorant les Hauts-Commissaires ne peut avoir qu'un effet sérieux sur l'autorité de ces derniers et sur leur situation auprès du Gouvernement turc.

[illegible]

C'est une question d'ordre essentiellement militaire, car elle intéresse directement la sécurité des armées placées sous le haut commandement d[illegible] d'E[illegible] donc au général [illegible] aux Hauts-[illegible] que revient cette intervention.

7. Arrestation et punition d'Officiers turcs coupables d'atrocités, &c.

Le Général Franchet d'Esperey est intervenu dans les arrangements faits par les Anglais pour l'arrestation et la garde des Turcs coupables. Il [illegible] point que les délinquants en territoires non occupés doivent être arrêtés et gardés par les Turcs, et que les premières poursuites doivent être effectuées par les tribunaux turcs.

On ne peut faire confiance aux Turcs pour assurer la garde certaine de ces hommes, comme le prouve l'évasion récente de Rechid Bey, et qu'il n'est pas désirable que les poursuites préliminaires soient faites par les tribunaux turcs contre des criminels qui seront finalement jugés par [illegible] fixé par la Conférence de la [illegible] Cette question est en cours de discussion avec le Gouvernement français, et il a été avisé qu'au cas où il n'accepterait pas Malte comme lieu de détention, tout autre endroit sûr qu'il voudrait choisir serait agréé.

Cette question n'a d'importance que parce qu'elle montre la tendance constante du caractère du Général Franchet d'Esperey à l'intervention.

7. Arrestation et punition des Officiers turcs, &c.

Le Général d'Esperey a agi comme l'avait fait le Général Milne avant son arrivée, conformément à son pouvoir de commandant en chef. La question peut d'ailleurs être résolue par entente entre les deux Gouvernements.

Par contre, il n'est pas inutile de rappeler que le Général Liman von Sanders, [illegible] les Turcs [illegible] pour l'Allemagne avant l'arrivée du Général d'Esperey à Constantinople et a dû être arrêté en cours de route à Malte.

Le Général Franchet d'Esperey a des responsabilités comme commandant en chef qui lui font une obligation stricte d'intervenir dans toutes les affaires qui intéressent les armées alliées, et on ne saurait lui faire une critique au sujet de sa manière d'agir dans cette situation.

8. Projet de Visite du Général Franchet d'Esperey dans les Ports de la mer Noire.

Le Général Franchet d'Esperey a annoncé son intention de visiter les ports

8. Projet de Visite du Général d'Esperey dans les Ports de la mer Noire.

Le Général d'Esperey sait fort bien que les ports de Novorossisk, Batoum, &c.,

de la mer Noire, et l'on craint qu'il ne désire y établir des postes français.

Les Français ont également offert l'assistance militaire à la Mission de Secours américaine, qui doit fonctionner dans l'intérieur de l'Asie Mineure. Ces mesures sont évidemment calculées pour [illegible] la question et pour montrer aux Turcs que de sérieuses [illegible] à retirer les plus grands avantages.

sont dans la zone anglaise définie par la Convention du 23 décembre 1917, et il n'y installera certainement aucun poste.

Par contre, on ne voit pas pourquoi il ne pourrait visiter les ports d'Héraclée, Trébizonde, &c., qui ne sont dans aucune zone séparée. On se souvient d'ailleurs que le Général Allenby est venu à Constantinople.

Enfin, en ce qui concerne l'assistance militaire à la Mission de Secours américaine en Arménie, les Français n'ont fait que se conformer à ce que font déjà les Anglais à l'égard de cette mission : il ne paraît pas [illegible] apparaître aux yeux des Turcs des divergences [illegible] les Alliés. L'intervention de la France [illegible] Asie Mineure, où elle a depuis des siècles de solides relations, ne serait comprise par personne, alors que ces relations sont de nature à permettre de soutenir efficacement la Mission américaine en Arménie.

[42976] **No. 28.**

*Earl Curzon to Mr. Balfour.**

(No. 1523.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, March 24, 1919.*

ARCHBISHOP CERRETTI, whose visit to England was foreshadowed in a recent telegram from Washington, called upon Sir Ronald Graham on the 14th [illegible]

He was received with the utmost cordiality, and in accordance with his request immediate arrangements were made with the Passport Office and the Italian authorities for the continuance of his journey to Paris on the following day, as well as for that of the priest accompanying him.

Archbishop Cerretti stated that there were one or two subjects which he wished to discuss with Sir R. Graham.

In the first place, his Grace alluded to the Holy Places and to the anxiety the Pope felt in regard to them. For many years past their history had been one of bitter [illegible] between the [illegible] Church and the [illegible] supported by the Russian Government.

The support which the French Government, as the protector of the Catholic Church in the East, [illegible] was not now forthcoming, and the Pope looked rather to His Majesty's Government than to any other to see that the rights and interests of his Church in the Holy Places were protected. [illegible] that no [illegible] was [illegible] to the Zionists.

Sir R. Graham assured the Archbishop that the one desire of His Majesty's Government was to see that justice was done to all branches of the Christian religion in the Holy Places and that their respective interests were protected. As the Archbishop declared that he had nothing more to say on this subject, Sir R. Graham reminded him of the question of the German Franciscans. The Archbishop replied that the Holy See was most anxious that the German Franciscans should not be expelled from Palestine until steps could be taken to substitute other brothers in their place. He only asked this in respect of those German Franciscans who had not, by their conduct [illegible] suspicion or reproach. On being asked how soon it could be expected that these substitutes would be available, his Grace said that it was a difficulty, as none were forthcoming at present and might not be for some time to come. Sir R. Graham replied that this fact did constitute a difficulty, as it was desired to expel the German Franciscans at an early date, but that his recommendations would be borne in mind.

* Also to Vatican, No. 30, and Washington, No. 135.

Archbishop Cerretti went on to say that he would like to state privately and confidentially that the Roman question would almost certainly be raised at the Peace Conference. It would not be brought forward by the Vatican, which held itself entirely aloof, but by some other Government or persons interested in its welfare, and he mentioned the Belgian Government as being a probable champion of the Holy See in this matter. He said that he believed that Mr. Balfour was fully informed on the question through Sir Eric Drummond and Sir William Tyrrell, and he trusted that when the moment came the British delegates would give their support to the Pope's desiderata. Sir R. Graham thanked him for his information and said that it would be interesting to have some knowledge of what these desiderata were. The Archbishop replied that all that the Pope asked for was "an estate of an English lord," a piece of territory, quite small, possibly not more than a few kilometres in extent, which his Holiness could regard as his own absolute property. The Archbishop thought that this was not much to ask and that it was a proposal which the British delegates might well support. He added that unless some solution in this sense had been reached there would be no healing of the breach between the Vatican and the Italian Government which was so detrimental to the interests of both, and to those of Italy also.

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON

[43332] No. 29

Earl Curzon to M. Cambon.

Your Excellency, *Foreign Office, March 24, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your note [illegible] so good as to address to me on the [illegible] of the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway [illegible] up to the present to return a definite reply to your representations [illegible] subject.

2. I so military authorities have been requested to obtain a telegraphic report on the position of the railway and with regard to the complaints made by the company and I trust to be in a position to reply to your Excellency's note at an early date.

I have, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[46887] No. 30

Memorandum by Earl Curzon.

A Note of Warning about the Middle East.

I WISH to express to my colleagues certain apprehensions which I cannot help entertaining about the progress of events in the Near and Middle East. They may turn out to be quite unfounded, but I think that [illegible] certain eventualities which, if they occur, will probably come as a great shock to all those in this and other countries who are preparing for the conclusion and celebration of a speedy and glorious peace.

I say nothing about the prospect of Germany signing the sort of Peace Treaty which it appears will [illegible] to count implicitly upon her acceptance. The weakness of her Government, her menacing attitude on the Eastern frontier of Germany and in Poland, the growth of dissensions among the Allies in Paris, may all tempt her to risk refusal.

While, however, everyone is discussing the probable or possible attitude of Germany, no one appears to turn a thought to what may happen in Turkey. Ever since the conclusion of the armistice, it appears to have been taken for granted that Turkey, with our fleet at Constantinople, could be compelled to accept whatever terms we may dictate to her. I pleaded more than once at the time, but without success, that the terms of the armistice with Turkey should be made much more comprehensive and severe. They were not [illegible] and our position at Constantinople [illegible] since

rested more upon the calculating self interest of the Turks on the one hand, and bluff on our part on the other, than it has done upon any confession of defeat on the part of the enemy, or convincing display of power by ourselves.

The [illegible] is in a state of very imperfect [illegible] though disarmament is being slowly pursued. A Government is in power that alternately [illegible] of Turkish claims in the near future. Meanwhile, the Committee of Union and Progress so far from being dissolved, is everywhere active in the background. It is still the dominant force in the greater part of the Turkish Empire. Enver is still a national hero. The forts of the Dardanelles have never been destroyed, only occupied by weak Allied [illegible]

Now, let us see what is happening in that world which is the political environment of the Turkish capital. Everywhere are manifest symptoms of Allied weakness or [illegible]. The Bolsheviks have just turned the French and Greeks out of the Ukraine, and [illegible] nearly turned them out of Odessa. General Denikin, to whom we have widely advertised our assistance, is not doing particularly well on the Don and in the Caucasus. It is known that we are going to clear out of the Caucasus as soon as we can, leaving, I can assure my colleagues, a legacy of certain chaos and bloodshed behind us. We are already retiring from Transcaspia. Our flag will presently cease to fly on the Caspian.

If they look to another part of the horizon, the Turks cannot fail to see with a chuckle of deep satisfaction that there is a serious and widespread revolt against the British in Egypt, and that the Turkish flag has actually been raised again in the Valley of the Nile. The fate of Palestine is not yet decided. The French and British are [illegible] Syria [illegible] the fate of those regions, where an attempt ought to have been made to settle in the early days of the Conference, is once more to be postponed until a Commission has been sent out to examine and report. I need hardly point out what magnificent opportunities for intrigues this will present. Meanwhile the Turk knows well that [illegible] on as to whether the Greeks and Italians are to be allowed into Asia Minor, and if so to what extent, and in what capacity.

The above is the picture upon which the Old Turk, who still hopes to re-establish the former régime, and the young Turk, who means to cheat us if he can of the spoils of victory [illegible] watching over Stambul. Both are presumably aware that they cannot escape the loss of Mesopotamia, of Arabia, and the Holy Places (although I am far from thinking that the new Arab State has any guarantees for stable existence), of Palestine, and in Europe of Eastern Thrace. But when they realise that they are to be deprived altogether of Armenia, that they are to be turned out of Constantinople and of Europe, and that even their reduced patrimony in Asia Minor and Anatolia is either to be parcelled out between enemies (Greece, and Italy) whom they abhor, or is to be patronised by some foreign mandatory Power who will equally be anathema to them, I sometimes ask myself—what will they do? Will they once more bow to Kismet? Or will they think it worth while to strike another blow (even if it be a local and abortive blow) for Islam and the few remaining vestiges of their freedom?

I suggest to the military and naval authorities that they should not ignore these possibilities; and I pointed out to my colleagues, not as a prophecy but as a warning, that fresh trouble may even now be brewing in the East, which may disarrange some of our best-laid plans.

P.S.—Since writing the above I have seen an Admiralty telegram dated the 22nd March, from Admiral Calthorpe at Constantinople, which supplies a very significant confirmation of my argument. He strongly deprecates any reduction of British naval strength in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea on the very grounds which I have urged, viz.:—

1. The failure of the French in the Ukraine and the Crimea.
2. The situation in the Caucasus.
3. The position at Smyrna.
4. The unrest in Egypt.

All these events cause him to fear that he may be unable to cope with any serious crisis that may arise.

C. OF K.

Foreign Office, March 25, 1919.

[52517] No. 31

Earl Curzon to the Earl of Derby.

(No. 4

My Lord, *Foreign Office, April 2, 1919.*

THE French Ambassador commenced his conversation with me this afternoon by producing an extract from "The Times," summarising the contents of the proposed Aliens Bill of the Government, which appeared to indicate that the contemplated legislation was to apply to aliens of every nationality, including, of course, the French, for a period of two years after the war. Representations had, he said, already been made to him by the French colony in London, who had expressed the greatest apprehension as to the restrictions to which they were to be submitted. The Bill, he presumed, was intended to be directed against enemy aliens, but its terms suggested no distinction between them and the subjects of friendly Powers. Frenchmen in England had already during the war been subjected to many inconveniences and restraints, which they had borne without murmuring, but that these should be continued under the new conditions appeared to him to be very hard. He suggested that, in the case of Frenchmen of good standing and of well-ascertained probity in this country, a system of special permits might be devised in order to relieve them from the necessity of frequent reports, and he expressed a hope that the Bill, when it became law, would be administered [illegible] as possible to the citizens of a great and friendly country like his own.

I listened to his Excellency's representations with much sympathy, and promised to communicate with the Home Office, who were responsible for the Bill, at once.

After [illegible] which it was not necessary to mention, the Ambassador then passed on to speak at great length and with extreme gravity of the serious state of [illegible] official and private, was developing in France with regard to the attitude taken up by the British Government, and, it was alleged, by the Prime Minister in particular, towards the aspirations of France. What was actually passing in the Council of Four he did not pretend accurately to know, but information reached him from his brother, and from persons even more highly placed, which caused him no small alarm. Indeed, he regarded the Council of Four as by no means an ideal tribunal for dealing with great questions of political and territorial readjustment, such as those which now confronted it. None of the statesmen concerned, not even M. Clemenceau, had had training in foreign affairs; and many of the suggestions that the Council had made, or was believed to have made—he instanced the despatch of a wandering Commission to Asia Minor and Syria—seemed to him to have been conceived in ignorance of the facts.

When I asked him what were the grounds of his present apprehension, and whether [illegible] our Prime Minister was in any way unsympathetic towards the claims of France—a charge for which, I said, I knew of no foundation whatever in his attitude or utterances as reported to me—his Excellency proceeded once again to state the claims of France as regards the two banks of the Rhine, the buffer State, and the Sarre coalfields. He urged that to his country, these were matters of life and death, that no one who had not shared the melancholy experience of France in the past could understand the way in which it impressed the national mind, and that any failure now to relieve his country of the perils by which it would continue to be threatened would produce a lasting soreness, to which he looked forward with the utmost alarm.

In reply, apart from my repudiation of what I truly believe to be a misjudgment on his part of the attitude of the British representatives in Paris, I urged the following considerations. I asked him to consider whether France, in her views about the Rhine frontier, was not a little too much affected by bygone memories. Was it likely that Germany, defeated, humiliated, and left with relatively inferior military forces, would once again make the great adventure that had so signally failed? Would not France, with Alsace-Lorraine in her secure possession, and with such arrangements made about the neutralisation of the Rhine territories as seemed to be not unlikely, be in a far better military position than she had ever before been? Was it not probable, and even certain, that the political and military ambitions of Germany, should they revive, would be directed to the East rather than to the West, and that the object of any future attack would not be her old enemy, but the congeries of small and feeble States whom we were trying to conjure into existence between Germany and Russia, but in whose continued stability I personally did not feel any great confidence? Long before France had [illegible] Paris [illegible] we not all be engaged in a war for the recovery or the security of Eastern Europe?

The Ambassador did not contest these generalisations, but quoted a recent published statement of Baron Kühlmann, declaring that Germany would never give up the idea of revenge, that she was unchanged and unchangeable, and that whatever the lures of the East, she would never rest until she had attempted to win back what she had lost on the West. The interests not only of France, but of all the Allies, were involved in preventing such a consummation.

If these, I asked, were the convictions of the Ambassador about the future sentiments and action of Germany, would not France be creating a new Germania Irredenta if she insisted on having the coal-fields of the Sarre and the creation of a buffer State on the left bank of the Rhine?

[illegible] population [illegible] were only 400,000 in number, and that they would have to accustom themselves to French rule. As regards the buffer State, he hoped that the arrangements to be made need not raise the ethnical question in a serious form.

Not knowing the exact position which our Prime Minister is taking up in the Council of Four, [illegible] on the French frontier is likely to assume, I was not able to deal in more than a general way with the warnings and lamentations of M. Cambon; but I could not help recognising the force of extreme seriousness in which they were [illegible] and I promised them the respectful consideration of His Majesty's Government.

I then turned the conversation to the East, and alluded [illegible] unfortunate position which had grown up in Constantinople, arising out of the differences between the French and British military and naval representatives. These difficulties, I said, assumed in the main two forms: those which came from the absence of any clear understanding as to the line of division between the [illegible] and that of the High Commissioners, and those which sprang from the absence of a similar understanding as to the line of demarcation between the military zones for which the French and the British were responsible in Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia. As regards the former, I called the attention of the Ambassador to an article from a Constantinople correspondent of "The Times," of the 31st March, which described the ridiculous and almost ignominious position in Constantinople, over which the old Turk, with his pipe in his mouth, must be smiling inwardly and rubbing his hands. Only a little while ago the Ambassador had [illegible] with a long list of [illegible] points of friction between British and French officers in Syria, Mosul, and Mesopotamia. I said that I had now lying on my table equally long lists of cases of similar and much greater indiscretions charged against French officers of higher rank in Constantinople. I did not, however, wish to adopt the French plan of sending in a rather bitterly worded despatch with a long list of individual charges at its tail. Such a procedure—and here M. Cambon cordially agreed with me—did not make either for a speedy or an amicable settlement. I wanted an agreement as to spheres of action and responsibility concluded between the highest authorities, laid down on paper, and adhered to in future on both sides. The same condition applied to the division of military commands in Asia and Europe. The British believed that [illegible] the Straits [illegible] to be French sphere. The French seemed to dispute this. Why could not a definite decision be made? When these matters had become acute a few weeks ago, we had sent General Wilson to Paris with a view to settling them by personal interviews on the spot. He had seen M. Clemenceau, who had expressed the utmost willingness to get rid of such minor causes of friction, and we had been led to believe that a solution was in sight. So far from this being the case, no settlement had been arrived at. The cases of disagreement continued to multiply, and I even had before me papers which showed that the French were trying to take over the control of the medical schools in Constantinople. If, I said, the British had disinterested themselves from the future of Constantinople and had no desire to be responsible for the ultimate administration of that city, why on earth should our respective representatives fight each [illegible] solution was arrived at? It merely bred ill feeling between the two nations, the very thing which, a few minutes earlier, in relation to the frontiers of France, the Ambassador had so earnestly deplored.

M. Cambon asked me if I had any proposal to make.

I replied that I should be prepared to authorise either General Wilson or some other representative to meet in Paris any officer or official deputed by the French

Government for the purpose, and that I would instruct our representative as to the views that we held. Alternately, if the French did not favour this proposal, and if they desired to send a French General or official over there, I should be willing to conduct the discussion here.

The Ambassador thought that by means of one of these suggestions a settlement might be found, and he undertook to submit them to his Government.

I am, &c.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON

[53220]

No. 32.

Earl Curzon to Sir R. Rodd.

(No. 194.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, April 1, 1919.

THE Italian Chargé d'Affaires called here on the 4th instant and read to me a telegram from the Italian Government to the effect that Greek troops were being massed at Mytilene, Samos, and [illegible] in order to make a descent upon Smyrna. He was instructed to urge that His Majesty's Government should take action to prevent any such Greek descent on Smyrna, as the Italian Government took a serious view of the projected Greek action.

Signor Prezioni was told that no information had reached His Majesty's Government as to any such proposed action on the part of the Greeks. It was [illegible] that they would risk such a step, and there was no reason to suppose the Greeks had any such intentions. Enquiries would, however, be made. At the same time, it was pointed out to Signor Prezioni that the Italian landing at Adalia, in contravention of the various assurances they had given on the subject, was a step likely to provoke Greek suspicion and misgivings, and to incline the Greeks to take corresponding action elsewhere.

I am, &c.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON

[56108]

No. 33.

The Earl of Derby to Earl Curzon.—(Received April 10.)

(No. 611.)

(Telegraphic.) *En clair.*

Paris, April 3, 1919.

I HAVE received reply from Minister for Foreign Affairs to note addressed to that department in accordance with instructions in your telegram No. 700 of 27th March, drawing attention, in view of certain recent innovations recommended by French authorities at Constantinople, to the importance of Allied co-ordination in Turkish financial as well as political matters. M. Pichon points out that French Government, having received no reply to financial proposals put forward in French note of 9th January last, summary of which was telegraphed to you in my telegram No. 72 of 11th January, and in view of the urgency of the position recently instructed their representative at Constantinople to negotiate as soon as possible certain measures calculated to prevent the bankruptcy of Turkey and to safeguard important French interests in that country. M. Pichon observes that French Representative at Constantinople was requested to inform his Allied colleagues of steps which he was taking and to ask them to lend him their support. French Government have thus his own remarks for their part at this stage of these cases [illegible] Turkish Government too that Allies were acting without a [illegible] reserves.

M. Pichon states that French High Commissioner at Constantinople will be instructed to support his British colleague with a view to [illegible] which French Government attach to [illegible] importance of French interests at stake [illegible] Allies, of whom Turkey is indebted, are [illegible] M. Pichon further states that his note of 13th February last, summary of which was telegraphed to you in my telegram No. 821 of 14th February, drawing attention to unilateral nature of certain decisions carried out by British authorities, and suggesting, with view to ensure Allied co-ordination in Turkey from military as well as political and economic point of view, the meeting at Paris of a Franco-British commission to settle questions arising out of armistice, has similarly remained without a reply.

His Excellency admits that it was suggested by Foreign Office to French Ambassador in London that Chief of Imperial General Staff should discuss this question in Paris with French military authorities, but he observes that such conversations cannot meet the requirements of the situation, which entails the examination of very diverse subjects, which in general are of a political and financial rather than military nature. French Government accordingly urge once more the necessity of arranging an early meeting of commission suggested in their note of 13th February last. They lay stress on desirability of that commission taking as a basis for its enquiry the arrangements concluded by the Allies in regard to the conduct of military operations in the East and the application of the Treaty of Armistice.

M. Pichon adds that, in accordance with information which he has received, General Milne has on his own authority organised distinct zones of command in Anatolia, and seems to consider the whole of Turkey in Asia exclusively reserved to British action. The command of the Allied forces in the East belonging to General Franchet d'Espérey by virtue of [illegible] of Article [illegible] of 2nd December, 1918, French Government consider that no modification in that situation can be made except by agreement between two Governments, whereas measures taken by General Milne are not the result of any agreement and French Government cannot admit the view which the British military authorities have endeavoured to impose.

[illegible] will enable questions now pending in the East to be settled without delay, and in a most satisfactory manner. His Excellency concludes by stating that the precise [illegible] Great Britain [illegible] in regard to their territorial disinterestedness in respect of Constantinople are calculated to render it particularly easy to arrive at an agreement between the two Governments, and to put an end to the misunderstandings which they do not desire to prolong.

(Copy sent to peace delegation.)

[60152

Vice-Admiral Sir S. Calthorpe to Earl Curzon.—Received April 17.

(No. 453. Very Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, April 3, 1919.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that the Grand Vizier came to see me on the 30th March, and stated that he had been sent directly by the Sultan with whom he had been in prolonged discussion the previous day.

There were two sets of questions which His Imperial Majesty had been considering, viz. the external and internal situations of Turkey.

With regard to the former he could do nothing; it was in the hands of the Peace Conference and he could only await its decision. He could, however, occupy himself with the latter, and it was his duty to do so. The results of his reflections had been the message of a few days ago (which I had the honour to communicate to you in my telegram No. 603.)

4. His father, the Sultan Abdul Medjid, had brought him up to consider England [illegible] English as his friends, and experience and observations had confirmed him in [illegible]. Very different principles had at various times been tried and had [illegible]. Those who had recently usurped power had made war upon England, and the result was that Turkey was crushed and broken, and his present object was to make the complete submission of the Ottoman Power to His Majesty's Government. He saw no Power to whom he could turn for help except England; apart from any feelings of sentiment, cold policy alone would point out that as the only wise course.

5. As this was in great part a repetition of what His Highness had said on the previous occasion, I pressed him to be more precise and to indicate exactly what it was that the Sultan and he desired that His Majesty's Government should in a practical way do, for it was clear that he had some such object.

6. He replied that together with His Sovereign he had in fact worked out a scheme which he desired I would submit to you. Every other creed and party had been allowed to present an expression of their desires, and whilst the Turkish Government was debarred from sending delegates to Paris, it seemed at least only

just that the Sultan himself should also present to you his views, though in a strictly confidential way.

I said that in doing so in this way a different course would be followed from that adopted by the ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Reshid Pasha, who had handed me a statement of the Turkish case for presentation to the Peace Conference; and while I was ready to forward to you any proposal in the manner he desired, he must quite clearly understand, firstly, that it could not have at all the same weight as a proposal openly laid before the Conference; secondly, that just as we had made war [illegible] with our Allies, so we would make peace, also, conjointly with them [illegible] but I would not encourage him [illegible] decision as regards the Turkish Empire [illegible] been taken, or that even [illegible] not an unbreakable intention had already been formed.

8. Ferid Pasha said that whilst Great Britain had certainly made war conjointly with her Allies, yet Turkey had only fought with England and only recognised [illegible] at her hands, and it was intolerably hard and bitter to be placed in sub[illegible] others than the acknowledged victors. But he fully appreciated the be[illegible] words, and, nevertheless, would submit through me his [illegible]

9. He drew from his pocket a paper which he said was a hasty translation of a Turkish draft prepared by the Sultan and himself, and I have the honour to enclose [illegible] paper herewith. He said, before handing it to me, that I should not be [illegible] with the first part though I should be with the end; but it [illegible] that it presented the best possible solution which could be [illegible] as well as for Great Britain, whether as a Great Moslem Power or [illegible] great material interests. He himself was an entirely [illegible] civilisation, but there was the Oriental civilisation as well as he was equally acquainted with that.

He ventured to think that Great Britain might commit a great error were she [illegible] her Allies into taking any action which would create an impassable [illegible] between the two. The dissolution of the Turkish Empire was not quite comparable to the effects that might be produced by the disappearance of the [illegible] Monarchy or of the Austrian Empire, for a great religious issue was involved as well [illegible] or more than, a great temporal stake.

11. Speaking again for the Sultan as Caliph and for himself as the [illegible], he reaffirmed the submission of Turkey to England [illegible] and supplicated British assistance [illegible] in return have every [illegible] of the Turkish [illegible]

[illegible] to report his words to you, Sir, which I did in acc[illegible] the terms of your telegram No. 443 of the 11th March, I stated once more [illegible] the same time I could hold out no sort of hope to him, that the fate of Turkey had been decided by the action of the Committee of Union and Progress, and that I was certain that His Majesty's Government would do nothing save [illegible] mony and consultation with their Allies. This concluded a somewhat lengthy interview.

13. I desire to offer a few observations upon it as well as upon the document which I am forwarding to you.

14. I have no doubt of the sincerity of Ferid Pasha, and little, if any [illegible] that of the Sultan, whom, however, I have never seen, but I believe the Grand Vizier reflect him very accurately. I feel certain that no similar advances have been or will be made to either of my colleagues, for it is not to the French or the Italians that Turkey has looked for aid in the past, almost as a matter of tradition; [illegible] much evidence that the desire for British help and guidance is widely spread throughout the country as a whole, and not only among the Turks. This feeling, I should add, has been considerably encouraged in any place where the British soldier happens to be stationed, as his conduct almost invariably produces a most favourable impression upon those among whom he lives, especially when it is compared with the den[illegible] of other foreign troops.

15. It cannot but be of real public utility that such impression should exist, [illegible] the Turks cannot fail to remain as a factor, and a very important [illegible], which has to be reckoned with [illegible]

16. But despite this fact I cannot help thinking that our first duty, whatever our [illegible] may be, lies towards the subject Christian races of this country whose [illegible] treatment must never be forgotten and cannot be condoned. Punishment absolutory must be inflicted on the Turks as a people, and upon individuals as examples.

The first will be achieved by the diminution of their empire; the second by the verdicts of the tribunal to be set up, as I understand, by the Peace Conference, to try those persons now almost daily being arrested.

17. But it is as useless to endeavour to reach all the guilty as it is, in a general way, to be vindictive, and it appears to me that once the two aims above mentioned have been achieved—and almost even sooner—it behoves us to look to the future rather than to the past, and to consider what régime is most likely to grant some tran[illegible]lity, some breathing space, not only to the Christians but also to the sorely pressed M[illegible] is of this unfortunate empire.

18. It is our earnest hope in this High Commission that the rumours which reach us of an independent Armenia may be true, and that such a State will be established; once that is done I think every effort should be made to induce all Armen[illegible] such territory as may be left to the Turks, and to seek new and safe homes in their own new country.

19. No less earnest is my hope, which I am venturing to express to you by telegraph, that the Hellenic Kingdom will not spread itself to the eastern shores of the Ægean; not because I have not the warmest sympathy with their aspirations for liberation from the tyranny of the past, but because I do not believe that this action would advance either the prosperity or the happiness of any of the parties concerned, but quite the reverse.

20. In a recent despatch you, Sir, concurred with an opinion expressed by the War Office that Mussulman Minorities in Christian houses should not be forced to leave in favour of their previous proprietors until some sort of provision had been made for the Moslems. This is the principle upon which I believe it is [illegible] in the endeavour to settle the problem set before us in Asia Minor.

Whilst seeking to be just to the Christian, it is most necessary not to be [illegible] Moslem, and, further, to do this would be most unwise. As Ferid Pasha [illegible] borderland between East and West, and I can conceive no [illegible] important for us to define, so far as possible, on sound [illegible], for it is obvious that there is no country, not excluding [illegible], which has an interest even comparable to that of His Ma[illegible] Government on the Eastern side of the line.

22. In fact I find it very hard to believe that the true natural Western limits of the Indian Empire are not now the Eastern shores of the Ægean. It is equally hard to believe that the methods which were so successfully employed to control the savage [illegible] cannot be used with like success towards [illegible] Osman.

The memorandum which the Grand Vizier left with me deals first of all with the Holy Places, and it is evident from this and from other statements I have laid before you that the Sultan attaches more importance to his title as Caliph and Haramet Haramoun than to anything else. To comment on this matter in any way is beyond my province, but it is my duty to point out its weight. The great traditions that have given majesty to the Sultan of Turkey and to the Caliphs of Islam are certainly not yet extinct, any more than are their connections with the sherifial families or with other great Arab chiefs, just as we shall have to live along with 10,000,000 or 12,000,000 of Turks, so shall we also have to live with the moral and religious influences which are concentrated in their Sovereign; and whilst on the one hand it appears to me a mistake to exaggerate the spiritual power of the Caliphate, so it is no less a mistake to underrate the potential dangers of Pan-Islamism, and I suggest that it is as important to have a friendly and dependent Sultan in the north, as it is to have a King of like disposition in the south, of Western Asia.

[illegible] appear to be room for anxiety lest the Turks, not being represented at the Peace Conference, should be ignored and treated as a negligible quantity. This they certainly are not, and if the principle of self-determination is too entirely set aside in their case, there can be no lasting peace in the Near East, and as pointed out in my telegram No. 580 of this day's date, it seems only too probable that the task of quelling a sanguinary war and of re-establishing order will devolve as usual on Great Britain.

I have, &c.
(For the High Commissioner),
RICHARD WEBB.

Enclosure in No. 34

Memorandum.

Asie

PAYS de la langue turque, ainsi que les provinces se trouvant entre l'Anatolie et l'Arab [illegible] directement à [illegible] Sultan. Les pays de la langue arabe auront la plus large autonomie.

Le Hedjaz sera octroyé héréditairement à la famille d'Aon (famille actuelle). Indépendance absolue dans les affaires intérieures, mais un agent politique sera placé à côté de l'Emir (Prince) pour assurer l'harmonie de sa politique extérieure avec celle de l'Empire. L'agent ottoman aura à sa disposition un bataillon de 100 hommes. A Médine il y aura une garnison turque avec un général—symbole de l'unité religieuse.

Dans les pays gouvernés par Imam Yahia et Idris (Yémen) *statu quo ante* [illegible] Hedjaz, Yémen resteront [illegible]

Dans tous ces pays le droit de frapper la monnaie appartiendra au Sultan; c'est au nom du Khalif qu'on fera la prière de vendredi (Hutbe), le drapeau ottoman flottera partout.

L'Angleterre occupera en Europe et en Asie pendant quinze ans, soit dans les provinces directement soumises à la souveraineté du Sultan, soit dans celles jouissant [illegible] points qu'elle croira nécessaires, en vue d'assurer l'indépendance de la Turquie [illegible] de l'étranger, et d'assurer la tranquillité de l'intérieure [illegible] République indépendante ou autonome, selon le désir [illegible] avec d'autres Puissances.

En Europe.

[illegible] près de Bourgaz, sur [illegible] passant à Samakow, et [illegible] distance à l'ouest d'Enos, sur la mer Egée, dessineront les frontières de [illegible] Europe. C'est la frontière naturelle du vilayet d'Andrinople que ces [illegible] montagnes entourent comme les murs d'une propriété Prin[illegible]

Les Détroits.

Dans les deux détroits de la mer Noire et des Dardanelles toutes les fortifications seront rasées, et ils seront occupés par l'A[illegible]

Intérieure.

L'Angleterre, par un sentiment d'amitié, voudra bien consentir à la nomination par le Sultan des Sous-Secrétaires d'Etat anglais dans les Ministères ottomans, où leur présence est nécessaire.

De plus, il sera nommé dans chaque vilayet un consul général anglais qui remplira [illegible]

Les élections municipales aux conseils provinciaux et au Parlement se feront sous le contrôle des consuls anglais.

L'Angleterre aura le droit d'établir un contrôle sur les finances, soit à la capitale, soit en provinces.

La Constitution sera simplifiée conformément à l'aptitude et à la capacité politique des peuples de l'Orient. A ce sujet j'avais présenté au Sénat un rapport, il y a dix ans (le 15 février 1909).

Les Chambres seront appelées à voter le budget et à faire connaître au Gouvernement central les besoins locaux. Le Sultan sera absolument libre de diriger la politique extérieure de l'Empire.

[50699] **No. 35.**

Foreign Office to India Office.

Sir, *Foreign Office, April 17, 1919.*

I AM directed by Earl Curzon of Kedleston to transmit herewith in original for early return a report from Captain Lee-Warner on his recent visit to the Hadramaut.

While realising that Kathiri emigration to the Dutch East Indies and the Malay Peninsula places the connection between the Hadramaut and the outside world on a different footing from that of other parts of Arabia proper, Lord Curzon is of opinion that the position in this part of Arabia is analogous to that in other areas where His Majesty's Government wish to exercise influence over the actions of hinterland tribes w[illegible] d the reach of their direct contro[illegible]

His Lordship proposes to instruct Sir Edmund Allenby to put forward a suggestion [illegible] after consulting the Political Resident at Aden, on the lines that pressure should if possible be brought to bear upon the Kathiri th[illegible] Sultan without our necessarily interfering in the relations between the Kathiris and the Gaetis. He considers that Captain Lee Warner's suggestion, that some effort should be made to encourage the two rival factions to come to a more satisfactory [illegible] it with the policy of non-interference which [illegible] d by His Majesty's Government, but at the same time he considers it inadvisable for us to enter into direct relations with hinterland rulers so long as the desired result can be obtained by working through the ruler of the coastal area.

As Mr Secretary Montagu is doubtless aware, the contentment of the Kathiris is a matter of some concern to His Majesty's Government, in view of the powerful influence exercised by Kathiri immigrants over the Moslem population of the Dutch East Indies and the Malay Peninsula.

[illegible] Lord Curzon considers it highly desirable, subject to the con[illegible] of the Colonial Office, that the existing embargoes on money remittances at Singapore and Aden should be removed as soon as possible, and that the Netherlands Government should be approached with a view to inducing them to reconsider their decision to stop immigration.

But before either of these steps can well be taken, it appears necessary that the internal politics of the Hadramaut should be placed on a more satisfactory footing, and his Lordship would be glad of Mr Montagu's opinion on the instructions which he proposes to send to Sir Edmund Allenby.

I am, &c.
G. SPICER.

Enclosure 1 in No. 35

Captain Lee-Warner to Political Resident, Aden.

(Secret.)

Sir, *Aden, March 3, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to report that I reached Makalla on the 15th January, 1919, where I presented to His Highness the Sultan the photograph of Makalla and the specimen box of oils sent by His Excellency Sir Reginald Wingate from Cairo [illegible] used with both the presents, and has, I understand, written to His Excellency a letter of appreciation.

2. On the 16th I had a long interview with Sultan Ghalib, in the course of which I handed to him your letter. I informed him of the general position as regards the war, as regards Ali Said Pasha's surrender, and of the despatch of the Turkish prisoners from Aden to Egypt. His Highness evinced much curiosity about Hodaidah, the Yemen, and Imam Yahya.

4. We then turned to the more special objects of my visit. I explained the position of the Hadramaut Arabs in Java and Singapore, the folly of some of their number in meddling with Dutch colonial politics; and the dangers of restrictions on

their further emigration. I referred to Sarikat Islam, and pointed out that the majority of its Arab supporters were Kathiris.

5. I told His Highness of my desire to proceed inland in the hope of influencing the Kathiris in the required direction, and I informed him that such a journey could only be made with his "approval," and not merely with his "concurrence" (*vide* your instructions to me).

6. His Highness immediately concurred with the proposal for the journey; he held that it might serve a most useful purpose; and he sent a messenger to his Wazir, Syed Hussein-bin Hamid-al-Mindar, at Wadi Doan.

7. [illegible] course a reply came, suggesting that as influenza had been rampant in the Wadi I might prefer to meet the Wazir at Shibam.

8. I deemed it better, however, not to cause the Syed the trouble of this journey, and accordingly I proceeded (as soon as the necessary camels and escort had been obtained) to Wadi Doan, where I was hospitably [illegible] we were able to discuss the Kathiri question from both sides.

9. Subsequently, accompanied by his son Syed Abubakar, I went on to Shibam, and was able to meet the Kathiri Sultans, on the 8th February, just beyond that [illegible] a village called Hazm, a neutral Syed village, although situated in Kathiri [illegible]

[illegible] Sayyun, and within two [illegible], and only once entered by a [illegible] reached the environs of Terim in 185[illegible], [illegible] to me that not only the Wazir of the Kasiri but also the Kathiri Sultans looked on a visit to these centres at the present time as injudicious; not merely were the Humums, the ancient allies of the Kathiris, in a ferment, but disease was rampant in Sayyun. Your orders on the point were also explicit, and I accordingly returned by my former route, reaching Makalla via Qatan, Haurah, Hajarein, Sif, Kowerah, and Wadi Hammam on the 22nd February, 1919.

11. The accompanying report gives particulars on various points, but I would here state one or two items.

(a.) The Wadi Hammam route by which I travelled had not been covered by either the Bonta or by Leo Hirsch, and by using this route I was enabled to enter Wadi Doan at its very beginning. It has thus been possible to present a full sketch map of this valley, which in the present political condition of the country has become the main Kasiri line of communication. Some additions and corrections to route 67 ("Hand-book of Arabia," vol. ii) have also thus been obtained.

(b.) The presence of a British officer who could speak Malay [illegible] ciated by the common people, many of whom have been in Batavia [illegible] and a few of whom have been in the Malay Peninsula. As no rain had fallen [illegible] places for fourteen, and in others for seven, months, and as the entire cultivation [illegible] Wadi Doan, Wasi-e-Amar, and the other southern wadis relies on an annual "sel" (or spate caused by upland rain rushing into the wadis) it was a matter of considerable good fortune to my journey that on arrival at Kowerah clouds began to collect, while rain overtook us at Hajarein, and on my arrival at Shibam the "sel" was in Wadis Doan, El Amar, Amd, and Ain. On my return to Doan planting was nearly completed all along the valley.

(c.) While the Sultan in Makalla and his Wazir in Wadi Doan not only did not [illegible] in Kathiri Sultans, the leading persons in Shibam, especially the Governor, Sjech Abdulkadir, were clearly not only incensed at any attempt to give friendly advice to the Kathiris, but they also somewhat resented the presence of a European in their town. The reasons for this attitude are more fully set out in the accompanying report.

12. On my return to Makalla I visited Si[illegible] W[illegible] the site of the famous "humum" tobacco cultivat[illegible], purchase of which brings in an annual sum of 20[illegible] Dollars.

13. On the 26th February native dances were held before several hundreds of people in Makalla, while on the 28th athletic sports, including foot races, jumping, tug-of-war, sack race, &c., were held outside the western gate. Over 1,000 spectators were enthusiastic over the display.

14. I left Makalla in H.M.S. "Diana" on the 2nd March and arrived in Aden on the 3rd March, 1919.

15. In a separate letter—which is of interest only to the authorities in Egypt and [illegible] I have, &c.

W. H. LEE WARNER.

Enclosure in No. 35.

Report by Captain Lee-Warner on his recent Visit to the Hadhramaut.

Preliminary Quotations from an Expert.

Hadhramaut is practically a closed country. It is for us to investigate and develop its resources [illegible]

Introduction.

THE visit to Makalla and the journey to Wadi Doan and Shibam were undertaken partly with the object of reporting to the Foreign Office the conditions of the Kasiri and Kathiri country, with especial reference to the question of the Kathiri administration and [illegible] Kathiri [illegible] nuance of which is jeopardised by the Dutch Colonial Government's avowed intention [illegible] Kathiri [illegible] many of whom [illegible] to son and grandson, the matter of continued and free emigration is vital to the Kathiri.

The policy of the Foreign Office as regards the [illegible] Dutch East Indies was directed in 1918 to a systematic effort to attract the Arabs, the intellectual leaders [illegible] many wave of the teeming millions of Java's Muslims. These Arabs were at the [illegible] to British and [illegible]

Unfortunately, while [illegible] measure of success attended the effort to win over this Arab opinion to the British side, [illegible] extreme sects, mainly located in Sourabaya, under German pressure, mixed in the more seditious part of the great society called S[illegible] measures to classify all the Arabs as undesirables.

[illegible] of warning the Kathiris of this danger that I visited the Wadi Hadhramaut.

[illegible] in Wadi Doan I was approached on more than one occasion by Arabs who [illegible] was now being refused by the Dutch authorities.

Examples increased as Kathiri territory was approached, and I was glad to see that at the interview which I was able to have with the Kathiri Sultans a large [illegible] Kathiris was present, and overheard the whole of the address which I gave [illegible]

The Sultans appeared struck by the danger, and promised to write to the leading Kathiris all over Java and warn them not to meddle with Dutch colonial politics.

I went to Hadhramaut with a strong inclination towards the Kathiris as the rightful owners of the soil, as a virile and independent people, if anything rather harshly treated.

I left the Hadhramaut a convinced and confirmed supporter of the Kasiris, as the only hope for a future happy, contented country [illegible] system of extortion and robbery; their leading Syeds and Sjechs are openly hostile to them, and it is not too much to state [illegible] freed from the presence of the Kathiri royal family.

In spite of the Shibam authorities, I was able to meet various persons who spoke Malay, and thus I was in a position to [illegible] ence of the exact meaning, of which those who knew Arab only were unaware.

Unless the Kathiri Government gives stronger proof of its ability to carry out the [illegible] impossible for His Majesty's consular officers in Java to champion the cause of [illegible] emigrants with any honesty. And lack of such help will mean restriction on emigration

as the consequent alienation from the British of the Arabs in Java and Singapore, with a corresponding hatred of the British in Kathiri territory.

Hence my suggestions, as set out in the paragraph headed "The future," in connection with which the three short quotations which commence this report cannot be too closely borne in mind.

While in Shibam I was struck by the absence of friendliness to my visit, a point which I was naturally desirous of elucidating, all the more so as from the moment I entered this last [illegible] of K[illegible] [illegible] y, if, luckily, not wholly effectually [illegible] any information being gained by me. I feel measurably confident that three reasons existed for this attitude:—

There is a strong [illegible] in fact, an entirely predominant—commercial element in Shibam, consisting mainly of Sjechs and of several Syeds, who compose the trading portion of the population.

It is an undeniable fact that the Turkish forces received considerable supplies from the regions east of Lahej.

It is indisputable that Makalla is the chief port, in fact, the only considerable port east of Aden.

Makalla has other sources of import than Aden, *i.e.*, Bombay, Oman, &c.

It is, I believe, overwhelmingly evident that the supplies in question must have originally entered south-east Arabia either at Shihr or Makalla, both ports under Kathiri rule.

I am convinced—

(*a.*) That supplies reached the Turks which entered south-east Arabia either at S[illegible] or Makalla.

(*b.*) That these supplies could not have travelled west along the coast route for (1) the use of such a route would indubitably have been reported to Aden; (2) His Highness Sultan Ghalib of Makalla would equally indubitably have [illegible] of any efforts to use such a route, and would at once have cut short such methods, for (i) his aloofness is considerable; (ii) the only western coast route from Shihr and Makalla runs through his western gate within 10 yards of his residence; and (iii) his entire loyalty to His Majesty's Government is a matter for which I can unhesitatingly and absolutely vouch.

(*c.*) That these supplies were carried northward ostensibly for the Shibam, and [illegible] for the eastern Wadi Hadhramaut trade (Seyyun Tarim Terim, &c.).

(*d.*) That once in Shibam they were despatched along Wadi Hadhramaut westward [illegible] tribes exist along this route), until by a [illegible]

Shibam is extremely prosperous. The description later in this report of the town [illegible] persons who could obtain (and forward) considerable supplies inland. Not one merchant was permitted to come and speak with me alone, and not one word of the information [illegible] directly from this source.

And the main opponents to my obtaining any information were Sjech Abdulkadir (Governor of Shibam) and a Malay-speaking Sjech, Abubakar-bin Mohamed Attowi, whose original fortune was and is being made at Singapore, and who, while professing delight at meeting me, dogged my every movement, and more than once managed to prevent a conversation which he saw I was about to commence.

An Arab trader with marketable commodities of which he holds the monopoly will not let slip a unique opportunity for unusually large profits. Nor if, as in this case it is essential to hide his actions, will he hesitate to put every conceivable obstacle in an investigator's path!

Many of these merchants, from a second (an additional) point of view desired to conceal their present prosperity. I found that they wished to keep up the fiction that by restricting free and unlimited export of commodities from Aden during the war the British Government had seriously injured their trade, and hence that "unnecessary" [illegible] such as the war tax, which many of them were having to pay in [illegible] doubly hard.

Shibam has always—with other towns of Wadi Hadhramaut proper—boasted that it has kept free from any contamination engendered by the presence of [illegible] "unbeliever." This somewhat fanatic pride has been strengthened by the fact that Hirsch and the Bents (the former a fluent Arabic scholar, travelling in Arab guise, and posing more as a Moslem than a Christian) have been the only Europeans known [illegible] have entered Shibam, and that as long ago as [illegible]

4. Finally, both the Governor and others considered any attempt at giving to the K[illegible] [illegible]

M[illegible] in the [illegible] in families, are inserted on purpose to furnish a basis of information for His Britannic Majesty's Consulate-General in Java, for whom in some ways this report is mainly intended.

The [illegible]

[illegible] &c.

[illegible] Kathiri [illegible]ilities—Government—taxation, &c.

[illegible] The future—

(*a.*) Aden, Makalla, Hadhramaut;

(*b.*) Action in Java.

[illegible] Wadi Doan, importance, inhabitants, &c.

5. Kathiri military resources and garrisons.

[illegible]

I. [illegible] Makalla to Wadi Doan and on to Sif[illegible]

II. [illegible] and ruins in Wadi Doan.

9. Corrigenda and addenda for "Handbook of Arabia."

A. Sketch map of Hadhramaut (main towns and wadis).

B. Tribal sketch map of Ha[illegible]

C. Sketch map of Wadi Doan (to Shibam).

Section I.—Kaiiti Personalities—Government—Taxation, &c.

Sultan Sir Ghalib-bin-Awadh-bin-O[illegible] K[illegible] of Shihr. He has a son, Sultan Saleh bin-Ghalib, who in turn has an infant son.

Both the Sultan and his son are warmly Anglophile; they are closely [illegible] with Hyderabad, where, indeed, Sultan Saleh lives. Sultan Saleh speaks English, and Sultan Ghalib has a small knowledge of this language.

There were three brothers, Sultans Omar, Hussein, and Mansur-al-Kaiti. With [illegible] Sultan Ghalib quarrelled. Previously Sultan Mansur (now deceased) ruled Ghail and Sultan Hussein Shihr, until the present ruler expelled them from the country. With his remaining brother, Sultan Omar-bin-Awadh, Sultan Ghalib appears [illegible] for comparatively [illegible] y four or five years, and it is he who is [illegible] in building the hu[illegible] just inside the east gate of Makalla town.

There are some thirty live members of the Kaiti family in Hyderabad, but the succession to the Makalla and Shihr Sultanate is vested in and confined to the direct blood [illegible] Sultan Ghalib is by no means an [illegible] ruler. He is far-sighted, and fully alive to the possibilities of agriculture [illegible] But he sees that the first need is the final settlement of the Kathiri [illegible]. He is very popular with all his subjects.

[illegible] Syed Hussein bin Hamid-ben-Ahmed al-Mihdar. For the past fifteen years W[illegible] the virtual ruler of the country, although recently the troubles with the K[illegible] Hamumis have called for his presence, over considerable intervals of time, [illegible] and Shihr. A diplomat of much dexterity, who has, mainly by [illegible] and private wire pulling, seduced from the Kathiri allegiance many [illegible] More important successes have been the gaining over of the [illegible] the powerful and numerous Manahil, and the importantly situated Tumiam interests. The tribal sketch map—(B) attached—shows the extent of his diplomatic [illegible]

As a result of the "treaty" of 1918 between Sultan Ghalib and the K[illegible] whose crushing disaster is described elsewhere in this report.

The "treaty," however, is otherwise of no practical political use. It possesses no sufficient guarantees, and from a perusal of the attached subheadings, "Kathiri

Personalities, &c.," and "The Future," it will be seen that what is needed is a much [illegible] to ameliorate their internal Government. Otherwise K[illegible]ks cannot be guarded against, and the main object of the treaty policy [illegible] Hadhramaut, wherein the magnificent agricultural possibilities of the entire main "Wadi Hadhramaut" can be adequately and uniformly utilised [illegible] peoples, remains unguaranteed *in toto*. I [illegible] nture to invite a reasoned c[illegible]ion of this state[illegible]

[illegible] Sjech Abdulkadir-bin-Sjech A[illegible] Yafa I[illegible] made his fortune in the Straits and Java. [illegible] seen it in [illegible] the major part [illegible], and retired with the remainder to Shibam [illegible] fifteen [illegible] of the town, under the title of Moqaddam, about eight [illegible]

[illegible] man and a bitter enemy [illegible] the Kathiri [illegible] Nab of [illegible]d, who—although [illegible] he has left [illegible] matters at hea[illegible] He openly detests [illegible] of Kur[illegible] dependable, if harsh, ruler in his own sphere [illegible] Wazir and good-humouredly somewhat [illegible] with such lists are so Anglicized [illegible] dy quite unscrup[illegible] oney, provided that [illegible]

Governor of Haurah Qatan (and Shibam [illegible] Aoun-Salah, a nephew Sultan Gaalib, lives in Qatan, with nominal [illegible] over Shibam. His father, Sultan Salah, brother of Sultan Awaun, and previously held this post [illegible] Viceroy. Sultan Ali is a young man of 20 years of age, extremely prepossessing [illegible]nt (although he has never travelled overseas), quiet, and respected. His man[illegible]wever, nil. He is entirely under the dominance of the Wazir [illegible] immediately, of the real Governor of Kasiri Wadi Hadhramaut, Sjech [illegible] Shibam.

The "Governors" of Makalla (Syed Abdulrahman-bin-Hamid, brother of the Wazir [illegible] of Shihr (Nasser Ahmed) are figureheads, the one a Syed and the other of the soldier (Askari) class, totally subordinate to Wazir Syed Hussein.

Finally, mention should be made of Omar-ba-Ahmed (Bassorah), paramount chief of the great Sedan tribe, and adjudicator in all Amani disputes; a Beloum, whose chief village is Qarrah. Details about this man will be found in the succeeding "Wadi Doan," but he is here mentioned because he is the greatest Beloum chief in Kasiri territory, and because his influence, which is great, is entirely on the Kasiri and British side.

[illegible]y to detail the various merchant [illegible]ociers of Makalla, they are [illegible] Aden authorities.

Mention, however, must be made [illegible] g traders in Shibam—

Sjech Abdulkadir-bin Sje[illegible]
[illegible] Hussein bin Sa[illegible]m connection with Si[illegible]
Syed Mohamed bin Abdullah-bin-Jafar-al-Habshi, connected wit[illegible]
Salim bin Omar ba-Deep, connected with Makalla and Aden;
Awadh-bin-Abdullah ba-Deep, connected with Makalla and Ad[illegible]
Mohamed bin Hussein-bin Mohamed-bin Gabir, connected wit[illegible]
Awadh bin-Abdulrahman-ba-Swandan [illegible] with Singapore;
Abdullah bin Bakar Ma A[illegible]
Ali-bin-Mohamed Al F[illegible] with Si[illegible]
Mohamed bin-Awadh ba-Deep, connected with Java; and
Omar bin Mohamed ba-Yusuf, connected with Java.

And of the great Syed families:

Al Mohdar from Wadi Doan, Kowerah;
Al Attas, mainly from Doan (Mustred), also Seiotah (near Haurat);
Al Idroos partly from neighbourhood of Shibam (Hajm and Haurah).

[illegible]

The Sultan (1919) obtains revenue amounting to 340,000 Maria Theresa dol[illegible] as follows:—

[illegible] export duties [illegible] Makalla are farmed by public auction [illegible] Joomabhoy Lalyee held these duties as their monopoly.

They pay [illegible] sum of 160,000 dollars. In return, they may charge 3 per cent. *ad valorem* export and import duty on all articles, foods, &c., leaving or entering Makalla. The s[illegible] exceptions are dates and twine, which pay 5 per cent.

(b.) Similar duties for Shibeir and Shihr are farmed by Sjech Abdulkadir Bashareheel (combined at Shihr (Ghail) with Abu Sabar).

(c.) For general articles, as above, they pay a sum of 75,000 dollars, while in [illegible] the sole right to be purchasers and exporters of the Ghail [illegible] Wazir tobacco crop they pay a sum of 105,000 dollars.

Import and export from other points are forbidden, and it seems that the method of farming is on the whole satisfactory, as it is stated that no trouble occurs over the collection of the 3 per cent. and 5 per cent. duties.

The townspeople incur no other taxation, beyond the payment of the above duties.

Landowners pay no land tax to the Government. A tax of ½ dollar per date tree to Government is par[illegible]

(Inland, *e.g.*, in Wadi Doan, the rate would seem to be ½ dollar only paid to the tribal chief.)

Note 1.—Kathiri merchants buying for Terim, Seyyun, Ghurfa, Tarim, &c., from [illegible]gh Shibam, pay to Sjech Abdulkadir, the Kasiri Governor, "Ashur," 1 rupee [illegible] head.

[illegible] Comparison with the Kathiri "taxation," as set out in the next [illegible] "Kathiri personalities, &c.," will show in what fortunate circumstances the K[illegible] tribes live.

[illegible] The Sultan frequently has to supplement this revenue by payments made [illegible]rtune; for this purpose he draws money from Hyderabad.

The general line of administration is exceeding benevolent. Taxation is limited to payment of import [illegible] export duties. In the towns (*e.g.*, Makalla) a complete civ[illegible] criminal jurisdiction exists. Thus in Makalla the Mufti (Sjech Abdurahman ba-Sjech) with his Kazi (S[illegible] Abdullah-bin-Ahmad Arrawi) deals with civil, religious, and most of the criminal cases. The police under the "[illegible]wosh" and [illegible] named Nasser, look adequately after internal order.

[illegible]

Fish and vegetable markets are held in the open space by the landing stage of [illegible] along the central street.

Water is plentiful, being supplied by [illegible] pipes from an inland spring, and is sold [illegible]ceedingly cheap, while the price of fish [illegible] which the supply is inexhaustible) and [illegible]ds, and mutton is ridiculously small.

[illegible] be made to Sultan Gaalib's activity in the spheres of agriculture [illegible]

[illegible]tan is well aware of [illegible]t facilities existing in various localities such as Wadi Hadhramaut Main, [illegible] for extensive and extended cultivation, and on some of these points a spec[illegible]tion has been addressed to the resident [illegible]

At Ghail-ba-Wazir and in the line of villages El Gara, Wadi-ba-Baker, El Habyar, [illegible] running east-south-east, thence towards Shihr, is cultivated the famous "Hamiri" tobacco, the necessary water coming from five deep grottos whence exceedingly well-traced but very lowly cut water-channels lead the supply to the [illegible] by 105,000 dollars annually for the purchase [illegible] fertility of this spot may be gauged. T[illegible] ly prosperous "colonies" should not be established at other places.

In Wadi Hadhramaut exists an immense area of potential cultivation [illegible] ngely exploited. Wadi Hadhramaut (upper reaches), Wadi Hinon [illegible] Wadi Amd, Wadi Ain Wadi-el-Ansar, and Wadi Doan (to mention the [illegible] ll experience on an average at least one annual "sel" or spate. The waters left over from these "sels" merge underground as they reach Wadi Hadhramaut and there can be but little doubt that with properly dug wells worked by proper water-raising engines a complete water supply to enable practically the whole Wadi to be cultivated would be practicable.

The essentials are:

(a.) A guaranteed treaty with the Kathiri, or a final solution of the Kathiri question whereby not only lasting peace is assured for the Wadi, but its participation by the Kathiri Government in a Kaiti scheme [illegible] irrigation, and for the road communications which Sultan Ghalib has in mind.

(b.) The seconding of a capable European engineer and of an agricultural expert to examine and report on the whole position. Were his report favourable it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this potential granary and date supply.

In road-making His Highness has already completed the fol[illegible]

(a.) A well-traced carriage road from Makalla to Hashiyat, 8 miles.
(b.) A well-traced road with culverts where necessary) west from Makalla, past Ras Makalla, and thence, and skirting sea, for 10 miles; thence on the firm beach transport is easy f[illegible] 10 miles to Sunaer, whence a practicable road runs 9 miles north to Ghail Ba Wazir, the [illegible]

His Highness contemplates in due course a road from Mount Howarah to [illegible]

[illegible] sketch map (B.)) [illegible] in all interests it is to be earnestly hoped that Kaiti influence will shortly embrace the whole of Wadi Hadhramaut.

Section 2.—Kathiri Personalities—Government—Taxa[illegible]

Sultans. Sultan Mansur-bin-Ghalib-bin-Muhs[illegible] Sultan Mansur-bin-Ghalib-bin-Muhsin-al-Kathiri.

Salim-bin-Abood governs Terim. Terim is the property of Sultan Mansur; Seyyun that of Sultan Mohsin. But for many years both Sultans have [illegible] Mohsin visiting Terim at intervals.

Of the two Sultans Sultan Mansur, who suffers from a disease [illegible] initiative, and it is his brother Sultan Mohsin who is the vigorous intellect. Salim-bin-Abood is Mohsin's evil genius. Sultan Mansur is afraid of his brother, whose harsh face and somewhat sinister appearance denote a virile but [illegible] S[illegible] M[illegible] has left Terim some twenty years ago in preference for Seyyun, [illegible] friction with the Syeds. In b[illegible] uti have their most open and, most probably, their only capable opponent [illegible] whose chief position among the [illegible] held by Syed Hussein, the Sultan of Makalla's Wazir [illegible] unscrupulous and harsh ruler.

There appears to be but one system among the Kathiri ru[illegible] from all the Syeds, with a few notable exceptions.

At Seyyun, it is stated, there are some thirty persons of whom the chief are [illegible] Abdulrahman-bin-Abdullah bin Mohsin Alsegoff, sometimes called Obeidullah [illegible] Ali Said Pasha's envoy to the Kathiris during the war; Syed M[illegible] and Syed Mohsin-bin-Abdullah Alsaraff who are [illegible] for has an exempt[illegible] taxation of any sort.

The above excepted, every well-to-do Syed and Sjech (i.e., the vast majority of [illegible] of Seyyun, Terim, Gurria, and Inat, whose ancestors [illegible] centuries had, like themselves, regularly emigrated, mainly to Java [illegible] traded and made money) is liable to domiciliary visits and exa[illegible] oppression of this type, mainly on the part of Sultan Mohsin and S[illegible] has led to a deep feeling of hatred for the two Sultans and the[illegible] stated that whenever a Syed or Sjech returns from Java he is expe[illegible]

* Sultan Mansur's children give evidence of promise. This is not the case with those [illegible]

[illegible] payment to the "Government." In the case of rich men this may run to a thousand dollars or more. Nor is this all his house is liable to search, and any jewellery or valuable commodity may be taken away. Syed Mahomed Al[illegible] Abinat Aidid for example, h[illegible] ver 10,000 dollars in the last twenty years, and the rich house of Alkaff muc[illegible] Should a rich man be about to marry [illegible] occasion is taken for further extortion, and if the plain hint is ignored a domic[illegible] visit from Salim's "Abid" (or slave-soldiers) results.

On the other hand the Sultans (possibly from policy, probably also from inability) make no calls on the Bedouins of the Hadhramaut. So long as these latter observe peace when in the main wadi they are free to follow their inclinations.

Thus against the solid bulk of the industrious and well-to-do Kathiri population (the townspeople of the four main towns above mentioned) are ranged the Sultans with their slave soldiers (who may perhaps number a thousand) and the constable Bedouins, who receive doles when they come down to visit their nominal rulers.

[illegible] of the educated classes, with a few exceptions, is reported to be disgusted with the principles of the present Kathiri regime, and wh[illegible] it may be too [illegible] be welcomed by the vast majority [illegible] welcomed by many and [illegible]

[illegible] to the Kaiti and to British influence are—

In Seyyun neighbourhood, the Aidat family (connected with Singapore), Salim-bin-Khalak, Omar-bin-Awadh-bin-Shamman, Abdul Karim-bin-Karmus.

In Terim and neighbourhood, Syed Hussein bin-Abdulla-al Idroos, Omar-bin-Awadh Shatri, Syed Abdullah-bin-Awadh Shatri, the Al Djofri family (connected with Singapore, Java).

[illegible] the leading Kathiris who are pro-British, and who are [illegible] ment of the Kathiris, are the following Terim inhabitants.

The Alkaffs: Syed Abdulrahman-bin-Sjech Alkaff (connections in Singapore and Batavia); Syed Abdulrahman bin Abdullah Alkaff (relatives of late Syed Sjech Alkaff) [illegible]

The Al Junaids: Syed Abdullah bin-bin-Ali al-Junid (Singapore connections), Syed Alwi-bin Saqaff al-Junid.

The Bel Faqis: Syed Sjech bin-Mohamed-bin Faqi [illegible] Fadhal (property in Batavia) [illegible] Syed Omar-bin-Ahmed Ash Shatri (Singapore property).

And since it is of possible value and certainly of practical utility, to know whences, geographically, the main fam[illegible] may note further the Kathiri [illegible]

1. Ahl Abiat. Leaders, Saleh Omar [illegible] Omar bin Obeid Kaabi bin Omar al-Abiat; live at Bab Aker and Gol, near Sayyun, and are strongly anti-British, connected with Singapore.
   Ahl Almar. Leader, Abdullah bin Lahmam-bin-Abdulaziz; come from Al [illegible], near Shibam, with Java connections.
   Ahl-el-Hontah. Leader, Syed Omar bin Abdullah bin Z[illegible] with Java.
4. Ahl Fakhayad. Leader, Mohamed Amar-bin-Sonad; come from Dakkah.
5. Ahl-bin Talib. Leader, Obeid Saleh, [illegible] from Kaiue near Seyyun.
6. Ahl Marabin Talib. Leaders, Saleh [illegible] Jaffar-bin Salim bin Talib; live [illegible] with Sourabaya. Ta[illegible] Alawiah Ma[illegible] Mohamed bin Yamani live at Tabakul; all are [illegible] prominently with Singapore and Java.
   Ahl Owen. Leader, Syed Mohamed; come from Moshen and are connected [illegible]
8. Ahl Sayyid. Leaders, Ali [illegible] Jafar and Ali bin Mohamed; come from Madwaral and have Java connections.
9. Ahl Tamim. Leaders, Ali bin Abood bin Jamman Attamim; live at Kasam, [illegible] nat, and have connections at Batavia and Bogor.

While Seyyun members of the Alkaff family are Syed [illegible] Alkaff, Syed Mohamed bin Abdullah, and Syed Ali bin Saleh al Hamid bin Sheikh Abubaker Alkaff, all connected prominently with Singapore, Sourabaya, and Batavia; and many of the Al Idroos family, strongly pro-British, came from Hazm, a Syed village just beyond Shibam; one of their leaders is Syed Abubaker-bin-Idroos-al-Idroos, for[illegible]

Finally [illegible]

The Sultans look on the rich emigrants, Syeds and Sheikhs [illegible] and levy extortionate demands from these classes whenever they desire ready money.

The ordinary middle-class householder has to pay annually [illegible] 10 Maria Theresa dollars, women often being taxed at 10 dollars [illegible] is called Dotia.

Farmers must pay a proportion of their crop as a tax in kind (dhurra, [illegible] jowari, indigo, tobacco), called locally Mojba.

Each Terim and Seyyun tresswoner (date) pays annually 1 dollar per [illegible]

These payments all go to the Minister, Salim bin-Alwad.

Articles entering Kathiri territory from Shibam are also taxed at 1½ dollars the [illegible]

The usual rate of money lenders is 20 per cent. per annum, and there is a shortage of money due to the detention of remittances by the Singapore and Aden authorities.

[illegible]

One of the objects of the writer's visit to the Hadhramaut was to convey to the Kathiri Sultans and their advisers an intimation that the Dutch Government, as represented in the Netherlands East Indies by its Governor General, Graf van Limberg Stirum, was so incensed at the foolish action of certain Arabs, all emigrants from the Hadhramaut and mainly centred in the Al Dhefri group at Sourabaya, in mixing with the German agitators Major Hellfrich and Dehn, and in ranging themselves alongside the more seditious part of Sarikat Islam, called the Tentara Kanjang Nabi Mo[illegible] that it had expressed the resolve to forbid further immigration from the H[illegible]. As the entire wealth, for all practical purposes, of Wadi Hadhramaut comes from [illegible] at Leyden, and as 95 per cent. of these are emigrants to Java, Sumatra, and Malaya, the carrying out of the Dutch Colonial Government's threat would [illegible] *inter alia*:—

1. Financial ruin to Seyyun and Terim.
2. The locking up in Kathiri country of all the [illegible] men who would, in the ordinary course, have taken up their parents' business in [illegible].
3. Consequent poverty and discontent.
4. Local outbreaks and attacks in Wadi Hadhramaut against the prosperous Kaathis, the allies of the British.
5. Deep resentment, however unjust, in Java among the remaining Arabs against His Britannic Majesty's Government.
6. Resentment moreover, at a most unauspicious time following as it would the special efforts made in 1918 to enlist these Arabs on our side; and
7. Finally, a complete defeat to our special aim for so enlisting Arab Java [illegible] the well-known [illegible] of the reconstituted leading exponents of Islam in an island [illegible] which covers some 40,000,000 Mohammedans—so to enable us later to [illegible] in favour with the Islamic population as against the [illegible] Japanese are endeavouring to direct over Asia.

In the second place the main object of the visit was to report on the general situation of Kaathi and Kathiri.

Since British visits into the hinterland of Hadhramaut are as unlikely a [illegible] at present unwelcome, from an exceedingly conservative, a somewhat fanatic [illegible]

* For authority on this point see report [illegible] Oman and the secret of a revolution on the Arabian coast [illegible] Alexandria reported by the latter to the High Commissioner [illegible]

essentially astute chieftain [illegible] upon what he has seen and heard, [illegible] policy for the future as regards B[illegible] Hadhramaut. It is [illegible] action for His Britannic Majesty's consulate-general [illegible] points will now be dealt with in the order set out above.

I.—*Possible Policy between Aden, Makalla, and Hadhramaut*

"Arabia," used as a generic term for the whole peninsula, has loomed during the [illegible] than was the case before 1914. Now, for present purposes, we can divide this "Arabia" into seven spheres: the Hail sphere, with Ibn Rashid; the Wahabi sphere, with Ibn Saoud; the Mecca sphere, with Sherif Hussein; the Idrisi sphere, along the [illegible] the Yaman sphere, round Sanaa, with Imam Yahya; the Hadhramaut sphere; and the Muscat, Oman, and Bahrein states.

The last named presents few difficulties; the first five many. To these five in common, or at any rate to the third, fourth, and fifth, may be applied the gist of Sykes's remarks: "To aim at an intensive influence over the tracts already defined should be our object after the Turks go." "We should keep others out by recognised admission of our predominant interests." "Things will right themselves without our interference." "Do not take the place of the Turks, who are hated, and thus ourselves become hated." "Enlarged boundary lines imply additional largesse and stipends." "Arabia is a democracy; we have too long administered it on Indian lines, and the chiefs have been placed on the status of Indian princes." "The genius of the Arabs is against confe[illegible]

[illegible] Majesty's representative at Aden addressed Imam Yahya, of Sanaa, to [illegible] when emphasising that the British had no desire to take sides in [illegible] Arab disputes: "Our aims are entirely based on the desire [illegible] Arabia governed by Arabs."

Do such remarks, does such an enunciation apply to the remaining sphere, the Hadhramaut?

The writer maintains that it does not apply, and that it should not apply. For three reasons:

(a.) The entire Hadhramaut, Kaathi and Kathiri alike, depends for its whole material (and therefore to an Arab no less than to every other practical intelligence) for its whole essential existence, and for the success of that existence, on money made abroad by its emigrant sons. (Mecca is the reverse, also depends on the profits gained locally by the annual pilgrimage.)

The Kaathis are already our Allies; we have subsidised them. And, as a matter of fact, Kaathi emigrants usually go to British possessions for [illegible] Egypt, the British Straits Settlements (comparatively [illegible] Java). We cannot desert them.

[illegible], as I have endeavoured to show, is not despotic [illegible] flourishing condition of Makalla, Wadi Doan, Hadhramaut, Shibam is shared in by Bedouins, as well as by Syeds [illegible]

(b.) The expenses of the Kathiri Government need often to be met from the private fortune claimed in India of Sultan G[illegible] and he avowedly adopts our model, and states openly that the I[illegible] ment whose friendship he alone cares for, and whose orders he will at all times gladly carry out.

(c.) Makalla is a flourishing happy town, roads are being made inland and along the shore, Wadi Doan is prosperous, cultivation in Wadi Hadhramaut (Hajrain, Qatan, Shibam) is yearly being extended; peace is assured inside Kaathi territory.

(d.) The one danger is from the Kathiris and the Hamumis (see sketch map (B)). The latter are Bedouins pure and simple, whose motto is robbery. Without the Kathiris they would be powerless. Recently (however savage was the method employed) they have lost their leaders. (But it [illegible] be remembered that these leaders were continually robbing peaceable travellers to and from Shihr.)

The former are [illegible] and ready for a change. Were they to come under direct Kaiti rule the [illegible] would occur:—

(a) The wild tribes north of Wadi Hadhramaut (which have no cohesive [illegible]) would remain as at present in their mountains between "the [illegible] Quarter" and the cliffs of Wadi Hadhramaut; but all chance of irruption [illegible] their part could easily be prev[illegible] [illegible]rument prominent throughout Wadi Hadhramaut

(b) A road would shortly be run from Makalla through the Howairah route right up to and then down Wadi Hadhramaut to Terim

(c) Equal duties and taxation for Kaitis and Kathiris would be assured [illegible] there is no possible adequate guarantee for such under present conditions.

(d) His Majesty's Government could at once espouse the cause of any would be emigrants with much greater power than is at present possible. For not only could it, if necessary, emphasise to the would-be emigrant the need for proper behaviour in *e.g.*, the Dutch East Indies, but it could also, as active and not merely nominal protector or suzerain of the Kathiris, emphasise to the Dutch Colonial [illegible]nt its desire that Kathiri emigrants be treated justly

(e) Wadi Hadhramaut, under a [illegible]ngle G[illegible]nt, could be irrigated, provided with road [illegible] and [illegible] in a manner that a vast increase in cultivation [illegible]d in resultant universal prosperity for the country would occur

These arguments tend to show that the [illegible] position as an "Arab[illegible]sphere, differs from all other such spheres; [illegible] the policy to [illegible] to them does not and should not apply to the [illegible] so far that once the whole track was under one Government we could and should adopt the motto "Our aims are entirely based on the desire to see an Arabian province governed by its own people."

At present we are committed to the following: the Kaiti is our ally [illegible] subsidised him, he always obeys our advice; we cannot desert him.

If we bolster up the Kathiri, and address the Dutch Government on behalf of their emigrants, we must be consistent and take off the embargo on their h[illegible] remittances

If we do this they may very likely attack the Kaiti. E[illegible]n if they do not attack, they will still be a thorn to impede progress

If they attack we must always support the Kaiti such support means expenditure on each and every [illegible]

Sultan Ghalib's policy has been based on British lines. He is annually extending communications and cultivation. His successor will in all probability be, if possible, more Anglophile than he is himself

[illegible] policy is already [illegible]d by the prosperity of his subjects

[illegible]ub that [illegible] they we must either ignore th[illegible]ration of the Kathiris as a fr[illegible] power [illegible] or else we must s[illegible] that the Kaiti is placed, or is [illegible]tted to place himself, in a position of a [illegible] the whole Hadh[illegible] enjoy the s[illegible]

[illegible] position is unsound. By artificial [illegible] money remittances) we are checking the Kathiris, i.e., many of the remitters being persons wholly well-disposed towards us and towards the Kaiti (even were he to be presented as their new ruler); and at the same time [illegible] the need for establishing a friendly relation with [illegible] Arabs (practically all of whom are Kathiris), we are, in effect, saying to them, "Our aim is to help you [illegible] in what manner can this be done?" The present position further has gone [illegible] at any rate to [illegible]pardise the warmth of the [illegible] towards the British [illegible]

The two [illegible] of action also [illegible] mutually antagonistic, and our present position might turn, [illegible]red, into a position approx[illegible]g hypocrisy

The posi[illegible] Hadhramaut and its peo[illegible] ways unique. Did they not depend on emigrants' remittances [illegible] their whole material existence they could be dealt with or left alone as any other "Arabian" sphere. But being what they [illegible] and with their Java [illegible] emigrants as well as those who remain at h[illegible]

Most of the emigrants are on our side now, but th[illegible] expect some prompt assistance in the matter of the money remittances

Once the embargo is raised it must not be left in the power of the Kathiri Sultans [illegible] levy their usual toll, thus by (a) providing sinews of possible [illegible] continuing to excite trouble among their own subjects inside [illegible]

[illegible]e grounds [illegible]re therefore to urge either that the Kathiri be informed that a much more definite and much [illegible]ublic treaty must be made at once with the Kaiti, whereby pr[illegible] [illegible]ved that proper government and proper methods o[illegible] be instituted in the Kathiri country; that [illegible] better road, travelling, and irrigation [illegible] s shall be enterta[illegible] [illegible]en in fut[illegible] [illegible] would finally scotch the only remaining robber tribe then left betw[illegible] [illegible] Kathiris be informed that His Majesty's Government has no objection to the [illegible]king them if he so desires, and assuming the direct government of all Wadi Hadhramaut

II.—*Action in Java and the Netherlands East Indies*

[illegible]ended what course to pursue as regards the Kaiti and Kathiri [illegible]tly instituted [illegible] touch with the Arabs has already been formed (vide my despatches to Mr S. Gaselee), save that the three gentlemen already working with their Arab links to that end will need an official link with His Britannic Majesty's Consulate-General

In Mr F Robertson, Acting Vice-Consul in Batav[illegible] that h[illegible] This officer speaks Dutch and Malay, and is already [illegible]ant, to a certain extent, of [illegible] the Hadhramaut [illegible] been locally arrived at between Kaiti and [illegible] the Kathiris in Netherlands East Indies can be given for—

[illegible] championed by His Majesty's [illegible]rnment,

A post office can be established at Makalla with money-order branch (an impossibility at present with the natural distrust of the hinterland dweller at the thought of his money passing through Kaiti hands), and

An excellent prospect could be held out for an Arab-English school in Makalla, where intending emigrants could learn a language of great [illegible] would be merchants in Singapore, Java, and the East [illegible]

And we could establish on mutual firm foundations of helping interests our main object, which is to lead the intellectual side of Islam in Java to a strong pro-British [illegible]. Once the Arabs are won the Javanese will follow

Section 4.—WADI DHAN[illegible] ADMINISTRATION &c.

See Sketch Map (*) facing p. 81)

Owing to the conflicts between Kaiti and Kathiri, and to the hostility of the Hamumis against the Kaiti, it became necessary for the latter to secure a safe transit route between their sea-base Makalla and their forts of Hajreen, Haurah, Qatan, and, chief of all, [illegible]

[illegible] the Sultans had rem[illegible]d their allies since the period (some twenty [illegible] At that time Omar [illegible]d "Rasoul" [illegible] Sultan Ghalib [illegible] from Mis[illegible] being then in H[illegible] men (Sonds[illegible] A[illegible] Amat Abdul Arab [illegible]d Abdul Al[illegible] to aid. The Dem tribe opposed this force. At Agroon, some 2 miles south east of Wadi Dhan, the Dems were defeated with a loss of sixty men [illegible]d the Kaiti force advanced and relieved Bassorah in Rashid

Some seven years later the Amudis, with a force of about 1,100 men, advanced and occupied Qurrein and Owrah. The Kaaiti collected men from Khoreibah and Rashid, and these, reinforced from Makalla, broke the power of the Amudis once for all. The latter fled to the mountains and treated for peace. They were permitted to return to Sif and Bithah, and though wretchedly poor their numbers are now increasing (400–500), and they are in possession of a considerable area of fertile land in Wadi Doan and Wadi-el-Aisar. Their head chief (a Mançib named Sjech Salih-bin-Abdullah) died in February 1919, and has been succeeded by his son (Abdullah-bin-Salih). The whole tribe is peaceable, centres mainly in Bithah, and acknowledges the family of Motahhar as its leader. But for practical and political purposes the Amudis are under the actual control of the head of the Seibans, Omar-bin-Ahmed (Bassorah), to whom reference has been made above. He lives at Owrah.

Between Meshed and Qatan roamed the Nahdis, an unfriendly tribe of robbers, when Theodore Bent travelled through in 1893. This tribe under Mubarrak-bin Mohamed ("Ibn Mimi") has been reduced by the Kaaiti mainly through largesses paid in the past, and later by effective military occupation of Hourah and the valley to Qatan. They are now perforce allies of the Kaaiti, and remain, as before, bitter foes to the northern raiding nomads.

The past two decades had thus resulted in the three great tribes which dwelt between Makalla and Wadi Doan and Wadi Hadhramaut—the Seibans, the Amudis, and the Nahdis—joining the Kaaiti as overlord.

Thus when the recent Kathiri attack was made in the vicinity of Shibam, a safe route connected Makalla with Haurah, Qatan, and Shibam, clear of the Hamumis.

Wadi Doan had also increased in importance (politically) from the fact that it shelters the great Syed families of Al Mihdar and Al Attas. The latter dwelt at Meshed, the former at Howeirah.

Originally the Mihdars came from Inat (where a branch of the family still remains), [illegible] al-Mihdar came and settled in Wadi Doan, where he and his family became the S[illegible] [illegible] W[illegible] M[illegible]

[illegible] Kaaiti [illegible] Wazir [illegible] present Syed Hussein [illegible] Hamid-bin-Ahmad-al-Mihdar-bin-Sjech Abubakar (Sjech of all Hadhramaut Syeds) was so appointed.

His family (his grandfather was the Syed Ahmad noted above) has now increased and owns Kaweirah; his uncle, Syed Mustafa-al-Mihdar, is Mançib of the valley [illegible] Doan (South), and his position as Wazir has caused the vicinity of K[illegible] w[illegible] has recently stationed himself for the Kathiri negotiations, to assume importance.

As regards Meshed, this was formerly a robber hold, tapping the mouths of W[illegible] El Aisar, Amd, and Hadhramaut. About 175 years ago Syed Ali-bin-Hasan al Attas determined to reform the place and established himself there. His descendants have increased, and Meshed is now an Al Attas village, free from crime. It is of importance because the Al Attas emigrants are great powers in Java, and their inclinations are [illegible] pro-British. Syed Ahmad-bin-Mohammad bin-Hadoon-al-A[illegible] Meshed, and a man of enormous influence among the Amudi and Nahdi Bedouins. He [illegible] learning, intelligence, and power.

W[illegible] politically and strategically the ultimate key [illegible] Hadhramaut. At the south end lives the family of the Wazir of the Sultan, and [illegible] by, in Owrah, lives Omar-bin Ahmed (Bassorah), fighting head of the Seiban and Amudi Bedouins.

Sketch map (C) shows their clustered villages. Midway north, at Hajarain, [illegible] strong town on the hill, garrisoned by a Yafa detachment.

North again lies Meshed, centre of the Al Attas Syeds, whose Mançib wields paramount power among the Amudis and Nahdis.

Finally, the garrisoned town and fort of Haurah hold the valley where it joins Wadi Hadhramaut proper, and thence an easy plain runs to the towns of Qatan and Shibam. A mile east of Shibam Kathiri territory is entered.

Section 5.—Kaaiti Military Resources and Garrisons

Sultan Ghalib maintains some 400 men, Abids (or S[illegible] slaves), and nearly 1,000 Yafa fighting men.

He thus has a slave and paid fighting force at permanent call of some 1,400 men.

He garrisons—

Makalla with 100 S[illegible] Yafas, also with four guns
Shihr with 80 Somalis and 150 Yafas
Ghail-ba Wazir and its vicinity with a mixed force of 250 men
Shibam with 80 Somalis and 150 Yafas
Qatan and neighbourhood with a mixed force of some 300 men

While at Harshiyat, Koweirah, Hajarain, Haurah, and other small places [illegible] detachments are stationed.

Note 1.—The Kathiris are reported to have between 750 and 1,000 slave soldiers, but no regular tribesmen soldiers such as the Kaaitis' Yafa men.

Note 2.—At Shibam are a few antiquated guns, also two modern guns.

Note 3.—The policy of garrisoning Wadi Hadhramaut from Haurah to Shibam [illegible] Qatan is to establish the Somali slaves mainly in the towns themselves, while the Y[illegible] [illegible] W[illegible] H[illegible] and already Kaaiti Wadi Hadhramaut shows the advantage of ever-enlarging plots of date palms, and barley, dhurra, and lucerne and vegetable fields.

Note 4.—The above remarks refer only to what may be termed the "regular" forces of Kaaiti and Kathiri. Each side could count several thousands of Bedouin rifles, but it is now doubtful whether the Kathiri Sultans would find their tribesmen—tired as these latter are of their rulers' misgovernment—inclined to put up a sustained effort.

Section 6.—The Hamumi

(See "Handbook of Arabia," p. 548, vol. i, item 7.)

A strong warlike tribe of robbers roaming the country of Makalla, Shiheir, and Shihr.

Defeated some twenty years ago, when they attacked the Seibans at Rashid in Wadi Doan, by combined Kaaiti and Seiban forces, they soon recovered, and by systematic pillaging of travellers along the coast to Shihr they have become a by-word for murder and robbery.

Hating the Kaaiti, they formed a pact with the Kathiri, and, when recently the Kaaiti Wazir, Syed Hussein, succeeded in making a treaty with the Kathiri—travelling to Shibam for the purpose—a Hamumi deputation, headed by the then paramount chief Sjech Salim-bin-Ali Habreish, went to Terim and Seyyun, and endeavoured to foment trouble.

In 1918 Syed Hussein visited Shihr and summoned the Hamumi chiefs to a conference. Certain Syeds were used as middlemen, and the Hamumis met the K[illegible] Wazir [illegible]

After warning them that they must no longer interfere with peaceful caravans, the Syed gave them largesse and the meeting ended.

Repeated and continued pillaging went on and the situation became serious again.

A further warning was sent out, and the Hamumis, reading this as a sign of weakness, boldly demanded more largesse. The Kaaiti summoned them to a discussion in Shihr. The Hamumis, professing readiness to apologise for recent pillagings, promised to appear in due course.

In January 1919 some 400 armed Hamumis appeared at Shihr, where the Kaaiti commander, hearing of their approach, manned the forts, and secretly sent out an armed party to their rear.

He then sent a messenger to the Hamumis stating that in Shihr were certain individuals who could identify those who had recently pillaged their caravans, and he suggested that, to prove the truth of their repentance, the Hamumis meet their former victims in the town; a discussion could then take place.

Some 250 Hamumis came in (being disarmed as they entered). They were all captured; twenty-seven were killed (by the djembiah) next day, including their paramount chief Sjech Salim-bin-Ali Habreish, and their leading moqaddams, Hamid bin-Amr, Mohammed-bin-Awadh-bin-Aiman, Awadh Mardoob, and esh-Shineeni.

Over 200 of the remainder are now in prison in Shihr.

Their tribes, thus deprived of practically all their [illegible] here, are now (March 1919) suing for terms.

Hitherto very little has been known of this large confederation. But details [illegible] with some [illegible] follows:—

The Hamum are nomad Bedouins ranging from Shihr to Sewut, and up to [illegible] Manahila and Jabri tribes. Their chief sub-tribes, &c. are as follows:—

Beit Ali. Chief village, Ghail-bin Jiman. Paramount chief, Salim-bin-Ali Habreesh (executed in Shihr mid January 1919). Second chief, "esh-Shaweni" (killed as above).

Beit Bahsan-el Maorab. Chief, Mohammed-bin-Awadh-bin Aman (executed in Shihr, January 1919).

Beit Bin Ghasiona. Village-es-Sid-el-Fagi [illegible] (alive). Salim-bin-Ahmed-bin-Imain connected with Beit Ali.

Beit Ayed. Chief, "el-Elfen" (alive).

Beit Gerzat. Chief, Khamis-bin Shadyan; died a natural death in December 1915. Successor not yet appointed.

Beit Jimein. Chief, Salimeen-bin-Kaor (in prison in Shihr).

Beit Obeid. Chief, "es Semalt," killed in Shihr.

Beit Sa'id. Late chief, Towar bin Sa'id, died in 1918; and his selected successor was killed in Shihr.

[illegible] time, but whether they will [illegible] rated able to put 3,000 [illegible].

I put up a rough sketch map (D)* [illegible] as possible to such necessarily somewhat vague details as were given.

Section 7.—Route: Makalla to Wadi Doan (and on to Shihr). (Wadi Hinman Route.)

Makalla. Direction north-north-east, then north-east 8 miles to He[illegible]. Water springs; dhurra and tobacco; several towers [illegible] 50 soldiers; road to Hashinat and road to Tiflah here divide; carriage road from Makalla to Harshiyat, well graded, has been constructed in 1918.

Direction north-west from Harshiyat 1½ miles to Tiflah; village; dates; tobacco; water supply. Continuing west-north-west for 8 miles to Lasub (Bedouins of Beni Hassan, branch of Saiban tribe). Running water; extensive fringe of dates; dhurra and lucerne cultivated.

(c. 18 miles).

General line now betw[illegible] and Wadi Dahab. From Lasub ascend [illegible] wadi of Beni Hassan Bedouins, 4 miles to Lahab, their village, 300 inhabitants; flocks of goats; water; dates and [illegible] Hinman, Mohamed bin Hussein. Compact [illegible] into large wadi, Wadi Hinman. First few miles rock and boulder strewn, difficult for camels. Path then rises along left side of wadi, gradually rising, 9 miles. Large village (in two parts) on right slope of wadi. Running water, concurrent chain of pools in places. Village called Zimon. Coconuts, dates, bananas, dhurra, lucerne; large flocks of goats. Saiban Bedouins, prosperous. Many go hence to Java. Headman, Hassan-bin Omar.

(c. 21 miles).

Zimon (c. 30 miles).

Bear north-west, then west north-west up Wadi Hinman; many curves, but [illegible] on west-north-west. Path high up on left side of wadi. Pass Ghayada, Bedouin hamlet, with two burial grounds (Syed Hussein-bin Mahomed-al Attas and Syed Saleh-bin-Abood buried here). After 2 miles (west north-west) Hinman village on crag with good running water below; palms and

Hinman (c. 36 miles).

* Map facing p. 8.

[illegible] gata. Ba Hibri sub-tribe of Seiban[illegible]. [illegible] W[illegible] Hinman, left side. Bear north-[illegible] miles' path after leaving Hinman village [illegible] of wadi. At end of wadi central plateau is [illegible] W[illegible] panorama of sandy stone-strewn plains, with characteristic "table-mountains" preserved by caps of erupted harder matter. Water scarce unless after rain. Wells frequent, [illegible]

El Hisn. hamlet, El Hisn. Sharp rise (bear west-north-west as before); track leads to a pass between mountainous ridges forming on the [illegible] Through pass (Jebel-el Khar on left) by Wadi Manter [illegible] of pass is famous tomb of Wali-ba Matar (carefully tended [illegible] annual pilgrimage, when more than 1,000 people assemble on the 14th and 15th of Rembi. Ascend [illegible] from top of pass the water [illegible] south-west is seen a large mountain (? Jebel Ghamaba). Wadi Hajar's high cliffs are visible on a clear atmosphere. Bear west-north-west across plateau (El Makad), past series of wells (often dry); barren country; nomad Bedouins.

Wadi Manter.

Dahmah. North-west to Dahmah, 10 wells (mostly dry), 2 miles from Dahmah, Bedouin inhabited hamlet Bezarah (fields and flocks). Thence after two abrupt descents to Fardaha (wells sometimes dry). Thence west north-west for some 20 miles, past Tiflah (and [illegible] wells dry) to extreme end of Wadi Doan, which commences as a slight crack or cleft, but becomes a deep precipitous ravine with in a few hundred yards. Well-engineered path commences on left, crosses to right [illegible] and keeps [illegible]. Very precipitous* descent, almost impossible for camels save in [illegible] driest weather. Wadi runs east for a few hundred yards, then veers to north-east, with an abrupt curve towards west, and finally turns almost north. At the turn the wadi widens, and is filled with date palms, and dhurra fields, and villages. The sketch map (C) shows the route on to Wadi Hadhramaut.

Wadi Doan.

[illegible] map in detail of Wadi Doan see sketch map (C).

[illegible] or details of Wadi Doan see paragraph head "Wadi Doan."

[illegible] It will be seen that no estimates of distances from Makalla are given after [illegible]. This is because the route taken was no fixed route, several alternatives being [illegible] distance from Makalla to Kowerah in Wadi Doan is between 70 and 80 miles. The route is one which would not be usually [illegible]

Section 8.—"Himyar"? Remains and Ruins in Wadi Doan.

(See Sketch Map (C) of Wadi Doan.)

From South to North.

(a.) *Rahab.*—On right side of wadi, up the slope, stand the ruins of a[illegible] walls, the stones being small and unshaped by hand. Unfortunately the landslip [illegible] but fragments of marble have been picked up. The whole site could easily be excavated.

(b.) *Between Qarnidan and Sif.* On left side of wadi lie ruins called "Qarn-el-[illegible]

* *Mutatis mutandis*, Wadi Doan presents a close parallel to the famous formation of the Kerbanegat at Fort de Kock, Padangsche Bovenlanden, Sumatra's west coast.

up, standing on a platter or plate; the material was brass (?) The wings and body bear clear evidence of colouring (red). The platter was thrown away and has not been recovered. Chipped pottery and marble fragments are often unearthed.

(c.) *Meshed.*—These famous ruins are extensive, and on their site must once have stood a considerable city. In the n[illegible] three groups. About a mile and a half south of Meshed, in the centre of the broad wadi, are three mounds rising from the stony sand of the wadi. The centre mound still shows a well-made and compact square building, of which the stones, much larger than any others observed on other localities, are squared and laid carefully on each, fitting well. In spite of the effects of flood torrents which have scattered thousands of stones over the wadi, these mounds still keep their shape, and countless pieces of marble, sun-baked clay, and stone utensils lie around. Many of these reveal rough pattern work, and several stones were seen into which two cup-shapes had been cut, thus (O) Inscribed stones (so-called Himyaritic) are to be found, but none were seen unburnt.

The second group lies immediately west of the present village of Meshed. The wadi here has suffered more from the torrents, as rifts of sand and loose stones have been tossed over the valley surface. The site of the ruins, however, rises from 20 to [illegible] places, and it is clear that a considerable mass of buildings, probably the central city, once stood here. Fragments of inscribed stones are numerous, and the site would doubtless repay investigation. A magnificent circular well (now dry) is fully exposed and is in perfect preservation. Formed of unworked stones, mainly oval in shape it has kept its formation and [illegible] feet of a well engineered excavation. There are two other partly choked wells close by. Marble and clay fragments lie around on all sides, and several unburnt inscribed stones have been unearthed. A small axe-head, beautifully shaped, of green stone was recently picked up, as well as several pieces of worked marble, which gave evidence of careful decoration.

Quite close to the village of Meshed there rises a species of stone gateway, which local tradition names as the entrance to an ancient temple.

Trained excavators could easily deal with these ruins.

The last (third) portion of the ruins lies to the immediate north of Meshed, but all that here remains is a series of sand-covered mounds, on which lie scattered stones which once went to form a town. The wadi is covered for a considerable way with these numerous stones.

(d.) *Near Haurah, at Qaouthah and Aylaniah*, are similar ruins, whence inscribed stones are occasionally uncovered. A (brass ?) figurette of a camel, and another of a naked man, were recently found.

Section 9.—Corrigenda and/or Additions for Handbook of Arabia

Volume I

Page 227, last line but 12.

From Makalla to Hashiyat "a well-made road for 8 miles has been made (1918), while another road, flanked in parts by a sea wall, runs through Makalla town along the coast for 10 miles. Thus it is possible now for a motor-car to travel by this road, and then along the beach to Shiheir, and even inland to [illegible] ba-Wazir. A car has also travelled to Shihr."

Page 228. "([illegible]

"In the Kathiri towns a local currency is in use, struck in Sourabaya (Java), in the Mohammedan year 1315 through the agency of the Alkaff family, at the [illegible] the two Kathiri Sultans.

"The three silver coins so struck are as follows:

[illegible] 6 Khamsa), reported worth [illegible]

[illegible] Khamsa), worth 5 annas.

[illegible] Ruba, marked ٢٤ (= 24 Khamsa), worth 10 annas.

[illegible] Maria Theresa reals during the war has resulted in British Indian money readily gaining currency and although Indian paper money is not accepted in Wadi Hadhramaut (even in Makalla it suffers 5 per cent. discount when changed) rupees and the smaller British Indian coins are readily accepted."

Page 229. "*Government.*" *Last line but 1.*

"These two tribes have now signed a treaty, whereby, while Kathiri independence is acknowledged, all communications between the Kathiris and Aden shall pass through the Sultan of Makalla."

Page [illegible] *lines* [illegible] I suggest:—

"[illegible] of Makalla has a 'professional' army of something [illegible]0, composed of 400 Somali slaves (Abid), and some 900–1,000 Yafa [illegible]aries. These garrison Makalla, Shihir, Haurah, Qatan, and Shibam. The Sultans of the Kathiri are reported to have some 750 Somali slave soldiers. Both sides could, of course, muster several thousand irregular Bedouin tribes, once hostilities commenced."

Page 232: "Towns."—I suggest as follows:

"*Makalla*, next to Aden the principal port on the southern coast of Arabia, is situated about 2¼ miles north-west of Ras Makalla, to which and past which point a well-made road runs out. It is built partly" (here continue last line of page 232 and first five lines of page 233). "The Sultan has several houses or palaces, but his permanent residence is at the western end of the town, where he has a large palace, a large European furnished guest house, and a nearly completed barracks. The wall of the palace enclosure runs from the cliffs to the gr[illegible] [illegible]te of the town and thence to the shore. Eastward from t[illegible] enclosure the road runs past a medley of substantial and miserable dwellings to the eastern gate, just before reaching which rise the imposing buildings, not yet completed, of a very large mosque. Passing the eastern gate, Makalla town proper is entered; the houses are compact, prosperous, and in many cases well built and many storeyed. The bazaar is well stocked with the needs of Arab life, and the fish and vegetable markets are well filled. Passing the landing stage, a large enclosure marks the cemetery, and, proceeding still eastwards, the poorer portion of the town gives place in turn to numerous limekilns between the cliffs and the shore, through which runs the road to Ras Makalla. One mile or so inland, to the [illegible], is an oasis of gardens, with a large house belonging to the Wazir (Syed H[illegible]) and a large new palace and garden belonging to the Sultan. A carriage road leads to these and is continued as far as Hashiyat, 8 miles north-north-east [illegible] in this direction, affording a clean and ample supply of water for drinking and washing. The climate is delightful in the winter months, but in summer the heat is often excessive. The sea breezes in winter make the days cool and the nights cold. The population is mixed. Somalis of both sexes abound; British [illegible]. The total number of persons in Makalla exceeds 12,000."

(Then continue as on page 233, lines 22 to 36 inclusive.)

Qatan or Hautah.—(As on page 233 and page 234). Corrections (line 13):—

"Palace of the 'Sultan.' Hautah is strongly garrisoned not only by resident [illegible] but the adjoining villages, which are rapidly springing up, are peopled by Yafa mercenaries, whose womanfolk and whose followers increase every year. The Sultan's nephew, Sultan Al-bin-Salah, governs as his [illegible] deputy, and controls Haurah, Hautah, and Shibam."

(Then continue as in book.)

Page 234: Shibam.—Substitute "Sultan" for "Jemadar" in line 12. Delete the last five lines of the page, and read:—

"The town has been much improved since Hirsch's visit; the population is not less than, and probably exceeds, 6,000, and the number of substantial houses (stated to be 500), of which not more than five or six are in disrepair, bears [illegible] the K[illegible] Th[illegible] a row of rich houses, each in its garden, [illegible] proof of security and prosperity. Along the south side of the town, outside the [illegible] brackish in taste. There are eight mosques (Al Kabir, Bin Ahmad, Ba Deep, Al Khoja, Ba Yara, &c.), one boys' school, and one girls school. West of the town

a large area is planted methodically with thousands of young date palms, while a recently constructed substantial cemented masonry wall, about 2 miles from the town, forces the 'sel' water to the northern side of the wadi. Due nor[illegible] wadi edge lies El Kara bin-Abdul Aziz, a Kathiri hamlet. A mile [illegible] east lies the Syed village of Hazm, and running north from this village [illegible] boundary line between Kasiti and Kathiri territory. Shibam town comple[illegible] [illegible]ers a small knoll in the centre of the wadi, and forms a walled parallelo[illegible] [illegible] some 350 by 275 yards.

[illegible] number [illegible] under *Syeh Abdullah-bin Salih*. The [illegible] tribe, however, looks up to Omar bin-Ahmed (Bassorah), who lives at Owrah [illegible] paramount ruler, and to him important questions are referred. He is the [illegible] of the S[illegible]

[illegible] 541 *Awamir* — Add

Their chief is Saleh-bin Yaber

[illegible] *Hamum*

See special paragraph "Hamum"

[illegible] 542: *Beni Hassan* — Add

Chief village Lelaith, and hereditary Mohamed-bin-Hussein.

[illegible] 543 *Kathiri, line 3, de* — Read—

[illegible] Kathiri are the brothers Mansur and Mohsen-bin Ghalib-bin M[illegible] Kathiri, who live in Seyyun, leaving the government of Terim to S[illegible] Wakil, Salim-bin-Alsoud. The brothers are unpopular with the S[illegible] and Syeds, and since their defeat in 1918 at the hands of the Kasiti their influence is on the wane. It is only by largesses that they can obtain any resp[illegible] from the independent tribesmen. The latter may number 10,000 fighting [illegible] with their allies, the Awamir and Jabri, might form a powerful confeder[illegible] had not their unity been undermined by Kasiti diplomacy. The Tamim [illegible] Manahil no longer are Kathiri allies.

Page 543: Manahil

The "Handbook" information is now incorrect. See under "Tamim"

Page 545 Seiban.—Add

Many of them now live in Owrah and Qarreen in Wadi Doan, villages of their paramount Sheikh Omar-bin Ahmed (called Bassorah).' (Bassorah is incorrect.)

[illegible] *Tamim*—

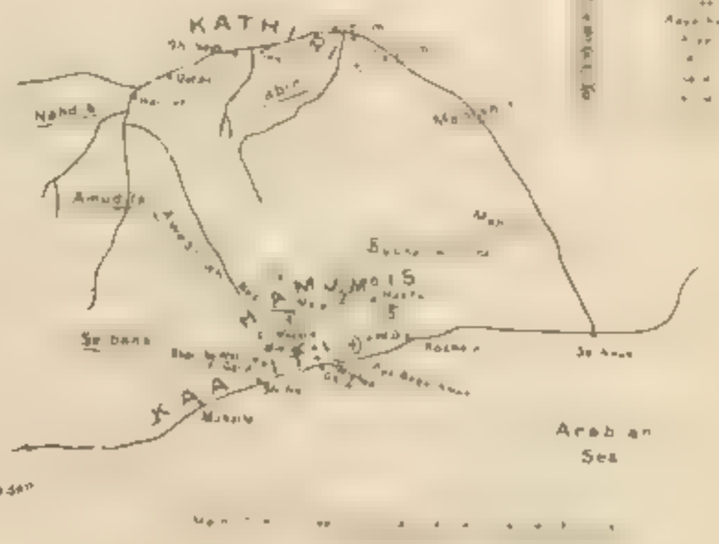
"A nomad tribe to the east of Terim (near Inat). Formerly the allies of the Kathiri. They have recently entered into a pact with the Kasiti." The Manahil (immediately south), with the Tamim, both acknowledge the leadership of Ali-bin-Ahmed-bin Jamam, who lives at Kasm. The Tamim represent the settled, the Manahil the nomad, element of the coalition. These tribesmen are sturdy fighters, and can put a combined force of perhaps 1,800 men in the field.

Page 541: Awabthah. Read

"Independent nomad tribe of Himyar running from Wadi Ain (south-east of Haurah) to the neighbourhood of Ghail bin Yamin. Chief sheikhs are bin-Karina [illegible] in Wadi Ain). Manjib at Ghail is Syeds Abdulrahman-[illegible] the Kasiti and inveterate foes to the Hamum. Th[illegible] [illegible]ber between 2,000 and 3,000 persons, and the Awabthah fighting force amounts to some 700 rifles." (Van den Berg is incorrect in sta[illegible] that the Awagthah form part of the Seiban Confederation. They are an independent tribe, who, like the Seibans, hate the Hamum.) "Awabthah fighting men

SKETCH MAP OF WADI DÔÂN. (C)

(D.

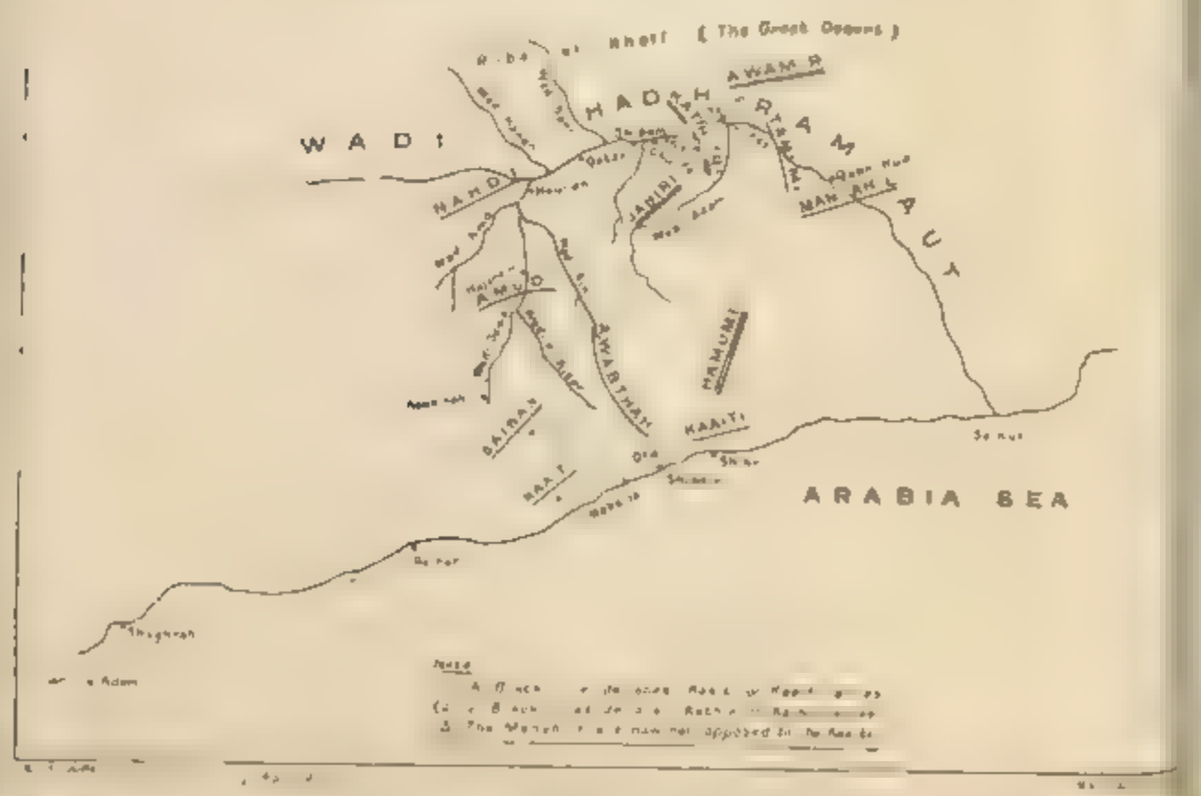


SKETCH MAP OF HADHRAMUT. (A)

SHOWING MAIN TOWNS & WADIS

TRIBAL SKETCH MAP OF HADHRAMUT. (B)

SHOWING ONLY THE MAIN TRIBES OF FIGHTING VALUE AND NEGLECTING ENTIRELY THE NORTHERN NOMADS FROM THE FRINGES OF THE RUBA EL KHALI.



VOLUME 2

Page 298: Sif

On left bank of wadi (Hirsch's map is correct). An Amudi town of some 400 inhabitants." &c.

Page 299: Hajarein.—Delete:—

"A Vice-Sultan governs here on behalf of the Kaiti family."

and read instead

"A small garrison of some twenty soldiers under a Somali headman is stationed here."

Delete "unfriendly" before Naiad

Meshed.—Read:—

"Village of Syeds' houses of the Al Attas family. Two famous Al Attas Walis tombs; mosques. Extensive 'Himyar' ruins, and remains of a large city."

Hourah to Hautah is given as 18 miles, and Hautah to Shiham is given as [illegible]*

I would add (as regards the Indian Government map, registered No. 2338, [illegible] 10, S.I.) that Shihr and Shihair (east of Makalla, along the coast) appear incorrectly set out. Shihair is the port half-way between Makalla and Shihr. The easternmost of the three is thus Shihr.

(56108) No. 36

Earl Curzon to the Earl of Derby.

(No. 771.)
(Telegraphic.) P

Foreign Office, April 18, 1919.

We have made proposals to settle dispute about position in Asia Minor and [illegible] friendly consultation, and have always been willing to adopt such a course. We preferred to send General Wilson specially to Paris, to endeavour to arrive at a settlement with M. Clemenceau, to the alternative of a commission, which we considered [illegible], and consequently we sent no [illegible] M. [illegible] Paris. We were informed that General W[illegible]

[illegible] M. Clemenceau [illegible] representative, either civil or [illegible] Government here to discuss the matter, or that [illegible] representative to Paris for that purpose, but I have as yet received [illegible]

M. [illegible] We shall, however, be [illegible] amicable solution.

(60671) No. [illegible]

Note respecting the Middle Eastern Question by Earl Curzon.

MY colleagues know how anxious I have been for some time as to the situation in Middle East and the [illegible] likely to arise from a failure to arrive at a solution. I circulate a note on the subject which I have recently sent to Mr. Balfour.

C. of K.

April 22, 1919.

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* These are over-estimated distances and 15 miles in each case would be more correct.

Enclosure 1 in No. 37

The Present Position of the Middle Eastern Question.

I AM reluctant to criticise in London a policy which is being pursued in Paris, as to the phases and reasons of which we are not fully informed, and for which there may be many justifications not easily visible here. At the same time, there is such an absolute concurrence of opinion from every authority whom I have [illegible] consulted, or read, that the position is dangerous, and that the policy said to be favoured by the Peace Conference is likely to produce widespread disturbance, if not disaster, that I should not be doing my duty if I were to [illegible] silence.

Moreover, the Foreign Office here may at any moment [illegible] called upon to explain or defend the Paris decis[illegible] and to justify the consequ[illegible]ce that seem likely to result from them.

Finally, it may still be possible, by prompt decis[illegible] [illegible] some of the worst [illegible], and to recover at least a [illegible] that would appear to have been lost.

I have had a summary prepared in the Eastern Department of the F[illegible] Office which reveals the existing position of affairs in the Middle East [illegible] of divided counsels and conflicting ambitions among the Great Powers, of [illegible] and increasing unrest in the regions affected, of military insecurity, and of [illegible] threatening bloodshed and chaos, that may rob us of many of the [illegible] of victory and create a standing [illegible] the Middle East, both to the peace of Europe and to the security of India.

When the Peace Conference assembled the situation in the Middle East was much [illegible]

The Allied Powers were in possession of Constantinople, where the Turkish Government, if not cowed, was subservient. Our military power in the occupied Turkish regions of Asia was sufficient to enable us to enforce not merely the agreed terms of the Armistice but almost any supplementary terms that were found [illegible] The British were in secure possession of Mesopotamia up to and [illegible] in which the veiled British Protectorate of those regions [illegible] to become practically been settled with the consent [illegible] British position [illegible], both in a military and political sense [illegible] ly strong. We were still in Transcaspia, but were contemplating [illegible] retirement, since accomplished. The Caspian was in our hands and was being made the base of naval action against the Bolshevik forces. British divisions occupied the entire Caucasus, from the Black Sea to the Caspian, and provided the only guarantee for peace, on the one hand between the rival peoples Georgians, Armenians, Tartars, Daghestanis, and Russians; and on the other hand between the nascent States and communities north and south of the main Caucasian range and the forces of Denekin on the north [illegible] quite as much in pursuing imperialistic ambitions and the recovery of the boundaries of Old Russia as in fighting and crushing the Bolsheviks in Russia itself. In Asia Minor (outside the region of British military occupation) no Allied forces had appeared. The fate of Armenia was undecided, the bulk of the Armenians being fugitives from their country. Apart from Armenia and possibly Cilicia, the partition of Asia Minor was not [illegible] contemplated. In Syria a more critical condition existed, owing to the difficulty [illegible] ding the aspirations of the French with the hard facts of the Arab situation and the insistence of the French on the letter of the unfortunate Sykes-[illegible] Agreement. In Palestine the interests of the Arab population and the Z[illegible] immigrants appeared to be capable of reconciliation, and everything point[illegible] early mandate for Great Britain with the consent of both. Egypt was still quiet.

If the above survey be accepted as correct, it would seem that the first task to be undertaken in Paris would have been:—

1. [illegible] tual agreement of the France-Anglo-Arab dispute re Syria.
2. [illegible] y decision of, at any rate, the main outline of the future limits of the Turkish Empire in Europe and Asia.
3. The speedy assumption by the Powers concerned of their duties and responsibilities in the areas assigned to them in the new settlement.

Nearly four months have elapsed, and the situation, as depicted in the accompanying summary, is as follows:—

The fate of Turkey-in-Europe is not yet decided, though it is understood that the Turks are to lose Constantinople, which is to be handed over to the mandate of America

or some International Power. Meanwhile, the city is the scene of acute, though petty, c[illegible] of jealousy and policy between the French and British representatives. The Turks have recovered from the first dismay of defeat, and are intriguing with all their old spirit and skill. The Committee of Union and Progress are active in the provinces, and are the only vigorous force in Turkish politics. The decision as to Constantinople has been so long postponed that what might have been easy in January, may be found very difficult in May or June. Time is being given for Moslem sentiment throughout the world to consolidate and concentrate on a supreme effort for the rescue of Islam. In any case, events in Egypt, the Caucasus, Asia Minor, and India are not likely to render the Turks more amenable or subservient; and it is more than likely that the decision as to their expulsion from Europe will be followed by rebellions and massacres in Asia Minor, and by great commotions throughout the eastern Moslem world.

Given the expulsion of the Turk from Europe, the policy that seemed to be the most [illegible] in Asia was that deprived of the border provinces that had been wrested from him in the war, *i.e.*, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Syria, Palestine, Cilicia, and also Armenia (which he had shown his complete inability to govern) he should be set up in the Asiatic residue of his former dominions under whatever conditions, military, financial, or otherwise, the Great Powers might think fit to impose.

In practice, it is understood that the Greek claim to Smyrna, and possibly to the [illegible] is likely to be conceded, although believed to be violently opposed by the Americans. This, it is reported, is due, not to any urgent political or military necessity, but to the superior diplomatic ability of M. Venizelos. The Italians have already anticipated, and indeed precipitated, the ultimate decision by a military descent upon Adalia (on a manifestly fabricated pretext) and the neighbouring coasts, and [illegible] upon Konia. They have also, with a rashness to which it is difficult to find a parallel, accepted the mandate for the Caucasus and the Caspian, from which the [illegible] It is believed that the whole of the [illegible]

One day we are told that the mandate is to be given to America, who, if she emerges from her traditional isolation, will consent to do so only on a large and dramatic scale. Another day it is to be given to France, to console her if she fails to obtain Cilicia. Meanwhile, the most fantastic of all the aspirants, is establishing a chain of claims [illegible]

The fate of Armenia is still not decided, and there is a good chance that, when it is, [illegible] will be not to define Armenia, but to find the Armenians.

The dispute about Syria has not been composed, and [illegible] the Peace Conference have fallen back upon the expedient of a Commission, [illegible]

[illegible] ds of the Zionists in Palestine have produced a new situation of unrest there.

Egypt has risen in revolt, and General Allenby's first solution has only led to a [illegible] Turkish and British Gov[illegible] which is compromising the whole position in the East.

Finally, the intercession has reached India, and there has broken out the most [illegible] anti-British demonstration since the Mutiny.

[illegible] situation, of which I have described both the facts and the probable [illegible] as one as to which I do not believe there is a single dissentient opinion among those who are entitled to be regarded as experts. [illegible] speaking [illegible] available authority, many of them fresh from Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria, the Caucasus, [illegible] about the e[illegible] will be in a state of ferment. Mesopotamia [illegible] be settling down under the new regime, will be agitated. A new and formidable [illegible] arise in Kurdistan on [illegible] ension between the Zionists and the Arabs in Palestine, fostered by the extravagant [illegible] Persia we may regarding the chances of a settlement to which we have devoted a great deal of care, and which is now very near to fruition, by the revival of military insecurity on the north-west. [illegible] Caucasus and Italy it is difficult to speak seriously about a solution

which would be a comedy if it were not so sure to develop into a tragedy. The Italians are the most ineffective and despised of the Western Powers in the eastern world. They are regarded with distrust and dislike by the Moslem community because of their exploits in Tripoli and Cyrenaica. They have no conceivable interest in the Caucasus or anywhere within a thousand miles of it. Their appearance there can only lead to the immediate resumption of internecine fighting between the Armenians, Georgians, Tartars, and Russians—with difficulty restrained by the presence of the British forces—to be followed before long either by the triumph of the Bolsheviks, already paramount at Astrakhan, or by the appearance of Denekin, preferring a certain spoil in the recovered trans-Caucasian provinces of Russia to more precarious military experiments in the north. It is not in the least likely that either the Tartars or the Russians will allow the Italians to control the oil-wells of Baku. The result can only be a state of sanguinary anarchy in the Caucasus in which most, if not all, of the new States will go down. Meanwhile, as soon as the Italian electorate realises that its soldiers are to be employed and its finances squandered in this madcap adventure, a sharp reaction will take place, and the mandate so hastily accepted will almost certainly be compulsorily and ingloriously resigned.

As to the Greeks, who cannot keep order [illegible] outside the gates of Salonica, is it to be believed that they w[illegible]dly to occupy and administer a great city like Smyrna or a pro[illegible]

When the Turks realise that [illegible]

That the Turks should be deprived of Constantinople is, in my opinion, inevitable and desirable as the crowning evidence of their defeat in the war, and I believe that it will be accepted, with whatever wrathful reluctance, by the Eastern world. But, wh[illegible] it is realised that the Turkish Empire is [illegible] and that there is to be practically no Turkish Empire and probably no Caliphate at all, I believe that we shall be giving a most dangerous and most unnecessary stimulus to Moslem passions throughout the Eastern world, and that sullen resentment may easily burst into savage frenzy.

The question arises whether, if the above forecast is at all correct, it is possible, even at the eleventh hour, to take any steps that may avert what seems likely to be a great catastrophe, by which the greater part of the Allied effort in the East will have been thrown away. It is with great diffidence that I submit the following suggestions:—

1. It seems eminently desirable that, whatever the solution arrived at, whether it be bad or good, the Turkish question should be taken in hand by the Powers, firmly handled by them, [illegible] to a final conclusion with as little delay as possible. Delay is the certain precursor, it has already been the main cause, of fresh outbreaks in the Eastern w[illegible]

2. In the meantime, the disputes between the French and the British in Constantinople should be settled amicably by authoritative conference and consultation. Proposals have already been submitted to this effect.

3. The military and naval forces at Constantinople and in the occupied regions should be maintained at full strength, and any steps or military precautions recommended by the authorities should be taken.

4. Presuming that the Italians have already accepted the mandate for the Caucasus (though I am not aware of any existing authority for offering it to them), I know not what to suggest, except that, even at the last moment, they should be asked to desist from [illegible] for which no justification can be found on any plea of local self-determination, of public or private interest, of morality, or even of expediency.

5. If it is not too late, I would urge that the partitioning or mandatory policy be not pursued in Asia Minor beyond the geographical limits which were the inevitable consequences of the war. I am unable to find in the pronouncements of any of the Allies at any stage of the war any announcement which compels us not merely to decapitate the Turk, but to cut up and appropriate his corpse. It is more than likely that the body will decline to be treated as a corpse at all.

6. If it is not too late, I would urge even now the abandonment of the Eastern Commission (even though our representatives upon it are the most admirable whom it

is possible to appoint), seeing that it is equally distrusted and disliked by French and British, and that it is more likely to aggravate than to allay the difficulties of a situation already sufficiently threatening.

7. As a consequence of this, again, if it is not too late, and if Feisal has not [illegible] from Paris in a state of huff, I would endeavour to make an arrange-[illegible] ourselves as to the boundaries of the French [illegible]

8. If the Commission cannot be abandoned, I would try to withdraw Palestine and Mesopotamia from its purview, and I would urge the coming to a decision that [illegible] possible [illegible]

9. Presuming that America is to undertake the custody of Armenia, I would [illegible] the conclusion of an understanding between Great Britain, France, and the United States as to the future of Cilicia.

10. I would not hesitate, if challenged, to present to the Conference our schemes for the future administration of Mesopotamia, and to secure their provisional agreement to them without delay. In this way we might be able to escape in part the difficulties and the heavy expense of another six months of military occupation.

11. Lastly, I would press the Peace Conference with all the insistence in my [illegible] as I have no doubt the British Delegation has already done, for a [illegible] the British Protectorate of Egypt.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON

Foreign Office, April 18, 1919.

Enclosure 2 in No. 37

Review of the Situation in the Middle East, with Special Reference to the Danger of Delay in Reaching a General Settlement.

[illegible] ted by the decision of the Peace Conference to send a Commission to investigate on the spot, a [illegible] populations as to their future status.

Smyrna and the Aidin vilayet.—For some months past we have been receiving [illegible] of the danger of a serious outbreak in the Aidin vilayet. The danger here is [illegible] and Greeks. The Italians are [illegible] certificates to Austrian subjects, and sending them up country [illegible] collusion with the agents of the Committee of Union and Progress.

[illegible] itself the French and Italians are at loggerheads, and there have been [illegible] rection with their respective flags.

[illegible] and Turks threaten to intervene. The Italians have [illegible] ch Italy was a party, had scarcely been taken when the Italians, on the pretext of a local riot, seized Adalia, and at the same time officially com[illegible] the Greeks were [illegible] preparations for a descent on Smyrna from the islands. The Greeks, on the [illegible] made [illegible] representations to His Majesty's Government, and expressed the fear that Italian action at Adalia may be only a prelude to encroachment on the sphere claimed by Greece. From Turkish sources, indeed, it is now reported that the Italians [illegible] at Budrum, Makri, and Alava.

[illegible] Greeks has evoked a storm of protest from the most European [illegible] the American missionaries, and a telegram of grave warning from His Majesty's [illegible]

in Turkey, which has an admirable record and has suffered greatly during the war. In the event of the Italians succeeding [illegible] completely strangled.

Cilicia.—Cilicia is claimed by the Armenians as part of Armenia, by the Syrians as part of Syria, and by the French as part of their [illegible] required by the terms of the Anglo-French *modus vivendi*.

Alexandretta.—At Alexandretta the latent hostility between French and Italians [illegible] recently been shown by [illegible] the local Catholic church, and much more serious troubles have occurred owing to the misbehaviour of Armenian troops serving with the French.

Beyrout.—At Beyrout friction between the French and ourselves continues, chiefly over the question of the port, which the French claim as a French naval base, and over the restrictions which General Allenby finds it necessary to impose on the landing of travellers.

Lebanon.—In the Lebanon the despatch to Paris of the packed delegation engineered by the French has aroused a storm of opposition from the anti-French parties.

Damascus and Emir Feisul's Area.—In Damascus and throughout the territory administered by Emir Feisul disorder [illegible] General Allenby in accordance with the terms of the *modus vivendi*, and the French accuse our military authorities of stimulating the Arab resistance [illegible] Moslems and Armenians at Aleppo.

Here again the Italians are seeking to establish interests, and, since the announcement of the decision to send out a commission, have approached us with embarrassing requests for [illegible] of penetration obviously aimed at the French.

Palestine.—In Palestine the feeling of both Christians and Moslems against our Zionist policy has now reached [illegible] with every week's delay of [illegible] ment. The Zionist claims become more and more exorbitant, and the resolutions of the Zionist Congress recently held in London included such items as the supervision of all educational establishments, the use of Hebrew as the medium of instruction in the schools, a monopoly of [illegible] and [illegible] of immigration to the Jews. The French are opposed to Zionism, and the Vatican has taken serious alarm at the activity of what it terms the extremist party of the Z[illegible]

Occupied Enemy Territory.—[illegible] administration of the territory oc[illegible] the British taxpa[illegible] be assigned.

For political reasons and owing to the undesirability of allowing the French to establish themselves in [illegible] it has been necessary to disguise the expenditure as military expenditure, and His Majesty's Treasury are seriously perturbed by this [illegible] under the impression that a very early settlement would be reached by the Peace Conference, and that our liabilities in this respect would thus shortly cease.

Egypt.—The situation in Egypt only comes within the scope of this review in so far as the same forces are at work there as in Turkey, and as the deplorable situation which exists there is bound to react on Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, and indeed throughout the East. Moreover, the sending of a mission to ascertain the wishes of Syria and Palestine as to their future form of Government is scarcely likely to be [illegible] over in silence by those who now control the current of political feeling in Egypt.

The same remark may perhaps also apply to the effect on India of the promised commission's visit to Mesopotamia.

Mesopotamia.—In Mesopotamia itself, the difficulties of administration caused by [illegible] organisation, &c., will become more and more [illegible] early [illegible] reached as to the future of the country.

Mosul.—In the Mosul vilayet no satisfactory arrangements can be made until the rights conceded to the French under the Sykes-Picot Agreement have been definitely and entirely abandoned by them. It is not known here whether the commission proposes to visit this area, but if not it would seem that a recognition by the French of the *de facto* situation should be reached at the earliest possible moment.

M[illegible] French [illegible] Syria [illegible] troops under a Syrian sovereignty with a view to saving it from falling into the orbit of Mosul. This scheme, it seems, is also to extend still further [illegible] Russian Armenia with its capital Erivan, and even to extend across the Caspian and take in Suraklia and some undefined part of Russian Turkestan.

II.—*Districts more particularly affected by the decision of the Peace Conference to hand over the Caucasus to the Italians.*

We now leave behind the regions more directly affected by the despatch of the proposed commission and reach an area where the problems arise from another decision of the Peace Conference—the transfer of the Caucasus to Italian control.

Trans Caspia.—Trans-Caspia is already being evacuated, and the danger of the [illegible] Commission need only be mentioned in passing. [illegible] it be remembered that our naval authorities regarded the numerical superiority of the Bolshevik fleet at Astrakhan with so much misgiving that they insisted upon measures being taken to destroy it while it was still frozen in. This was to be done from the air, [illegible] sailors a task which our own British sailors regarded with considerable apprehension. [illegible] important effect on Persia if we have to withdraw our forces?

Caucasus.—Nor is the military outlook in the Caucasus itself any more encouraging. [illegible] turbulent population of that region who have given us so much trouble will welcome them?

[illegible] the small republics, be more likely to respect the principle of self-determination when placed before him by an Italian General? Can the Italians be [illegible] the men to deal with such a situation or the money to finance it? Does their record in Tripoli and elsewhere justify us in supposing that they will be able to handle with any chance of success such an exceptionally thorny problem as the Caucasus presents?

It may be urged that all these troublesome people should be left to cut one another's throats and that the Italians, having accepted the task from pure greed, may [illegible] out of the mess as best they can. But unfortunately the [illegible] in the Caucasus will spread far beyond its borders. The Armenians [illegible] first to suffer. There are already serious troubles in Kars, and in the [illegible] and Nakhichevan areas, and it may safely be asserted that in the event [illegible] the Caucasus not only will it be impossible to repatriate a [illegible] to the six vilayets, but that the few surviving Armenians there are [illegible] be massacred wholesale.

[illegible] Turkey-in-Asia, a French political officer has just been murdered to the north of Mosul, anti-Christian movements have been [illegible] Sivas, Samsun, and from many other places in the interior [illegible] ral Allenby reports a state of unrest at Urfa, Aintab, [illegible] increasingly obvious that it only requires a sign for the

whole of Turkey in Asia to be up. Such a sign may well be given by the arrival of the Italians in the Caucasus.

Black Sea.—Nor is our position in the Black Sea entirely comfortable. Odessa has fallen, and Sevastopol is in the occupation of the Bolsheviks. Our only line of supply—perhaps of retreat—lies through Constantinople, and at Constantinople we have few troops and none too many ships, as the Admiral himself has recently complained; while the forts of the Dardanelles stand undamaged behind us. It is true that the forts are occupied by allied troops, but we have nothing to show that any preparations have been made for their rapid destruction in case of an emergency.

The Balkan States to the north are threatened with Bolshevism, and the effect of our withdrawal from the Caucasus will probably be to accentuate this tendency and to spur the Bolshevik leaders to fresh efforts in every direction, including the far north.

III.—*Anglo-French Relations at Constantinople.*

Constantinople.—Meanwhile at Constantinople itself the situation between the French and ourselves shows no improvement. General Franchet d'Esperey continues to assert himself and to dispute General Milne's claim that the whole of Turkey in Asia is an exclusive British military sphere, and that the French have no right to interfere there. French pretensions in this direction have, indeed, recently increased, [illegible] they were willing to acknowledge until recently that both Powers had equal military rights in the unoccupied parts of Asiatic Turkey. It appears from the despatches most recently received from Constantinople that General Franchet d'Esperey is now advancing the theory that the whole of Turkey not in our actual occupation falls within the sphere of his military command as "Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies in the East."

[illegible] question of the delimitation of the French and British military zones [illegible] of vital importance, and the Foreign Office and His Majesty's High Commissioner at Constantinople have been urging for months past the necessity of reaching an early agreement with the French on the subject, but so far their efforts have proved unavailing, and the visit of the C.I.G.S. to Paris, made at the instigation of Lord Curzon, appears to have brought us no nearer to a solution. The question is primarily a military one, but it hinges on the interpretation to be placed on the Convention concluded at Paris on the 23rd December, 1917, and on the resolution reached at the meeting of the allied premiers in London on the 3rd December, 1918, and the framers of these resolutions can alone say what their intentions were, or modify or alter the terms of these resolutions to suit changed circumstances.

No political principle vital to us is involved, and there would appear to be no objection so far as the Foreign Office is concerned, to conceding to the French a sphere of military activity on the Asiatic side. The important thing is not the size or extension of the respective spheres, but the definite fixing of a line on either side of which the respective military forces can act in complete independence without risk of overlapping and consequent friction. With goodwill on both sides the solution of this problem ought to present no insuperable difficulty, and our military authorities will probably be the more inclined to make some concession to the French in the matter in that it appears from recent evidence that neither General Allenby nor General Marshall has sufficient forces at his disposal to meet his pressing requirements. At the present [illegible] punish the persons responsible for the murder of the British officer referred to above. [illegible] are unable to strike at such short range, whether from lack of men or transport, there is surely no good reason why we should persist in a policy of excluding the French rigidly from the whole of Turkey in Asia.

Relations between General Franchet d'Esperey and the High Commissioners at [illegible]

Closely connected with this question, and of scarcely less importance, is that of the relations between the French military command at Constantinople and the Allied High Commissioners.

Since the arrival of General Franchet d'Esperey there has been constant trouble on this score, and it appears that the French contend that the functions of the High Commissioners are restricted to matters connected with the fulfilment of the Armistice conditions, and that on other matters the military commander is supreme, and at

liberty to make any arrangements he chooses in direct negotiation with the Turkish Government.

This again is a question which cannot be settled by exchange of notes, and appears to require the personal attention of the supreme authorities of the Allied States now in Paris.

IV.—*Future of Turkey and of Constantinople.*

[illegible] tensions between the [illegible] Syria, in Palestine and in Mosul, and hide their tu[illegible] ges and rivalries are being bridged over by a host of new parties and associ[illegible] Nationalism and Islam; and while the extremist leaders of the C.U.P. [illegible] ted to [illegible] are forming new combinations, and working in with the Bolsheviks on the one side and with the relics of the old Hamidian régime on the other. Time is on t[illegible] side and they know it. Each week that passes reveals fresh intrigues in every quarter. In Switzerland, where there is coming and going between Enver and the other C.U.P. leaders in Germany and the agents of the party in Geneva, and grave suspicions of [illegible] owe Addia to their intrigues with the C.U.P. before the war, are working with the Turks against the Greeks and French; in Kurdistan, where the agents of the C.U.P. [illegible] go, since we are quite unable to establish any military authority there; in India, and throughout the Islamic world, and even in London itself, where time is being given for the consolidation of a formidable movement of the kind which is attractive to all the usual elements of unrest, and where agitation is being actively [illegible] the Turks from Constantinople, the conversion of [illegible] Christian interference with the Kaiifate [illegible] of Union and Progress, who have during the war kept in close touch with the Bolsheviks through Germany and Copenhagen by means of such notorious agents as Ahmed Agaieff and Parvus (alias Helphand), watch the westward [illegible] gress of the Bolshevik wave, and look forward to the moment when they too will be carried forward with [illegible]

What has the Turk to hope from an immediate peace? His material position is not likely to be greatly improved; the hated Greeks and Armenians are to supplant him, perhaps even to become his masters; he is told that he is to lose Constantinople and Smyrna as well as Syria, Palestine, Armenia, and all the Arab countries, and now a rumour goes forth that even the small patrimony that is to be left to him is not to be under his absolute control, but to be managed for him by a Christian Power; and that [illegible] wondered that he counts every moment of delay as so much gain, and watches with increasing satisfaction how the failure to reach any settlement in Paris, and the growing jealousies and dissentions of the Allies, are placing him every day in a better position to resist the conditions to be imposed upon him, and may even enable him in the end to take his revenge.

(66816) **No. 38**

Mr. Balfour to Earl Curzon.—(Received May 1.)

(No. 628.)

MR. BALFOUR presents his compliments to Lord Curzon, and transmits herewith copies of correspondence between M. Clemenceau and Emir Feisal before the latter's departure for the East.

British Delegation, Paris,
April 30, 1919.

Enclosure 1 in No. 38.

Mr. Kerr to Sir L. Mallet.

Sir Louis Mallet, *British Delegation, Paris, April 28, 1919.*

I ENCLOSE for your information copies of correspondence which passed between M. Clemenceau and the Emir Feisal before the latter's departure for the East.

F. H. KERR.

Enclosure 2 in No. 38.

M. Clemenceau to Emir Feisal.

Altesse,

Paris, le 17 avril 1919.

JE suis heureux, au moment de votre retour en Orient, de confirmer ce que je vous ai dit dans la conversation que j'ai eue avec vous le dimanche, 13 avril.

Le Gouvernement français, désireux d'assurer à la Syrie comme à l'Arménie, à la Mésopotamie et aux autres pays d'Orient délivrés par la victoire de l'Entente, le régime de liberté et de progrès conforme aux principes dont il s'est toujours inspiré et qui sont la base des délibérations de la Conférence de la Paix, déclare reconnaître le droit de la Syrie à l'indépendance sous la forme d'une fédération d'autonomies locales répondant aux traditions et aux vœux des populations.

La France est toute prête à donner son aide matérielle et morale à cette émancipation de la Syrie.

[illegible] aux besoins de ce pays, à l'intérêt de ses populations comme [illegible] par la France, que votre Altesse a reconnu que la F[illegible] pour restaurer l'ordre et réaliser les progrès que réclam[illegible]

Lorsque l'heure sera venue d'élaborer des arrang[illegible] taillés pour assurer la collaboration de la France avec la Syrie, ils devront être [illegible] à l'esprit de nos entretiens. J'ai grand plaisir [illegible] parer de votre Altesse, à vous le confirmer par écrit et à consta[illegible] inspirer les représentants de la France en Syrie.

Je prie votre Altesse d'agréer, &c.

CLEMENCEAU.

Enclosure 3 in No. 38.

Emir Feisal to M. Clemenceau.

I AM happy to have an opportunity, as I leave Paris for the [illegible] you for the great kindness you showed me in our conversation of Sunday [illegible] I told you I am a warm friend of France and of your administra[illegible]

The deep sympathy that exists between the people of France and the peop[illegible] Syria is founded on a tradition which you may rest assured I will do my [illegible] to confirm.

I was deeply impressed by the disinterested friendliness of your [illegible] while I was in Paris, and must thank you for having been the first to suggest the despatch of the Inter-allied Commission, which is to leave shortly for the [illegible] to ascertain the wishes of the local peoples as to the future organisation of [illegible] country. I am sure that the people of Syria will know how to show you the [illegible] gratitude.

Our conversations, to which I have referred, have convinced me of the need there is for us to come to a complete understanding on the points that interest us. As, however, it is impossible for me to put off longer my return home, I must ask you to accredit [illegible] to continue the arrangements we have begun. Their completion will foster the [illegible] relations of the two countries.

[illegible] let me assure you that on my arrival in Syria, I will do my best to assure [illegible] people of your kindly feelings towards us and will work to increase the friendly [illegible] between the French and the Arabs.

FEISAL.

[Letter sent on 20th April to M. Clemenceau. The previous dr[illegible] statement of what the Syrians wanted from the Powers and were willing to off[illegible] France, was rejected by M. Robert de Caix (acting for M. Clemenceau) and, therefo[illegible] never transmitted.

Feisal saw C[illegible] House and M. Clemenceau for a few minutes on the 21st April, to say good-bye.]

68905

No. 39.

M. Cambon to Earl Curzon.—(Received May 6.)

Le Gouvernement français vient de faire savoir à M. Paul Cambon que les [illegible] de la démobilisation, tandis que les autorités britanniques se voyaient obligées de faire face à des situations nouvelles en Égypte et aux Indes.

D'autre part, les assurances [illegible] George à M. Clemenceau en ce qui concerne le rôle de la France [illegible] avec l'Émir Faysal ont amené le Gouvernement français à prévoir et à préparer [illegible] de troupes françaises, afin d'assurer l'ordre dans ces régions et d'y [illegible] l'organisation des autonomies locales indépendantes.

[illegible] mixte, à quatre escadrons, est en voie d'embarquement à Marseille. Un second régiment, le 412e, pourra être embarqué dans le courant du [illegible] de [illegible]. Un bataillon de zouaves est formé et pourra s'embarquer le 12 mai à Bizerte; [illegible] un troisième régiment, le 409e, pourra être embarqué dans le courant de jui[illegible]

[illegible] général Allenby, auquel il en avait été référé, a déclaré, en dernier lieu, s'en remettre à la décision que prendront d'un commun accord [illegible] gouvernements français et britannique.

5. Le Gouvernement français a chargé M. Paul Cambon de demander au Gouverne[illegible] agréer le plan suivant et de le notifier au Général Allenby:

(1.) Le 415e d'infanterie restera stationné dans la région de Beyrouth et Tripoli, permettant ainsi le rappel d'un ou deux des régiments britanniques occupant ces [illegible]

(2.) Le deuxiè[illegible] ne serait envoyé en Cilicie (deux escadrons à Mersina) [illegible] tte (deux escadrons).

(3.) Le 412e régiment [illegible] et réparti dans la [illegible] avoisinante.

(4.) Le bataillon de zouaves sera envoyé à Beyrouth, où, réuni aux deux bataillons [illegible] sur place, il formera un régiment mixte, réparti dans la [illegible] sur au sud et Latakieh au nord.

(5.) Le 409e sera sur le port de Beyrouth et employé là où il sera nécessaire pour permettre la relève des troupes britanniques.

[illegible] le transport momentan[illegible] [illegible]ment français serait reconnaissant au Gouvernement britannique d[illegible] ces ordres nécessaires dans le plus bref délai possible.

[illegible] savoir au Commandant de Mero, attaché militaire français, auprès de sa personne, qu'il s'en remettait à l'accord entre les deux Gouvernements de Paris et de Londres [illegible] en Syrie et leur utilisation, le Haut-[illegible] général français Hamelin l'ordre (1) [illegible] (2) d'envoyer en Cilicie les 412e et 415e régiments [illegible] les deux régiments de marche de cavalerie.

[illegible] seul à détourner de toutes troupes françaises les [illegible] M. Clemenceau et les indications du Général Allenby à l'attaché militaire français. [illegible] communiques au Général français [illegible]

Ambassade de F[illegible]
le 5 mai 1919.

71025

No. [illegible]

Earl Curzon to the Earl of Derby.

(No. 749.)

Foreign Office, May 8, 1919.

My Lord,

THE French Ambassador asked to see me this afternoon with reference to a note [illegible] addressed to the Foreign Office on the 4th May, [illegible]

proposals for the introduction of French troops into Syria. These proposals had not previously been communicated to the War Office, and the latter were consequently not in a position, at such short notice, to give a final opinion upon them. They [illegible] a plan for the embarkation of considerable French forces [illegible] from [illegible] and Africa, with a view [illegible] well as of Cilicia. Relying upon some statement [illegible] it was agreed upon by the French and British Governments [illegible] Ambassador appealed to me to give prompt attention and early effect to the [illegible] proposals. Incidentally the Ambassador's note contained a comp[illegible] would [illegible] to have been sent by the British [illegible] commanded the existing French forces in Syria, requiring him to disband the Armenian Legion, and to send some French infantry and cavalry regiments to Cilicia.

I said that neither I nor the War Office knew anything of the latter orders, which were probably required by military considerations. I did, however, know although the Ambassador expressed considerable surprise at what I said that the French Armenian troops had proved to be thoroughly unsatisfactory; that it seemed to me a misfortune that troops of that nationality should have been chosen for the work entrusted to them; and that I thought the sooner they disappeared from the scene the better. As regards the movements of the other French troops to Cilicia, I presumed they were to take the place of the disbanded Armenians.

In reply to the Ambassador, I said that the question appeared to me to be in the main not political, but military. Through the mouth of our Prime Minister in [illegible] Concentrated ourselves in a political sense from Syria. [illegible] troops were in occupation was the result, not of any political design [illegible] circumstances of the war. On the whole, we should be glad to [illegible] responsibility of occupation, having much more [illegible] our forces elsewhere. I said that I was quite prepared to submit the French proposals to General Allenby to be reported or acted upon by him from the military point of view, but that I made [illegible] it to two reservations, which I wished to make quite clear to his Excellency. The first was that the movement of French troops, if it were sanctioned, should not be of such a character, either in point of numbers or in respect of the time of their arrival, as to suggest that the British forces were being hustled out of the country with a view to making way for the French.

To this his Excellency replied that his Government did not contemplate anything more than a gradual and progressive augmentation of the French military strength in that part of the world.

My second reservation was that the appearance and action of the French troops should not be such as to prejudge the decisions of the Peace Conference with regard to the future mandatory of Syria. France, I believed, expected to receive that mandate. Very likely she would, though even this was not quite certain. For our part, we neither expected nor desired to have it. But viewing the frequent warnings that had been issued in Paris to the Poles, the Greeks, the Serbians, and other nations not to compromise their case by seizing in advance territories which they might or might not [illegible] set a [illegible]

I [illegible] with some cogency, that the Italians had already been [illegible]t, and that if they were permitted to appear with Italian regiments at [illegible]al Konia, which were a part of the true Ottoman Empire, [illegible] any reason why the French should not be allowed to stake out their claim [illegible] portion of the Turkish dominions which was Arab and not Turkish in ch[illegible] which the Ottoman Government would in any circumstances be deprived.

I said that a bad example was not the same thing as a good precedent, and that I hoped his Excellency would bear in mind my warning.

In the course of our conversation, M. Cambon revealed to me what appeared to be [illegible] on his part of the final stages of the communications between the Amir Feisal and M. Clemenceau. He assured me that these had been thoroughly satisfactory; that the protecting and civilising mission which France had modestly prescribed for herself in Syria, was thoroughly understood and loyally accepted by the Amir; and consequently that the appearance of the French troops upon the scene would be welcomed by none more heartily than by him.

I said that I had always hoped that the Paris conversations would result in such an understanding, but that was not exactly my reading of the documents recording the

final interviews. I had seen the letter from M. Clemenceau to Amir Feisal, in which he had asked his assent to certain general propositions defining the French attitude and claims. To this the Amir had returned a reply, which I had also seen, of a very [illegible] character, which [illegible] acceptance of the French point of view to which his Excellency had referred. I [illegible]

Finally, M. Cambon pressed upon me the plea that, upon the withdrawal of the British forces from Syria, the French troops would be urgently required for the elementary task of preserving order in the territories concerned.

I refrained from observing that there was a likelihood that their presence might have a precisely opposite effect.

The conversation on this subject ended by my undertaking to refer the French [illegible] proposals to General Allenby.

M. Cambon then [illegible] Paris, or rather Versailles [illegible] sensitive had been impertinent in tone, but his own reading of the German psychology was that, after a more or less theatrical display, the Germans would in due [illegible] accept the terms that were offered to them. He derived this impression, he [illegible] merely from a study of German mentality, but from the reports received from French officers in different parts of Germany, who described the state of disorganisation and debility there as worse than anything we had hitherto believed.

I said that our own reports differed somewhat according to the parts of Germany from which they came, but that the majority of them certainly conveyed the impression [illegible] accepted. This was the view which I personally was inclined to hold, and I asked the Ambassador whether, if the French or the British were in the position of the Germans at this moment, he thought that either of us would accept the treaty that was [illegible] yesterday in Versailles.

[illegible] armistice, and, although thoroughly vanquished, they had fought on for [illegible] with enfeebled forces until peace was signed. The British would have done the same. But German mentality was of an entirely different order, and threats and terrors would, in his opinion, be followed by sullen submission.

M. Cambon spoke also of the proposed compromise about Fiume, which had been [illegible] Ambassador in R[illegible] but he did not see in it anything more [illegible] extemporised and provisional solution of an almost insoluble problem.

The conversation revealed his Excellency one [illegible] as the very antipodes of optimist about the European situation.

I have, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON

70543

No. 41.

Mr. Balfour to Earl Curzon.—(Received May 9.)

Paris, May 7, 1919.

I [illegible] have the honour to refer to your Lordship's despatch No. 2374 of the [illegible] course of a memorandum from the Department of Overseas Trade [illegible] gram to General Clayton regarding Wagner's Engineering Works at Jaffa [illegible]

I [illegible] concerns in Palestine are understood, but it is, nevertheless, important to bear in mind the wider aspects of the issue thus raised.

[illegible] Majesty's Government, it will be seen, they obtain a mandate from the Conference for Palestine, are pledged to carry out the policy of a national home for the Jews [illegible] for the Jews, and in the face of the present hostility of the majority of the population [illegible] their pledges of any form of political preference. An increase in the numbers and economic influence of the Jews and steady colonisation must precede political favours. By this means [illegible] of Palestine [illegible] first the Jew primarily [illegible] political and religious force may gradually come to welcome his presence, as they see

the full advantages from the influx of Jewish money and the Jewish methods of developing the country.

This line of policy is reinforced by the following considerations: Palestine is a rich [illegible] concession hunter who may expect to obtain high profits quickly. Every care must therefore be taken to watch the commercial interests which establish themselves in the country and ensure that the development of its natural resources does not take place at the expense of the inhabitants or primarily for the benefit of foreign capitalists. It is here that His Majesty's Government's adoption of the Zionist policy may be found to offer the best method of insurance. As your Lordship knows, it is the intention of the Zionists, if His Majesty's Government feel able to adopt their plans, to institute some form of public utility company under the control of the Zionist organisation who could perhaps be given preferential consideration for immigration and land development generally. The company would take, say, 5 per cent. of the profits. The remainder would go to relieve the taxpayer (Jew and non-Jew) in Palestine.

In the uncertainty of the present situation these possibilities can only be indicated but enough has been said to show how essential it is that as lon[illegible] Government are in military [illegible] step taken which w[illegible] and whether British or foreign, to establish themselves in [illegible] control over the in[illegible] or the principal industries until th[illegible] enables His Majesty's Government to work out the full implication of their acceptance of a mandate for Palestine and of the policy of the national home for the Jews.

I have no doubt that in the present instance some such considerations as these influenced the military authorities in substituting a shorter lease for the outright purchase of the Jaffa Engineering Works desired by the British firm.

I have, &c.

(For Mr. Balfour)

LOUIS MALLET

[70513] No. 4

[illegible]

Your Excellency,

Foreign Office, May 14, 1919.

IN pursuance of my note of the 24th March, I have the honour to inform you that I have now received a report from the military authorities which enables me to reply to the notes which your Excellency was so good as to address to me under the date of the [illegible]th January, the 5th and 18th March, respectively, on the subject of the Jaffa [illegible]don Railway.

Your Excellency will readily recognise that so long as the military occupation of Palestine and the state of war continue, control of the railways in that country must be retained by the military authorities, who must necessarily administer them primarily with a view to military needs. In the opinion of His Majesty's Government this consideration is especially valid in the case of a railway which, as is generally admitted, no longer exists in its pre-war form, but which owes its present being [illegible] entirely to the work of the army of occupation.

His Majesty's Government therefore [illegible] regret that they cannot regard as practicable the suggestion put forw[illegible] memorandum by M. Pavie, copy of which was enclosed in your Excellency's note of the 30th January, that the railway [illegible] returned to the company's control. Nor, with regard to M. Pavie's further suggestion that the section Ludd-Jaffa should be relaid on a broader gauge, do His Majesty's Government consider that they can reasonably be expected to order the undertaking of a new and considerable work of construction on the chance of recovering the expenditure involved fr[illegible]

Turning to the two spe[illegible] note of the 18th March, His Majesty's [illegible] due to the necessity [illegible] the military pers[illegible] of the line [illegible] the export within limits [illegible] oranges. Civilian traffic is restr[illegible]

[illegible] imposed by military exigencies. His Majesty's Government are reluctant to believe that serious exception can be taken to these regul[illegible] to be both natural and necessary.

I trust that the above information will enable your Excellency to convince your Government that the company are not being subjected in any way to unfair treatment by the British military administration.

I have, &c.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON

[75892] No. 43

Vice-Admiral Sir A. Calthorpe to Earl Curzon.—(Received May 19.)

(No. 695.)

Sir,

Constantinople, May 6, 1919.

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith report of an interview which took place between my military attaché and Said Mollah Bey.

2. This individual is the editor of a newspaper, the "Sorbesti," which is markedly pro-British in tone.

He is a son-in-law of the late Sheikh ul-Islam, Jemal-ed-din Effendi, and an [illegible] some weight in religious circles.

I desire especially to call your attention to his remarks on the relations of the French with certain undesirable elements here.

[illegible] impression that they alone amongst the *Entente* Powers are standing out for the [illegible] the hands of the Turks and for the non partition of the Ottoman Empire.

6. This attitude is necessarily pleasing to members of the Committee of Union and Progress and the more pronounced Nationalists, through whom the French hope to [illegible] themselves a privileged position in the capital and throughout Turkey.

[illegible] A member of the French High Commission recently informed the Assistant [illegible] Commissioner, in all sincerity, that he believed that his nation alone was [illegible] to assume the task of reconstruction in Turkey, and that their co-operation [illegible] have raised them to a plane [illegible] the true facts of the [illegible] to Great Britain a mandate for the whole country.

10. Especially is this the opinion of Moslems, who insist that the political advantages which would thus accrue to Great Britain are no less than the material advantages which would be derived therefrom for themselves.

11. It is seriously maintained by those who claim to speak with authority that the [illegible] which would be conferred upon Great Britain by the exercise of a mandate, would assure to her the loyalty of her Indian and Egyptian Moslem subjects, both in the spiritual and secular spheres.

12. The importance of apprehending the leading members of the Committee of Union and Progress requires, I think, no emphasis, and is the [illegible] important if the [illegible] certain material advantages conferred by membership than from any inherent virtue in the doctrines preached.

13. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Right Honourable A. J. Balfour, M.P., O.M., in Paris.

I have, &c.

A. CALTHORPE, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure in No. 43.

Report by Military Attaché of Interview with Said Mollah Bey.

I HAD a long conversation this afternoon with Maître Said Mollah Bey. As this is the only conversation I have had since I have been here which has left any impression on me, I have thought it worth while recording.

Said Mollah Bey commenced by asking me why the attitude of the British High Commission towards the Turks was so markedly cold. I replied that there were various reasons. In the first place, the conditions in which we found ourselves here during the armistice period necessitated it; in the second place, our attitude to our Allies precluded our attempting to establish relations with any individuals or parties without their knowledge and concurrence; in the third place, we did not wish to leave any doubt in the mind of any Turk but that the punishment which would be meted out to Turkey at the Paris Conference would be a severe one, and that in consequence to establish any official or semi-official relations with persons [illegible] parties was, until the declaration of that decision, impossible; lastly, I said that whatever his or any other [illegible] friendship for us might mean, the fact remained that there was a [illegible] hostile to us in the country, and, for all I knew, attempting to stir [illegible] other portions of our [illegible].

[illegible] Said Bey replied that with regard to the first point, he [illegible] appreciated the correctness of our attitude; that with [illegible] to the second, it was a pity that our Allies did not follow our example. In this connection he ventured the opinion that the regime established by the *Entente* since the armistice [illegible] produced [illegible] indeed that the nature of his [illegible] of friction and discord amongst [illegible] which our enemies [illegible] Committee, derived every adv[illegible] greater courage to [illegible] had tended more to revive, the Committee of Union and Progress than the attitude taken up by [illegible] of our Allies who, consciously or unconsciously, was in communication with the Committee with very disastrous results.

With regard to the third point, he said that he (and he thought he was speaking on [illegible] be awarded them would be a severe one. But, he added, that no punishment could very well produce a worse state of affairs than that now obtaining, or which had obtained during the war. The greatest desire that he himself and the class of Turk for whom he was speaking had was that the decision, whatever it might be, should be given quickly, and that the Turks who remained in whatever might be left of Turkey might be given an opportunity of enjoying some measure of freedom and prosperity which had been denied to them ever since the Committee had come into power in Turkey.

With regard to the last point mentioned [illegible] thought that some of the ideas entertained by us and in Europe [illegible] rous. He said that there was no real "spirit" in the party, it was simply and solely a matter of "interest." He did not deny that the party as today existing was most active in stirring up trouble against us, and said that he had little doubt that it was, at all events, in part responsible for the recent events in Egypt and India. [illegible] destroy the party and all that it stood for was not so difficult as we [illegible] said that it could be done by the taking of certain vigorous measures; the arrest and conviction of certain leading members, the closing of certain papers, clubs, and other centres of activity. By these steps the party would be, to a large extent, scotched, and all those who derived benefit from it would cease to adhere to what remained of it.

He th[illegible] parts of t[illegible], this could be accomplished by our taking under our tutelage what might be left of Turkey at the Peace Conference, t[illegible] with the Sultan and Caliphate, that once Moslems in India and Egypt saw that Turk[illegible] the Sultan, and the Caliphate were, for all intents and purposes in the hands of G[illegible] Britain, they would at once recognise that their interests lay with, and not contrary to, us.

He then went on to say that he thought a great mistake had been made [illegible] attitude we had taken up regarding the punishment of offenders. He was inf[illegible] the late Grand Vizier, Tewfik Pasha, that we had at first demanded the punishm[illegible]

those responsible for the war, and that Tewfik Pasha had sent for him and asked him how this was to be brought about. Strange enough, however, we had not pressed this point, but had confined ourselves to, and made a special point of, the punishment of those responsible for Armenian massacres only. This had given the impression in the country that our attitude was a partisan one; that it had not been our desire to punish those who, he declares, had caused Moslems (as well as Christians) to suffer, but that we had only wished to punish those who had wronged Christians. We should have [illegible] those who had declared war against us, who had forced a large portion of the Moslem world to fight against us; and who had brought ruin and starvation to Turkey.

Again, referring to the Committee of Union and Progress, he said that we had made no real attempt to destroy it. He ventured to think that if the Germans had been in our place, very little of the Committee would have remained at the end of five months; that when we first arrived here the whole of their organisation was on the point of being broken up, but that our subsequent attitude of leniency had given it courage, and enabled it to recommence its activities.

He stated that if he might express an opinion, he would now urge us to take action on the following lines:—

[illegible] through the Turkish Government. It was essential that we should make the Turkish Government do the work, and if they chose to do so they were perfectly capable of carrying it out. Then, having cleared the country of the leading members of this party, which would immediately be followed by the results mentioned above, the [illegible] assuming control in the country should we be allowed to do so by the Conference in Paris.

May 1, 1919.

[75061] **No. 44.**

Earl Curzon to the Earl of Derby.

No. 765.)

Foreign Office, May 19, 1919.

My [illegible]

W[illegible] your Lordship that M. [illegible] the difficulties and differences which have arisen at Constantinople between the French [illegible] British authorities, and saw Sir R. Graham.

[illegible] was that of [illegible] French military spheres. After [illegible], M. [illegible] proper division was that General Franchet d'Espérey should be in command of the town of Constantinople and European Turkey, while the whole of Asiatic Turkey should be under the British military command. But his Excellency considered that Scutari and the other suburbs on the east of the Bosphorus were in reality a part of [illegible] French military command. He pointed out that for all purposes of police, sanitation, municipal government, &c., it was considered [illegible] the British military authorities required, so long as British forces remained in the Caucasus, access to the Bosphorus and a free passage through the Black Sea. The [illegible] of the Bagdad Railway was at Haidar Pasha. It was important that this terminus should be in the hands of the British military authorities, and that they should have access to the sea by possessing the use and control of the port and docks of Haidar Pasha. M. Cambon said that he was perfectly willing to propose to the French Government an arrangement on these lines.

[illegible] Turkish [illegible] and only in European Turkey. [illegible] question of French posts in Turkey in Asia, but as a definition of the British and French military spheres on the lines proposed would *ipso facto* settle these questions, Sir R. Graham did not labour the point.

As regards the respective powers and functions of the High Commissioner and [illegible] military command should deal solely with military matters, and that all questions of

administration ought to be referred to the High Commissioners. Civil matters, such as the Ottoman Debt, &c., should be left to civilian control.

His Excellency [illegible] Sir R. Crewe that he was leaving for Paris at the end of the week, and would suggest to the French Government that an arrangement on the above lines might be arrived at.

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON

[76397]

No. 45.

M. Cambon to Earl Curzon.—(Received May 20.)

LE Gouvernement français est désireux de voir préciser les attributions du Payeur [illegible] Monin, délégué à Damas [illegible] connaître le détail des dépenses effectuées et des rentes encaissées.

Le Général Allenby a, du reste, reconnu lui-même la nécessité de voir spécifier ces attributions, lorsqu'il s'est rendu à Damas en compagnie du Haut-Commissaire français.

Toutefois, il y a lieu de remarquer que l'accord du 30 septembre 1918 dit dans son paragraphe 30 (*b*)

"Sous réserve de l'assentiment du Commandant en Chef, le Conseiller politique choisira

"(*a*) . . . .

"(*b*) Le personnel de Conseillers et le personnel subalterne européens qui pourra être reçus par le Gouvernement arabe ou les Gouvernements arabes institués du [illegible] zone (*A*) selon la Clause 1 de l'Accord anglo-français de 1916."

Il n'y est donc pas fait mention du contrôle de l'administration confiée aux Gouvernements arabes.

Il semble, par suite, à M. Pichon qu'il serait tout à fait nécessaire de compléter et de préciser à cet égard l'accord intervenu à Londres [illegible] l'administration provisoire des territoires [illegible] attributions du Payeur principal Monin.

L'Ambassadeur de France serait heureux de connaître les vues de sa Seigneurie le Principal Secrétaire d'Etat à ce sujet. Il saisit cette occasion, &c.

Ambassade de France, Londres,
le 18 mai 1919.

[66816]

No. 46

Earl Curzon to Mr. Balfour.

(No. 3475.)
Sir,

Foreign Office, May 26, 1919.

WITH reference to your despatch No. 628 of the 30th ultimo, the French Ambassador who has just returned from Paris, alluded to-day to [illegible] letters said to have been exchanged between the Emir Faisal and M. Clemenceau.

M. Cambon said that he had noticed that when he had cast doubt, some ten days ago, on the existence of any such correspondence, his statement had been received with polite incredulity. He had taken the opportunity of his visit to Paris to clear the matter up. [illegible] between M. Clemenceau and Faisal [illegible] was only willing to write on the [illegible] that would [illegible] satisfactory. A draft [illegible] M. Clemenceau [illegible] Faisal on the 17th April with a request to communicate the answer which it was proposed to return. When Faisal's draft reply was received [illegible] not satisfactory, and therefore M. Clemenceau's letter was never sent to him.

It would therefore appear that the note from Faisal transmitted to me in your despatch No. 628 as well as the earlier letter referred to in a footnote, both proved unacceptable to M. Clemenceau.

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON

[80101]

No. 47.

Rear-Admiral Webb to Earl Curzon.—(Received May 27.)

(No. 760.)
My Lord,

Constantinople, May 16, 1919.

WITH reference to my telegram No. 1344 of yesterday, I have [illegible] to transmit to your Lordship herewith a copy of the note which the Grand Vizier brought to me last evening in reply to that which I had handed to him on the previous day in regard to the [illegible] of the Smyrna forts to the Allied Forces.

2. It appears from this communication, as well as from the official statement in to-day's paper, of which also I enclose a copy, that Admiral Sir A. Calthorpe informed the Vali of Smyrna [illegible] the Supreme Council at Paris [illegible] proceed to the occupation of the town by Hellenic troops.

3. His Highness had but little to say in addition to the contents of the note; he stated however that [illegible] protest from all parts of the country against the action which had been taken, and he had brought a great number as examples with him; he had, in reply, sent telegrams in every direction exhorting the people to remain tranquil.

4. But it appeared a very hopeless task, for whereas he had crushed the Government [illegible] other communities were now springing up and [illegible] seemed [illegible] every [illegible] thought relied upon [illegible] every effort to [illegible] British officers and troops scattered in small parties or singly over a great expanse of territory.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to Mr. Balfour in Paris.

I have, &c.
RICHARD WEBB.

Enclosure 1 in No. 47

Damad Ferid to Rear-Admiral Webb.

M. l'Amiral,

Constantinople, le 15 mai 1919.

PAR la note que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de me remettre au nom des Puissances alliées, en date du 14 mai 1919, elle a bien voulu me faire connaître la décision de la Conférence de Paris concernant l'occupation des forts de Smyrne par les troupes des Puissances alliées.

Votre Excellence [illegible] le 7 [illegible] d'Arménie.

D'après plusieurs dépêches qui me sont parvenues depuis hier de la part du [illegible] Smyrne, je remarque que la force d'occupation annoncée dans la note à [illegible], son Excellence le Vice-Amiral Calthorpe vient de l'informer de l'entrée des troupes grecques dans la ville.

[illegible] ne justifie une pareille mesure dans l'état actuel de la province méditerranéenne de l'Empire.

Si dans leurs sentiments de haute appréciation et d'équité dont je ne doute pas [illegible] augmentation de l'effectif de nos troupes, la tranquillité dans cette province [illegible] déjà plus complète.

Bien que nous devions avoir, d'après notre proposition, qui jusqu'ici est restée sans réponse, 50,000 hommes sous les armes, il n'y en a en réalité qu'à peine 40,000, éparpillés sur un territoire assez vaste.

Le Gouvernement ottoman ne s'oppose pas à la décision de la Conférence de Paris [illegible] n'a aucun rapport avec la Grèce européenne. Si les souvenirs historiques [illegible] nombre de points sur le littoral de la [illegible] qu'augmenter la confusion, sans pouvoir assurer aucune solution.

Le peuple ottoman ne se fait aucune illusion sur l'étendue du malheur qui le frappe par suite d'une guerre désastreuse où il fut entraîné malgré lui. Mais ce qui le pousse au désespoir, c'est de n'être nulle part traité par ses anciens conationaux avec les mêmes sentiments de générosité qu'il a mis à traiter ceux-ci. Au moment où la violence luttait avec avantage contre le droit, le peuple turc a respecté tous les sentiments chers [illegible] voit, là, où il perd son autonomie, disparaître toutes ses institutions, ses propriétés, ses mosquées, ses écoles, enfin jusqu'à son existence nationale. Un grand nombre de [illegible] Il sera donc plus juste de juger la nation ottomane par l'ensemble de son histoire et non pas par une période des plus désavantageuses.

Smyrne étant une ville moderne essentiellement turque, avec une majorité turque de 83 pour cent, d'une confession, d'une pensée, d'un idéal et de coutumes absolument différents de ceux de la minorité qui y vit, il serait tout aussi difficile que peu équitable de ne pas prendre en considération les droits de la nation turque dans cette localité. Ni le Gouvernement, ni le peuple ottomans ne peuvent concevoir un instant que l'occupation de l'une des plus importantes villes de l'Empire ait un caractère dé[illegible]

Le Gouvernement Impérial, dans sa déférence envers les grandes Puissances de l'Entente, s'incline devant leur volonté, mais donner nullement à cette décision le caractère d'une renonciation à son droit.

Veuillez agréer, &c.
DAMAD FERID.

Enclosure 2 in No. 47.

Extract from the "Entente" of May 16, 1919.

[illegible]

HIER matin à 11 heures, l'Amiral Webb s'est rendu au conak de son Altesse le Grand-Vézir, Damad Férid Pacha, à Nichantache, et a remis à son Altesse une note portant que les forces alliées occuperont les forts de Smyrne selon les décisions prises à la Conférence de Paris.

D'autre part, le commandant en chef des forces navales anglaises, l'Amiral Sir Arthur Calthorpe, a fait savoir par une note communiquée hier matin au Gouverneur général du vilayet de Smyrne que, se basant sur les décisions de la Conférence de Paris et selon l'article 7 de la Convention d'Armistice, les fortifications de Smyrne seraient occupées par les forces alliées.

De même, par une seconde note remise dans l'après-midi, l'Amiral, se basant encore sur la Convention d'Armistice, faisait savoir au Gouverneur général que les Puissances alliées avaient [illegible] de faire [illegible] à l'occupation de Smyrne par des troupes hellènes.

Le Gouvernement a pris toutes les mesures que lui dicte son devoir pour la sauvegarde des droits de la nation et de l'État.

En même temps, son Excellence le Ministre de l'Intérieur, a transmis à tous les vilayets une communication recommandant à la population de garder le calme et de ne point se départir de la modération.

[76397] No. 48.

Earl Curzon to M. Cambon.

Your Excellency, *Foreign Office, May 27, 1919.*

WITH reference to the note which your Excellency was so good as to address to me on the 18th May, relative to the functions of Colonel Moulin, financial adviser to the Arab administration at Damascus, I have the honour to state that in view of the early departure of the Inter-Allied Commission to the East, and the prospect that the whole arrangement for the temporary administration of these regions will, in any case, have to be altered shortly, His Majesty's Government consider that it would be [illegible] to take any [illegible] in force. They are confirmed in this view by the fact that in the agreements referred to it was expressly

laid down that the French advisers or functionaries should be appointed at the request of the Arab State, a condition as to the fulfilment of which, in this case, I have at present no information.

I have, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[82836] No. 49.

Lord Curzon to the Earl of Derby.

(No. 812.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, May 30, 1919.*

M. CAMBON paid me his weekly call to-day. He had just returned from a visit to Paris, which indeed we had taken in common at the same time. His confabulations with his Government and their accounts of what was passing at Paris had not inspired him with any different view from that which he had frequently expressed to me, of the degree of wisdom with which the future fortunes of the world are being determined, or of the nature of the solutions, particularly in the Eastern world, which seem to find favour among the arbiters of Europe. I found some difficulty in reconciling his account of what had happened at Paris in the preceding week with what I knew of the facts; but I record his statements as made to me.

He represented that on a Monday the British representative had practically offered to France the undisputed mandate for Constantinople, the whole of Anatolia, Armenia (if it were not given to the Americans), and Syria; and two days later had submitted the rival proposition that America should receive the mandate for the whole of Turkey. [illegible] This suggestion, the Ambassador told me, had excited the vehement wrath of M. Clemenceau, who had been inclined to attribute it to my pernicious influence [illegible] Paris. M. Cambon had assured him, from his numerous conversations with me, that this could not be the case, since I had never favoured any arrangement by which [illegible] French claims to Syria were thus arbitrarily extinguished, and I confirmed his [illegible] understanding or misunderstanding [illegible] ple and Asia Minor, means to adhere to her Syrian pretensions.

M. Cambon then recapitulated the heads of the agreement or understanding which he had already proposed at the Foreign Office, of the two disputed subjects of: (a) The division of civil and military control at Constantinople during the military occupation; and (b) the division of military commands between Turkey-in-Europe and Turkey-in-Asia. As regards (b), Turkey-in-Europe was to be the sphere of the French, Turkey-[illegible] of the British commander-in-chief. But the French military control was to extend over the city, really a portion of Constantinople itself, separated by a broad channel, on the southern or Asiatic side of the straits, excluding however Haidar Pasha which, as the starting point of the railway, was to remain in British military hands. Such was the agreement which he had proposed, which we had accepted, and which had equally been accepted by his Government. He now sought to obtain one further concession, viz., that the French should be allowed to retain military control over the coal-mines and small port of Heraclee on the Black Sea, which had been developed and were worked by a French company, though in consequence of the war but little had lately been done.

I failed to ascertain from his Excellency for exactly what reason, whether *amour-propre* or the intention of making a future claim, the French were anxious for the concession: which indeed the Ambassador said that he only sought as a favour and would not press if we felt any strong disinclination to grant it. I promised to look into the matter, which was new to me.

The Ambassador then raised once more the question of the Jaffa–Jerusalem railway, now in British military occupation, and urged that, immediately upon the signature of peace, the French company which owned it should be indemnified for the seizure. His Excellency also pressed most strongly that M. Favre, the director of the company now in Palestine, should be accorded an interview, which had hitherto been refused, either with General Allenby or with the Governor of Jerusalem, Colonel Storrs.

In conclusion, the Ambassador reported to me a very frank conversation which he appeared to have had with M. Sazonof, in which, in reply to the appeals and petitions of that statesman, he had vigorously rejoined that Russia had only to thank herself for her misfortunes; while, as regards the Allies, she had "let them down" so badly that the war had been prolonged for two years.

A little later, M. Sazonof himself, when calling upon me, presented the reverse side of the same picture, by actually contending that, had it not been for the valiant efforts of the Russian armies in the opening stages of the war Paris would have fallen, the Channel ports been taken, and the war ended in less than six months.

If these are the rival angles of vision of contemporaneous authorities, what will not be the perplexities of the historian of the future?

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON

[76653] No. 50.

Earl Curzon to Mr. Balfour.

(No. 3482.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, May 31, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that General Stewart, the Resident at Aden, called recently at the Foreign Office, and in the course of a discussion on the various points which have lately arisen in South West Arabia, expressed the following opinions:—

1. *Proposed Treaty with the Imam.*—General Stewart said that the Imam was expecting to hear from us. The last communication we had sent him was that in which he was told that the question of his representation at the Peace Conference had been finally disposed of. General Stewart considered it highly desirable that something should be done at once, not only to show that we recognised the Imam's [illegible] but also that we intended to enter into negotiations with him. On [illegible] suggestion that Colonel Jacobs should visit the Imam forthwith to open preliminary discussions with him, he agreed that this ought to be done. He was of opinion that informal discussion of this nature would not be likely to suffer from Ramazan.

2. *Boundary of the Aden Protectorate.*—General Stewart agreed that the [illegible] of a buffer between ourselves and the Imam was no more likely to work in [illegible] than it had in the past. He was inclined to favour [illegible] extending the protectorate up to the existing boundary on the unde[illegible] the railway was extended. He personally had some doubt as to the [illegible] making a sanatorium either at Dala or at Darsajun and considered that Aden was more healthy than either, but from the political point of view he deprecated our handing over any of the chiefs in our protectorate to the Imam. He did not think that the Imam had any real expectation of extending his boundary in the direction of Aden [illegible]

3. *Future Administration of Aden.*—General Stewart considered that Aden would be too small an area, even if the protectorate were consolidated, to form an [illegible] administration, as the cadre would necessarily be a very small one [illegible] of opinion that Aden should not be under the Government of India [illegible] that it should be under Egypt unless Egypt were to exercise a central control over all Arab affairs. If there were any idea of a department being formed to deal with all British administrations in Arab-speaking countries, he favoured a combined service in which at least the senior posts should be interchangeable. The spheres of the Idrisi, the Imam, and the Sultan of Shehr and Mokalla should remain, as at present, under the control of Aden.

4. *Political Resident at Aden.*—So long as our effective occupation of Aden was confined to the fortress and its immediate neighbourhood, General Stewart considered that the functions of General Officer Commanding-in-Chief and Resident should be combined in one person. If, however, the protectorate was to be consolidated up to the existing boundary, he thought that there would be [illegible] from the military. He mentioned that from a military point of view it was desirable that Aden and Somaliland should be not only under the same military command, but also under the same central Civil Administration. The alternatives were in his opinion (a) to include Somaliland in the event of a central department [illegible] formed in London to deal with the various administrations in the Middle [illegible]

[illegible] central department were to be formed [illegible] Aden and Somaliland under one [illegible]

5. *The* [illegible] General Stewart said that the Idrisi was also expecting to hear from [illegible] the near future. The Idrisi's agent—Sayed Mustapha—had recently had an interview with him in the course of which he expressed some apprehension that the Peace Conference did not know enough about local conditions to be able to effect a satisfactory settlement of Western Arabia. Sayed Mustapha—and indeed all the Arabs in Western Arabia—were in his opinion strongly anti-Italian. At the time of the severe defeat of the Italians, General Stewart had had some difficulty in suppressing universal rejoicings. He had been appealed to by the Italian Consul to tone down the communiqués, and had done what he could to save the face of the Italians. He did not think that there was any fear that either the Imam or the Idrisi would turn to the Italians for support rather than to ourselves, so long as they had reason to hope for our support.

I have, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON

[82987] No. 51.

M. Cambon to Earl Curzon.—(Received June 2.)

A LA suite des notes adressées les 5 et 18 mars dernier par l'Ambassadeur de France au Foreign Office au sujet du Chemin de fer de Jaffa à Jérusalem, Sa Seigneurie le Comte Curzon of Kedleston a bien voulu faire connaître, le 13 mai dernier, les vues du Gouvernement britannique sur cette question.

Le Gouvernement français, en réponse à cette communication, a chargé l'Ambassadeur de France de signaler à l'attention du Gouvernement britannique les droits acquis par la Compagnie du Chemin de fer de Jaffa à Jérusalem à des indemnités, du fait de la mise de la ligne. Le versement de ces indemnités devrait s'effectuer aussitôt après la signature de la paix; d'autre part, le paiement de semblables indemnités incombe à l'occupant, en conformité de l'article 53 de l'annexe à la Convention de La Haye de 1907 sur les lois et coutumes de la guerre terrestre, et non pas à l'État souverain. C'est pourquoi le Gouvernement français s'adresse au Gouvernement britannique en cette occurrence.

Il [illegible] autre part, indispensable, en vue tant de la fixation des indemnités [illegible] que du règlement des diverses questions d'ordre pratique posées par la [illegible] de la ligne, que des entrevues aient lieu sur place entre M. Pavie, directeur de la société, actuellement en Palestine, et les autorités militaires britanniques. Tous les efforts faits par M. Pavie en vue d'entrer en conversation soit avec le Général Allenby, soit avec le Colonel Storrs, sont demeurés sans résultats: cette attitude des autorités militaires britanniques ne saurait se prolonger sans inconvénient.

Aussi le Gouvernement français insiste-t-il pour que le directeur de la Société du Chemin de fer de Jaffa à Jérusalem soit reçu en audience, le plus tôt possible, soit par le Général Commandant en Chef les forces alliées dans le Levant, soit par le Gouverneur des territoires occupés de Palestine.

M. Paul Cambon saisit, &c.

Ambassade de France, Londres,
le 27 mai, 1919.

[87743] No. 52.

Earl Curzon to the Earl of Derby.

(No. [illegible])

My Lord, *Foreign Office, June 11, 1919.*

AT FIRST [illegible] the French Ambassador, who has again been to [illegible] with me to-day [illegible]

[illegible] interview [illegible] the differences that had arisen [illegible] Council of Three [illegible] concerning the future of Syria, which had produced such strong feeling between the Prime Ministers of France and Great Britain. He now came to explain to me that an even more regrettable situation had arisen out of the proposal of the British representatives to modify at the eleventh

bour the terms of the peace proposals to Germany. He enumerated with accuracy the three points upon which this modification had been attempted, and he found nothing to say in favour of any of them. He expressed extreme astonishment that the result of six months of labour, of countless committees and commissions, of so many hopes and disappointments, should be thrown over or threatened at the last moment owing to discoveries which ought to have been made before. The effect produced upon French official opinion had been very bad, and it was even said that, at one moment, a rupture of relations between the plenipotentiaries of the two Great Powers had been threatened.

For his own part, he was quite convinced, and so were the French Government, that the Allies had only to stand together in order to compel Germany to sign. He did not attach the least importance to her bluff or bravado. She was only attempting to profit by the alleged disagreement between the Allies. She had nothing to sustain her in resistance, nothing to fall back upon in retreat; and, if only a firm front were exhibited to her, she would without a shadow of doubt give way. That, at any rate, was his forecast of the future. Further, his Excellency remarked that, while it was the general impression in Paris that the British Prime Minister and the American President had hitherto acted for the most part in combination, and had promoted each [illegible] President Wilson's [illegible] to be with the French rather than with ourselves. The Ambassador was the more concerned at the [illegible] serious differences between our two countries, because he believed [illegible] from internal political considerations affecting the British Government [illegible] He felt convinced that it was in response to Socialist pressure that [illegible] representatives had taken up this line. If this were so, he thought that it would greatly increase the already considerable momentum that had been acquired by international Socialistic propaganda during the past few months.

I replied that, so far from the British Prime Minister having yielded to any pressure of the sort to which the Ambassador referred, an allegation of this description had been expressly denied in Parliament, and I could testify to the fact that the decisions [illegible] by Mr. [illegible] not of himself alone, but of the British War Cabinet and Empire Delegation, specially convened in Paris for the purpose. I had myself been prevented by an imposition from attending those meetings; but, having read a full account of [illegible] had been endorsed by the unanimous voice of those who were present, and, whether it was wise or unwise, it represented the considered opinion of the British Government.

The Ambassador did not know whether anything had been done to ease the strained situation which had arisen in consequence, nor had I any information which could give him relief on this point.

I told him, however, that our information as to the intention of the Germans was not quite identical with his. The chances of a refusal to sign seemed greater than he had allowed for, and I could quite well conceive that dictates of the highest political expediency might suggest a modification of terms that would ensure a reluctant signature in preference [illegible].

Passing from these subjects, I said it was my duty to call the attention of M. Cambon to a number of points of minor interest which, however, were not without their effect upon the relations of our two Governments and peoples. For some time [illegible] the attitude of our representatives. I reminded him that I had enquired into the whole of these cases, and in the great majority of them had been able to return most satisfactory replies. Now however, it was incumbent upon me to point out a number of cases in which it appeared to me that the French themselves had not shown that attitude of friendliness and conciliation, the alleged absence of which in ourselves he had so earnestly and repeatedly deplored.

The first of these incidents had arisen in Persia. It was now some months since the Ambassador himself had come to me to explain that the French Government had been approached with a view to appointing a Financial Adviser in Persia and to interesting themselves generally in the affairs of that country. He had, upon instructions from Paris, consulted me as to the advisability of the French acting in this sense, and I [illegible] any influence in a country which clearly lay within the political ambit of Great Britain. I had accordingly on that occasion asked his Government to desist from any action of the sort referred to, and he had given me a promise to that effect. What, there-

fore, was not my surprise to learn that the new French Minister in Tehran, M. Bonin, had signalised his arrival there by a display of quite exceptional activity [illegible] country, culminating in an attempt to extract from the Persian Government permission to appoint not less than fourteen officials to the Ministries of the Interior and of Justice in the Persian capital. I said that such an influx of Frenchmen into Tehran, however excellent they might be, and however useful in their professional spheres, could not fail to mean the practical absorption of those two departments by the French, while it ran the risk of reproducing in Tehran once again that unfortunate competition and rivalry between European Powers, upon which [illegible] the source of so much international trouble. If France desired to disinterest herself in Persia, why should she wish to have Frenchmen in the service of the Persian Government at all? It was perfectly clear that, when the war was over, whatever might happen at the Paris Conference, Persia would require both financial and administrative assistance from outside. To whom, in such circumstances, could she turn but to Great Britain? What other Power would have the real interest or would be able find the money? Persia had always been an Indian interest of considerable importance; but now that her territories lie between those of India on the one hand and of Mesopotamia on the other, both regions under British administration, it would really be making gratuitous mischief to introduce any other European competitor on to the scene. I felt sure that the French Government if appealed to, would desist from an attempt, not only inconsistent with their previous utterances, but likely to breed the very quarrels they deplored.

M. Cambon told me that this was the first he had heard of the matter, and it greatly surprised him. He was not at all convinced that M. Bonin had acted under [illegible] from the French Government. He was a gentleman of active and [illegible] temperament, who had previously been consul in Cairo, and he was not at all unlikely to be affected by the well known *morbus consularis*. M. Cambon would not [illegible] state, when he returned to Paris presently, to mention the matter to M. Clemenceau. [illegible] ment, all that was necessary for him to do was to repeat the assurances as to French action or inaction at Tehran which he had already given.

I pointed out to him, before leaving the subject, that it was a matter on which I felt seriously, that I regarded the action of M. Bonin as distinctly provocative, and that he must understand my reference to the matter to be in the nature of a formal [illegible]

[illegible] I [illegible] to the Ambassador was the recent [illegible] I reminded M. Cambon [illegible] meet together and make their decisions and [illegible] of the combined action of the three or four. He and I had, indeed, just concluded a tentative agreement to that effect. And yet, what had happened in Constantinople? The Grand Vizier had recently expressed a desire that he should be heard in Paris on behalf of his countrymen. As to the grounds upon which this petition was either made or granted, I said that I myself was still in doubt. If a Turkish delegation was to be invited to Paris to receive the peace terms which had been agreed upon by the Powers, the position would be analogous to what it had already been in the case of Germany and of Austria, and I presumed to what it would be in the case of [illegible] also. In such a case there was nothing to object to in the [illegible] other hand, the Turkish delegation desired to be heard, irrespective [illegible] peace, I could not conceive why such a request should have been granted [illegible] ey alone of all the belligerents, and it seemed to me that, if this were the case, Paris was advancing on to very delicate ground. Apart from that, however, what I desired to complain of was the method pursued. The Supreme Council in Paris [illegible] instead of acting with his colleagues, had rushed round to the Grand Vizier to explain that the permission had been granted by the good offices of the French alone; he had published a statement in the press to the same effect; and he had arranged for the Grand Vizier to be conveyed to Marseilles on a French man-of-war. Such a proceeding on his part was, I thought, not only objectionable, but distinctly disloyal.

A further incident has happened which revealed a similar disposition on the part of the French. The Turkish Crown Prince, or Heir Apparent, had sent a telegram appealing for sympathy and support to the rulers of Great Britain, France, and Italy. This Prince was in exactly the same position as the Crown Prince of Germany, that is

to say, he was the eldest son of a monarch who had been, and still was, at war with the Allied Powers. Was it conceivable that such a telegram, coming from the German Crown Prince, would have received any reply? In this spirit, no answer had been returned by the King and the same attitude had been taken up, after consultation with us, by the King of Italy. What was not, therefore, our surprise when we learnt that the President of the French Republic had actually, through the medium of the French Foreign Office, sent a telegram of thanks to the Turkish Crown Prince, and, in a message signed by M. Pichon himself, had assured him that France would not neglect the vital interests of Turkey. Mr. Lloyd George had already protested to M. Clemenceau against this proceeding, the impropriety of which had been frankly recognised by the French Prime Minister. But I could not help drawing the attention of the French Ambassador to it, because it was an additional illustration of the spirit of international rivalry and intrigue which the French representatives appeared once more to be manifesting in the East. Great Britain had, I reminded M. Cambon, declared her reluctance to assume the mandate for Constantinople or Turkey even should it be offered to her. France, after some hesitation, had taken the same line, as reported to me by the Ambassador himself. In these circumstances, what excuse was there for these backstairs attempts on the part of French representatives to depict themselves as the particular friends of the Oriental States or Governments whose fate could be determined only by common agreement in Paris?

I then gave M. Cambon a third illustration of the same spirit. If there was any region, I said, in which France had good cause to be grateful for our support, it was in Syria itself. Not only had Mr. Lloyd George in the Councils of Paris openly declared that Great Britain neither desired nor would accept, if it were offered to her, a mandate for Syria, but we had actually telegraphed an intimation to the same effect to the Emir Feisal. Our policy, therefore, was aboveboard and known. If difficulties remained, they were not so much between the French and ourselves as between the French and the Arabs, who, according to my information, appeared exceedingly reluctant to accept France as a mandatory. Of all the French representatives in those regions, the one who had received most encouragement and assistance from us was M. Picot, the joint author of the unfortunate Sykes-Picot Agreement. This gentleman had on many occasions turned to us for aid. He had been taken, under the protection of the late Sir Mark Sykes, to Aleppo and Damascus. Every effort had been made by our representatives to secure him a good reception and a friendly hearing from the Arab and Syrian populations. M. Picot, from our more political observatory, I was therefore very much surprised when I read that he had, on the 13th May, in a speech to the school teachers of Beirut, expressed himself as follows:—

> "A people once asked the French to help them to gain their independence. The French responded and within a year or less [illegible] was secured. I [illegible] people were the Americans and the country from which they were freed was Great Britain. Having appreciated the help given, the Americans asked what reward they could give. 'Have your independence, that is the only reward we seek,' said the French. The same attitude is now held towards Syria. To see you independent is what we long for. You have my assurance that France will help you to this end."

Having read this extract to the Ambassador, I said that I thought the Syrians would be greatly surprised to learn that it was to the French that they must look for their independence. But, putting that aside, the suggestion that it was from Great Britain that this independence was in danger, and that the French were appearing upon the scene as the emancipators of Syria from the British yoke, appeared to me to be an astonishing travesty of the facts.

The Ambassador sought to make little of the American analogy, and enlarged upon the French desire to secure and protect the independence of Syria. But neither in this case nor in those that I had mentioned previously did he seriously contest my proposition that these incidents were much to be regretted, and, in concluding our conversation he promised to take an early opportunity of bringing them to the attention of the French Government.

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON

[89010] No. 53.

M. Cambon to Earl Curzon.—(Received June 16.)

EN répondant, le 27 mai dernier, à l'Ambassadeur de France au sujet du Payeur Principal Moulin, conseiller financier auprès de l'administrateur de la zone est, à Damas, sa Seigneurie le Principal Secrétaire d'État pour les Affaires Étrangères a bien voulu [illegible] que aux termes de l'accord du 4 septembre 1918 les conseillers financiers français devaient être [illegible] à la demande de l'État arabe, condition qui, du reste, en l'espèce, [illegible].

Le Gouvernement français a chargé l'Ambassadeur de France de faire remarquer à sa Seigneurie le Principal Secrétaire d'État pour les Affaires Étrangères que l'État arabe [illegible] et que les [illegible] plus détaillés à Damas sont [illegible] Alep et [illegible]. A ce [illegible] il est [illegible] que la réponse [illegible] par le Gouvernement de Sa Majesté ne [illegible] pas à la situation actuelle, et désire-t-il, ainsi que l'a fait connaître la note de M. Paul Cambon du 15 mai dernier, voir [illegible] les attributions du Payeur Principal Moulin, conseiller financier, dont les fonctions ne peuvent s'exercer utilement dans les conditions présentes.

M. Paul Cambon saisit, &c.

Ambassade de France, Londres,
le 13 juin 1919.

[89850] No. 54

Brigadier-General Clayton to Earl Curzon.—(Received June 17.)

General Headquarters, Egyptian Expeditionary Force,
June 5, 1919.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward copies of reports rendered by Lieutenant-Colonel Cornwallis, Deputy Chief Political Officer at Damascus.

These reports give a clear appreciation of the political situation and they may be taken to be accurate, as Lieutenant Colonel Cornwallis [illegible] to an exceptional degree [illegible].

I have, &c.
G. E. CLAYTON, *Chief Political Officer,*
Egyptian Expeditionary Force.

Enclosure in No. 54

Report by British Liaison Officer on Political Situation in Arabia.

(No. 24. Secret.)

THE visit of the Commander-in-chief on the 12th instant was given a political significance, and even [illegible] gatherings. [illegible] are being [illegible] was held on [illegible] Appendix A [illegible] Syria [illegible] with the object of [illegible] *état* [illegible] the Peace

Conference, and of discussing the form of Government to be set up. The Commander-in-chief however disapproved the idea which has been abandoned.

[illegible] el-Arab" has affixed a notice to its club-room stating that as the club is [illegible] and social, politics must not be discussed inside the building, and no [illegible] meetings will be held. This is a "camouflage." Feisal [illegible] [illegible] creation of an opposition party, and he claims to know everything which is going [illegible] There is no doubt that he does, and he certainly has been very successful so far. [illegible] politicians are said to be bickering a good deal amongst themselves.

Feisal has taken the whole of the political campaign into his own hands [illegible] [illegible] sent instructions to [illegible] parts of the country. These instructions will be communicated to the people by Government officials, who, no doubt, will be used for [illegible] purposes much more openly than before. The people have been told to ask for complete independence for Syria [illegible] represented in the "Istiklal el Arabi."

Since the dissemination of these instructions he and the local politicians have been [illegible] perturbed by a letter [illegible] Rustum Bey Haidar, the Arab representative in Paris, saying that it will be fatal to ask for complete independence, as the Powers have decided that there must be [illegible] [illegible] advice to be honest and ask [illegible] they really want. Several proposals are under discussion—to ask alternatively [illegible] British, American, or joint Allied control (Great Britain, France, and America) [illegible] they vary from day to day.

The politicians have only two convictions: firstly, that they want independence, and secondly that they do not want France. Anti-French feeling is [illegible] the people who count, and it is very doubtful whether Feisal [illegible] [illegible] fear of the French has forced him into [illegible] independence campaign, and that he would be willing to accept a British [illegible] any time. Both he and his [illegible] weakness, and are frightened at [illegible] happen if they are left alone. They are at present in a state of complete [illegible], fearful lest the course they have taken is the wrong one, doubtful whether [illegible] or should draw back [illegible] our general sympathy.

4. Feisal is beginning to realise the difficulties which he will have in reconciling the Palestinians and Zionists and [illegible] the Peace Commission.

Meanwhile Palestinians here are as vehement as before, and Mohamed es-Saleh [illegible] Husseini, of Nablus, has been advocating [illegible] in the Syrian State. [illegible] hand, and contained nothing very objectionable.

5. M. Kaiser [illegible] from Manchester [illegible] recently [illegible] as liaison officer between Feisal and the [illegible] notes for a draft Syrian constitution.

6. Feisal has given his different [illegible] much greater freedom and told them to refer direct to him on all important matters. This reduces the Chief

Administrator to a position of complete inferiority, and Feisal hopes that Ali Riza will resign. He realises Ali Riza's incapacity, but, always inclined to take the line of least resistance in personal matters, does not wish to offend him by dismissal.

[illegible] as Mutessarif [illegible] them to rely [illegible] [illegible] Government with him.

7. Feisal asked the Commander [illegible] an army [illegible] himself as a private soldier in the new national army. The proposal [illegible] fall thoroughly flat amongst the people, who only want to be left in peace and quiet. He has been told that he cannot conscript, but he intends to bring to bear what he calls [illegible]

His immediate task is to bring to efficiency the brigade which was [illegible] time ago, and to ensure this he will probably ask the Commander-in-Chief [illegible] of British officers for the cavalry, French for the artillery, and American for the infantry.

8. An emissary has come in from Ibn Rashid with a letter addressed to the British [illegible] a reconciliation, and professing [illegible] Bedouin and has little news of [illegible]

H. CORNWALLIS, *Lieutenant-Colonel, D.C.P.O.*

Damascus, May 16, 1919.

Note.—M. Picot has expressed his approval of Said Pasha Shoucair coming here to take over the finance. I have therefore wired to him to report at once.

APPENDIX (A).

Emir Feisal's Address to the Notables of Syria in the Town Hall of Damascus, the May 9, 1919, at 3 P.M.

[illegible] Turks was to save the Arabs from the [illegible]

[illegible] nation, living in one country bounded by [illegible] from the south, [illegible] and by the Taurus range from the north.

When the Allies were better enlightened on the present conditions of the Arabs [illegible] their independence. They also decided to send an international [illegible] a thorough study of the character and condition of the Arabs.

In the Conference I spoke on two points:—

1. The indivisibility of the Arab country and that the Arab nation demands its absolute independence.

2. Owing to the difference in habits and in the degree of education and civilisation of the different parts of the countries, and to the difficulties in the lines of communication amongst them, I asked that El-Hedjaz, Syria, and El-Irak, should each have an independent Government by itself, but all united within the great union of Arab countries. Moreover, Nejd and the smaller parts of Arabia will be attached to the Hedjaz.

I spoke and I asked that the independence of El-Irak and of Syria should not be sold for the little help she needs from the outside, but Syria should be allowed to buy that help for what it is worth.

The little opposition that I experienced at first was caused partly by misunderstanding and partly by ignorance of what the Arabs wanted. The Europeans thought that the troubles that commonly took place in the country were the fault of the Arabs, and expressed their apprehension of our renewing such troubles, but when it was explained to them that the Turks were the cause of all the troubles in Syria, they agreed [illegible] to all that you asked at the Inter-Allied Commission [illegible] arrive and will ask you to express freely your wishes with regard to the future of your country. In the League of Nations which was formed [illegible] of the world, the Arab nation will have one delegate. After its return to Europe, the Inter-Allied Commission will give a report of the demands of each of the nations liberated from the Turks, and it is according to these reports that the Peace Conference will decide the future of these countries. Thanks to our Allies, our foreign duty has already been accomplished, and it now remains to you to choose to be either slaves or masters of your destiny.

Before I tell you what we ought to do, I will say that so far we have done all without taking the opinion of the nation to see if they approve of our work or not. This was [illegible] done, because we had no time or chance of doing it; but now I take the opportunity of your presence here to ask you some questions, Gentlemen; though you are not elected to represent your people, your place in society and moral standing with regard to your people [illegible] of being an effective representative. Now please hear the questions, and give your answers to them.

"Do you approve of all that we have done?"

"Yes, good." (Great applause.)

"Are these deeds satisfactory to the people?"

"Quite satisfactory." (Great acclamations.)

"Is what we have done in conformity with the wishes of the nation?"

"[illegible] exactly." (Great applause.)

"Now these are our past deeds, and as you are present I have to ask your personal opinion whether you want us to go on with our work or not?"

"We shall go on, we shall go on." (Strong applause.)

"Does the nation depend upon the one that is pleading her cause?"

"With all good-will and confidence."

"Now listen to what I ha[illegible] Does the nation permit me to handle her [illegible] and foreign affairs, or not?"

"Yes, yes." ("Long live [illegible]

"I thank you, Gentlemen, for your confidence in me and for your satisfaction with my deeds. You know that a lawyer cannot defend the rights of people unless he has official documents which he can present to the authorities, proving him to be a true representative of the defendant, so it is with politicians. They have to be appointed by those the [illegible] they represent, and should be given power in all the matters whose discussion [illegible] Now I have to ask the nation this question. Does the nati[illegible] these are the essential points that are needed by the man or men who are authorised to deal with the political problems till the time when the Syrian Congress is held. To be able to work I wanted to have this authorisation; I asked it from you and you gave it to me, so now I ask God to lend His helping hand to me in my struggle for the welfare of this country.

[illegible] gentlemen, be wise and cautious, and do not say that the nations have given you your independence thus sitting still and neglecting your duty towards your country [illegible] that you want it, and proving to the nation that you are fit for it.

"I say that because of the great welcome of the nation for me, which will make me expect from her very strong backing to action whenever I ask that from her.

"What I asked from you to-day is short and summarised, simply because I do not know what I need in the future; but after I have got the aproval of this honourable assembly, I shall ask the nation to back me physically and morally."

Sad-el-Din El-Khalil, one of the representatives of the Hauran, said: "The Hauran offers to his Highness all that he asks."

A delegate from Palestine said: "The blood and the property of the Palestinians are yours."

A delegate of the Anezeyen (Arabs) said: "We are equipped for war, we and all the Arabs are under your orders. The one who is killed let him die."

Emir Faisal: "Please stop and let the delegates of each district choose one to speak for them."

Then the delegates of the different districts began to rise in turn and show their approval of his work, and give him the authorisation to work as he sees fit for the welfare of Syria.

Their exact words were as follows:—

The Hauran delegate said: "The Hauran offers to his Highness all that he asks."

Nouri Pasha Shaalan (head of the Beduin Arabs) said: "We the Arabs, our families, and our hair-tents are under your orders, and the one who does not obey leaves the Moslem Faith."

Nasib Bey Atrash (Druse chief from the Hauran): "All the tribes in Syria whether Arabs, or Druses, sacrifice their lives in your service and the service of the Arab nation, and the one who does not do this has no honour, and is a traitor to the Arabs."

Sheikh Abd-el-Hussein Sadik Jebel Amil: "In the name of the inhabitants of Jebel Amil, I consider you my sovereign, even to death (this is the translation of one Arabic word which people said to the Khalifs at their becoming Khalifs. It is a sort of appointment of the Khalif and a vow of allegiance to him").

Emir Faisal: "It is not time for it yet, we are now in Damascus and I want to ask the people of Damascus, and then the other districts of Syria."

Mohammed Faun Pasha-el-Azm, Mohammed Abdul Khair Effendi Abdeen and Sheikh Asad-el-Salih of Damascus, said: "Ready to accomplish your orders, we sacrifice ourselves for you and lay all confidence in you as our representative."

Catholic Patriarch: "Just as your Highness orders—so please order what you want."

Then his Highness asked the Greek Orthodox Patriarch who answered: "We [illegible] conditions that your Highness still has in memory, and I stick to that."

The Catholic Patriarch [illegible] "I say just as my colleague, the Greek Orthodox Patriarch has just intimated."

This was also repeated by the Mutran of Syrian Catholic Church.

[illegible] "All the inhabitants of the Kara Baalbek are at your service" hundreds and thousands awaiting your orders.

Omar Bey-el-Atasi of Homs: "I only said [illegible] they had entrusted me with the power to represent them. They hand to you their blood and lives."

[illegible] Kharab (Southern Lebanon): "We choose you as our Sultan." [illegible] "Mount Lebanon is at part to complete Syria and would not be separated from it."

Abd-el-Kadar Effendi Kilani of Hama: "We agree with you with our lives and property and lay all confidence in you."

Sheikh Riza Rifai of Aleppo: "All the inhabitants of Aleppo, citizens, and nomads, lay confidence in your Highness."

Shawkat Effendi-el-Hirabi of Ma'ama: "60,000 of the district of Ma'ama lay confidence in you."

Sheikh Abu-el-Medj El-Mograbi of Tripoli: "The nation sacrifices her life and possessions for you."

[illegible] Bey Sadik of Beirut: "The Arabic nation lays confidence in your Highness."

[illegible] of Sidon: "The [illegible] nation are attached to your Highness [illegible] sacrifices her blood and soul for you and from this minute I consider me a simple soldier."

A Jurkas young man from Amman: "We sacrifice our children and possessions for the good of the Arab nation."

Mr. Effendi Haroun of Sathikya: "A friend of mine and myself were sent from Sathikya with [illegible] our hands [illegible] to speak for their loyalty and to [illegible] in your Highness to do what you think good for the country."

Ali Effendi Wasfi of Salt: "The inhabitants of Es Salt are the servants of your Highness. They sacrifice their lives and blood for you."

Emir Asad-el Atrash of Lebanon: "We give your Highness full authority to work for absolute independence."

Mustapha Bey Awad, on behalf of the Druses of Lebanon: "Everything that you see good is good and we give you our full confidence."

Abd-el-Razala Effendi, El-Daudushly of Husn-el-Akrad: "The inhabitants of Husn-el-Akrad, who form one-fifth of the inhabitants of El-Eutasarrifya of Tripoli, authorise your Highness to represent them, and they pour their blood for you

The Religious Head of the Jews: "Our possessions and souls are in your hands."

Emir Feisal: "I have got what I wanted."

Then the Mutran of the Armenian refugees spoke in Turkish thanking the Arabs for their good treatment to the Armenian refugees during the four years of war, and said that in their history the name of the Arabs shall be written in letters of gold, so now I thank and congratulate you

After hearing what the delegates said Emir Feisal continued his speech, saying —

"There is no doubt that after I have received this authorisation from this honourable assembly I shall continue my work as before till the meeting of the Syrian Congress, which will formulate the laws for all Syria.

"I shall tell you now my personal opinion as regards the Government of this country, aiming by this at an explanation of the situation to the people, and a tranquillization of their minds without regard to religion or creed. I think that more attention should be paid to the votes of the minority, thus to efface the hatred and religious faction created by the Turks, and to sow in its place the seeds of love and of fraternity amongst the members of the different religions. I also think of dividing the country into parts according to its geographical location and to its attainments and habits, so that the southern part of Syria will not be governed like the northern part, and the Hauran and Jebel Druse will have special laws, which will be in [illegible]nity with the wishes of the people. So also we shall have for the coast and for [illegible]erior of the country This, as I have said, is my personal opinion, but without [illegible] the public, and we will do according to it.

[illegible] shed independence please depend on God first [illegible] my humble person, and be sure that I will have no difference between the [illegible] the different religious sects

I have no distinction between the members of the different sects, and I only look to degrees of education and promote the one who is fit only, never ask[illegible] son he is or to what religious sect he belongs. In private affairs we should [illegible] people of noted families, but we should not give them responsible posts unless they [illegible] them, and then it is their education and character that gives them the [illegible]. We should not play with the Government posts because they are not ours [illegible] the nation's property, and the holders thereof are the trustees of the rights of the nation

"I beseech you, sons of the nation, to depend and trust in our Allies who helped us, and who wish us good success and have no ambitions but to help us to progress. So we ought to prove to them that we are an energetic nation that wants her independence

"Show them that we protect neighbours and refugees, that we help our old and young, and that we respect those of their number who come to us and work for us in this dear country of ours

"I beg this especially from you because this is the only foundation on which we can build our future work, and I also beg from you to unite for the common cause, a thing which it is as much your duty as it is mine and to work towards it. I tell you that you will have no independence unless you keep the peace and do exactly as I tell you.

A few words as an excuse for the long speech and the faults made therein ended [illegible] address

(For Lieutenant-Colonel, D.C.P.O.),
G. R. HUNTER, *Captain*

May 12, 1919.

[91521] No. 55.

Sir E. Allenby to Earl Curzon.—(Received June 20.)

(No. 269.)

Cairo, June 11, 1919.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my telegram No. 950 of the 10th June, I have the honour to [illegible] Garland of the Arab Bureau on the Khurma dispute."

I have &c.
E. H. H. ALLENBY.

Enclosure in No. 55

Note by Captain Garland, of the Arab Bureau, on the Khurma Dispute between King Hussein and Ibn Saud

Ibn Saud.

IN 1915 a treaty was arranged between Emir Ibn Saud and His Britannic Majesty's G[illegible] which [illegible] Ibn Saud as the independent sovereign of Nejd, El Hasa, Katif, and [illegible] It was [illegible] reasons of military expediency after the expulsion of the Turks, and no definite boundaries of the territory were specified

Ikhwan.

Although generally regarded as a new creation, the Ikhwan or Brotherhood move[illegible] it is really a revival in an [illegible] of Wahabism, the great puritanical re[illegible] against orthodox Mohammedanism in the 18th century, which was ultimately [illegible] 1917 and which, since then, has existed in a merely moribund state chiefly within the confines of Nejd.

The tenets of the Ikhwan creed are very similar to those of Wahabism, though its [illegible] are without [illegible] fanatic[illegible] The [illegible] Mo[illegible] rather than the brutal methods of effecting conversions and of punishing sinners, rather than the [illegible] of the creed itself, that appear [illegible]. There is no doubt whatever that the Bedouin are systematically terrorised into conversion, and that those who refuse are done to death. In war, the Ikhwan are said to take no prisoners, but to cut the throats of all who fall into their hands.

[illegible] the Ikhwan [illegible] present purposes to know, firstly, that the sect originated close by his own capital, and [illegible] missionaries are his own subjects, secondly [illegible] it is merely a desperately fanatical edition of Wahabism, of which he is the [illegible] movement, and will certainly not fail to use it for furthering his own ends [illegible] Differentiate between [illegible] Wahabis

Since the first appearance of the Ikhwan, about ten years ago, in the vicinity of the [illegible] It is practically certain that the whole of Nejd is Ikhwan, and its missionaries have penetrated to all the corners of Arabia.

But its doctrines are detested by all orthodox Moslems, and the rulers of the Arab States surrounding Nejd (especially King Hussein) live in constant dread of its spread to their people.

Khurma Dispute.

The present Khurma crisis has two causes, one religious, the other political. The religious cause is the King's determination to stop Ikhwan sectarian propaganda in the [illegible] Khurma [illegible]

King Hussein has put forward a very good case in proof of his ownership of

Khurma, and this, after much delay, has received the support of His Britannic M[illegible] the population of the Khurma district than on ownership of the actual ground, agreed that the quarrel should be submitted to our arbitration.

The territorial dispute has its origin in the conversion to Wahabism, in 1914, of [illegible] Khurma, a Sherif named Khalid, whom the King [illegible] Khurma before the war. By embracing Wahabism, Khalid be[illegible] four years the King appears to have taken no steps to root [illegible] at Khurma or to collect his taxes there. In 1918, however, he sent tax gatherers, but they were arrested by Khalid, who, realising that his action meant war, collected a scrap Bedouin force with which he ejected all loyal elements from Khurma.

In May 1918, the King drew our attention to Ibn S[illegible] as bound firmly to the Emirs of Mecca fr[illegible] said that, in consequ[illegible] consisted of about [illegible] brother of Emir Shakir, and [illegible] men to [illegible] rival at Khurma, the K[illegible] detachments in J[illegible] old guns, and 2 machine guns. [illegible] fifteen killed and all its guns

Military Incidents.

[illegible] Emir Shakir was despatched by the King to the Khur[illegible] and 4 guns and 6 machine guns. The King stated that [illegible] as Emir of Atoibah tribe (Khurma is Ateibah territory Shakir's force ultimately arrived at Marran

The next military incident was an attack by a loyal Ateibah sub tribe (the Mqatab) under their Sheikh, Shuleiwih, against the Ikhwan in Khurma, but they were utterly routed. This attack was probably, though not necessarily, instigated by Shakir.

In August, Shakir moved from Marran and met the Ikhwans at Hanna Wells, 16 miles east of Khurma, where his force was annihilated. It was reported that during the conflict one of the Ateibah tribal sections (the Rieqa) deserted en masse to the Ikhwan. Each side was blamed by the other as the aggressor in this action, but it was [illegible] the result of Shakir's advance from Marran, which may not, however, have b[illegible] intended aggressively by him

Up to this time Ibn Saud, pronouncing the King the aggressor in every incident, declined to be responsible for his men at Khurma, though he affirmed that he himself would not intervene. In spite, however, of Ibn Saud's repeated denials of lending support to Khalid and the Ikhwan, he cannot be absolved. Khalid, undoubtedly, w[illegible] acting as his agent, and looked to him for guidance and help. In fact, a letter written to Ibn Saud by Khalid, after the Hanna Wells fight, and which was seen by Mr. Philby, contained a full report of the action, and stated that the captured guns were being kept pending the orders of Ibn Saud as to disposal.

This defeat necessitated the despatch of further reinforcements to Emir Shakir, and accordingly more guns and machine guns were sent from Abdullah's camp, but, except for minor raids by the Ikhwan, on caravans taking supplies from Taif to Shakir's base, there were no military incidents for some time. The King and Abdullah continually repeated their promises to keep to defensive measures only and denied all aggressive intentions.

In one of the raids Abdullah's son had a narrow escape, and the Ikhwan captured all his belongings. This incensed Abdul[illegible] made up his mind at that time to [illegible] he was ite[illegible]

But although the King and Abdullah had been warned consistently by us to avoid aggressive acts or even an advance on Khurma, it must be emphasised that this policy of ours was dictated purely by military expediency, and was decided upon in spite of our strong sympathy with the King's claim to Khurma. It was realised that the Sherifians could spare neither commanders, troops, nor guns from the forces which were besieging Medina, and further, that a big defeat at Khurma at that time would probably result in a disastrous reaction on the siege operations by heartening Fakhri Pasha and enabling him to come to some arrangement with Ibn Saud for the further defence of the city or for surrendering it to the Ikhwan.

Little was done, however, by India to call off Ibn Saud or to order him to cease his anti-Sherifian propaganda amongst Hejaz tribes. The Indian view at that time was

that it would be wrong for us to support the King in military action against our treaty A[illegible] Majesty's Government to Ibn Saud, "advising him to modify his attitude and to persuade his followers from further opposition to the administrative measures of King Hussein at Khurma."

The fall of Medina, in January 1919, left Abdullah free to set out on his long-cherished expedition to Khurma, which, he had often prophesied, would be over, with the complete destruction of Ibn Saud's forces, within two days of his (Abdullah's) arrival on the scene.

It was feared by British advisers on both sides (Iraq and Egypt) that Abdullah's ill-advised move must inevitably result in a collision of the rival forces, and it is quite p[illegible] Abdullah remained in Medina the present crisis would not have arisen. Indeed, had we been aware of the Emir's actual warlike intentions, we should no doubt have strongly protested against the advance instead of merely suggesting the impropriety of it. Abdullah's regular force consisted of 60 officers, 770 other ranks, 10 guns, and 20 machine guns. It reached Asheirah early in April. As soon as he learned of Abdullah's move from Medina, Ibn Saud began counter preparations. He certainly warned H[illegible] Majesty's Government of these and reasserting his wish for arbitration, stated that he was compelled by pressure of public opin[illegible] own places," he said, "I will remain in mine." But although we looked upon Abdullah's advance as unwise and foolhardy, and advised him not to start, we do not, [illegible] cannot, deny his right to occupy Khur[illegible] levalists at Degheibah early in May 1919. The raiders were pursued by a detachment [illegible] to overtake them, but intercepted and defeated a second [illegible] same date, another detachment of Ikhwan was attacked at Radhum by a patrol of [illegible] raids we have not yet received reports from Ibn Saud's side.

On the 21st Abdullah reported that, after two and a half hours' fighting, he occupied Tarabah, and that after consolidating it, he would advance to Khurma. In [illegible] policy and doubtless decided to take the Ikhwan raid on Degheibah as his excuse for an attack on Tarabah.

Abdullah also reported the arrival in person of Ibn Saud at Sakphah (80 miles north east of Khurma)

We may be sure that if Ibn Saud does not deny that the Ikhwan raid on Degheibah ever took place, he will certainly assert that it was not done at his instigation and was, therefore, an ordinary tribal raid for which he cannot be held responsible.

[illegible] night of the [illegible] May [illegible] Emir Khalid [illegible] Abdullah at Tarabah, driving him out, and, according to several accounts, destroyed his regular force, capturing all its guns and machine guns. Emir Abdullah got away with 500 irregular mounted men only, and retired to Okhedir. Later information shows that Sherif Sharaf (Abdullah's second in command) had a small force at Kelakh, which the Ikhwan attacked at dawn on the 26th May, but were repulsed, Sharaf [illegible] decided to join Abdullah at Okhedir. The retirement on this latter place [illegible] probably necessary to protect the Sherifial base at Asheirah.

With the destruction of Abdullah's army, the road from Khurma to Taif lies [illegible] to the enemy. Mecca and even Jeddah are at the mercy of the fanatical Ikhwan. From Medina, Emir Ali can only send reinforcements of the same fighting value as Abdullah's original force.

Results.

It is a sad fact that, in every conflict with the Ikhwan, the Sherifian forces have [illegible] war service it has failed when put to its first crucial test and although heavily equip[illegible] an untrained enemy armed only with rifles

Future Policy.

Although King H[illegible] the question arises—what steps does he propose to take for the permanent defence of [illegible] Harb Tribal Confederation, in whose territory they lie, but whether they would obey a call to arms is problematical because their allegiance to the King has been impaired by the considerable arrears of pay in which Emirs Ali and Abdullah kept them during and since the war. And, further, they are just as vulnerable to the proselytising methods of the Ikhwan as the other tribes, and at a critical moment might go over *en masse* to the opposite side.

The Ikhwan menace will not cease when the present crisis is over. Aeroplane defence of Taif and Mecca can be but temporary, even if its moral effects (combined with our political pressure on Ibn Saud) are great enough to stall Ikhwan aggression, but directly our aeroplanes are withdrawn the pro-Nejd tribes on the frontier will recommence their raids and the safety of the Holy Places will depend on—

1. The maintenance of a regular force by the King. This, to be of any use must be trained and staffed by qualified officers, and must be of a very different type to the present Arab army.
2. Our hold on Ibn Saud from the east.
3. The King's alliance with Ibn Rashid.

The King should be able to maintain an army good enough to stop Ikhwan and other raids not organised or supported by Ibn Saud. Unfortunately, there seems to be little hope that the King's forces will ever be able to cope with Ibn Saud's [illegible] the task of keeping the latter in check will therefore devolve on His Britannic M[illegible]

And with regard to the means at our disposal of subjugating Ibn Saud, it is suggested that threats by our forces on his eastern districts, Hasa, Hofuf, &c., from whence he draws his supplies and which are greatly prized at Riadh, are much more likely to be effective than giving King Hussein military assistance which, as has been proved, is only an indirect method of ordnance supply for Ibn Saud.

It should not be forgotten that the King's dream of an Arab Empire, over which he or his successors will reign, is also Ibn Saud's dream, with himself in the leading rôle. But, whereas the King is dependent for his army upon mercenaries of the worst [illegible] most desperate and self-sacrificing character.

The third factor likely to be of use in keeping Ibn Saud in check would be by our [illegible] King Hussein. Ibn Rashid has always been a doughty opponent of Wahabism, and can collect large Bedouin forces from Central Arabia for threatening the Nejd lines of communication. But this will no doubt mean paying a subsidy to Ibn Rashid, probably through the King. It is indeed difficult to see how Ibn Rashid can be brought into line without the inevitable subsidy drawn by all the other leading chiefs of Arabia. He himself appears willing to be the first Arabian chief to accept Hussein's suzerainty (at a price).

For the further repression of the Wahabi and Ikhwan movements, it will be necessary to include in the treaties ultimately to be made with the individual independent Arab rulers, except Ibn Saud, a clause under which the latter is made responsible that Ikhwan missionaries are not sent out of his territory, and, further, giving power to the other rulers to expel such Ikhwan missionaries as may obtain entry into their countries. Such a clause would give the utmost satisfaction to all the orthodox Moslem rulers.

Ibn Saud has now been ordered to withdraw all his forces from Khurma, failing which his intentions will be regarded as hostile to His Britannic Majesty's Government, and his treaty rights and subsidy will be forthwith cancelled.

The geography of the Khurma district is practically unknown to us—even the distance of Taif from Mecca is not agreed upon by those who have visited both places. Mr. Philby passed through Khurma on a journey from Riadh to Jeddah in 1917, but he has not yet issued any detailed map.

The position of the villages east of Taif, shown on the attached sketch map* are therefore only approximate.

H. GARLAND.

Arab Bureau, June 4, 1919.

* Not reproduced.

[91491] No. 56.

Mr. Balfour to Earl Curzon.—(Received June 20.)

(No. 1007.)

Paris, June 18, 1919.

My Lord,

I TRANSMIT to your Lordship herewith copies of various reports received either direct or through the American Delegation of the atrocities perpetrated by the Greek troops in Smyrna. The reports are detailed, circumstantial, and trustworthy, and there can unfortunately be no doubt of the disgraceful conduct of the Greek troops or of the lack of control of the Greek authorities.

Owing to the nature of the sources from which these reports have been received, your Lordship will appreciate that the documents themselves cannot be communicated in original to the Greek Government. I would suggest, however, that your Lordship should bring the substance of these papers to the knowledge of the Greek Government in the manner that you may deem most fitting.

I am, &c.
(For Mr. Balfour),
LOUIS MALLET.

Enclosure 1 in No. 56.

M. A. van der Zee to United States Senior Naval Officer, Constantinople.

(Confidential.)

Swedish Consulate, Smyrna, May 20, 1919.

Sir,

THE military occupation of Smyrna by the Greek forces.

I have the honour to report as follows:—

1. Early in the morning of the 15th instant, sailors and marines landed from the Greek ships, occupied the [illegible] on the lesser quay, and, together with British sailors, the telegraph and post office [illegible]

2. At about 9·30 summer time, the disembarkation of forces from the Greek [illegible] simultaneously on the quay, between the [illegible] and at the railway pier of the Aidin Company at the point [illegible]

3. Forming up in compliance, the [illegible] quay to the barracks situated at the extreme end thereof, opposite Government House, hemmed in by the rabble of the town.

4. At about 10·30, just as the head of the column had debouched into the main street of the Kemer Alti quarter, past the barracks, a few shots were fired—it is said, from a hotel and coffee house.

5. [illegible] behind the trees and parts [illegible] Government House induced a Greek sub-lieutenant to stop it.

6. According to the statement of British and French subjects eyewitnesses of the performance, not a shot had been fired by the barracks during the whole time of the fusillade, and this testimony is supported by the fact that when firing commenced some [illegible] in the barracks and were seen by very many persons leaving them when calm was restored.

7. Another proof that the barracks did not fire [illegible] that no bullet marks are visible on the stores facing them, which would inevitably have been the case.

8. As soon as the danger of a stray bullet had passed the soldiery and the crowd [illegible] barracks [illegible] up, while the looting of Government House was proceeded with.

10. After being kept with hands up for about 30 minutes, the so-called prisoners [illegible] marched up the quay, still hands up, to the transports, where they were put in the holds.

11. The Governor-General, who had been made to walk a good half-mile in a like

state, was, with the Commodore of Smyrna, the only exception, a motor-car having been provided for them.

12. The brutality of the troops to their prisoners during this mile-and-a-half march, the cold blooded way in which they shot down defenceless men who were unable on account of their wounds and the treatment they had received, to walk as fast as they [illegible] tered, the savage and cynical manner in which they treated the bodies of their [illegible], looting off the b[illegible] [illegible] d them

13. I attach the statements of two British subjects, members of one of the oldest and most honourable family in this place, as their reports give fuller details of what occurred.

14. While these tragic scenes were being enacted on the quay a regular man-hunt had been organised in the side streets.

15. Led on by all the roughs of the town, the Greek soldiers, firing recklessly to [illegible] and left at every head that protruded from window or balcony, forced open [illegible] and stores, dragged out the wretched Turks who had sought shelter therein, and [illegible] bling them of all they possessed, marched them to the transports, leaving the premises broken open to the prey of their co-religionaries, who had assisted them in this gallant task.

16. The reports that have come in of what was done in the side streets exceeds belief, and the conclusion that most Europeans have come to is that these arrests of [illegible] people, the manner in which these arrests were made, the brutality to which [illegible] have been subjected, the spoliation of property, and the wanton destruction [illegible] been provoked by want of discipline on the part of the troops or the [illegible] the populace, but are the results of a premeditated plan of action [illegible] is based, firstly, on the evident unwillingness of the Greek authorities to punish criminals who have been caught red-handed and brought before them; and, secondly, on the encouragement they had given to all the roughs of the place.

18. It is true to tell that the commander of the troops, Colonel Zaphiriou, issued proclamations to the effect that marauders will be severely punished, and that the doors of the court-martial are open ready to hear any plaints.

19. It is also true that two men have been shot, probably to throw dust in the eyes of the *Entente* naval and military authorities, who have bitterly complained of [illegible] misdeeds of his men, but the many instances of absolute refusal to punish criminals, the [illegible] expressions of opinion of all classes of the Greek community clearly prove that these [illegible] the executions above mentioned are but sops to Cerberus.

20. What the loss of life and property in t[illegible] established. I will report thereon as soon as re[illegible]

21. It is stated, though without authority, that between 700 and 800 persons have lost their lives.

22. While this state of affairs was reigning in the town, the bad characters in the suburbs of Smyrna and the surrounding villages, encouraged by the immunity granted to assassins and thieves, promptly set to work to murder as many Turks as they could lay hold of, and to rob every place they could break into.

23. *Cheiz-Tepe and Cocargali.*—In these two suburbs about twenty persons have been killed. The loss of property is very great; big sums of money kept by the Turks in their houses have been robbed.

[illegible] *Bournabat.* In this village nine men were shot down and stranded, 1,000 [illegible] and about fifty horses, mares, and bullocks lifted. Loss of property, 8,000*l.*, and [illegible] go to standing crop difficult to estimate.

25. *Boudjah.*—Seventeen persons killed, and loss of property not yet estimated.

[illegible]—Twenty-three persons killed in this place and adjacent villages. Loss [illegible] rty great.

Tahtali Villages.—These two villages have been ransacked. Many of the [illegible]

28. *Dyn-Urassi.*—This place and all the villages around it (Jujukler, Keser, Kuny, Sasal, Deyirmen Lere, Tratza, Palamout, Chilene, and Curelje) have been sacked. Turkish population is invading trains leaving for Smyrna. Loss of lives ve[illegible] heavy. Figures not yet at hand. Some women and children found dead in Kokar Dere buried by Baron van Hoemafra.

29. *Yourla.*—Villages around have been partly destroyed. No details yet obtained as to loss of life or property.

Before closing this report, I cannot refrain from expressing my regret that steps were not taken [illegible] properly. Had [illegible] publication been made or small detachments landed from the ships to give this occupation the appearance of an inter-Allied one, there is absolutely no doubt that perfect order would have reigned.

I am, &c.
ALFRED VAN DER ZEE.

Enclosure 2 in No. 56.

Memorandum.

On F[illegible], the 16th instant, having got no order from Colonel Lalieuw [illegible] soldiers to guard our factory, which is situated at Hacha Boumar, I proce[illegible] 3.30 P.M. that same afternoon to the cataract of Hacha Boumar and found [illegible] sentry on duty, surrounded by two or three civilians. I asked the sentry where I could [illegible] someone else added [illegible] lens adjoining the Anka Brewery, I soon found out and saw about 10 12 soldiers [illegible] thrown in the river. The return of the band of soldiers followed soon after. I went up to the first soldier and asked who was the man that had just been shot, and he informed me that he was one of the two Turks they were after; the other, he said managed to escape, but he also will be found and shot. It so happened that a [illegible] at Hacha Boumar station was quite proudly relating this very same affair to her friend, adding that the Turk shot was the cavass of the Oriental Café Mfg., Ld., factory, situated quite near the shot. I want to add that the unfortunate cavass's body was still floating in the river on Saturday evening, the 17th instant, with only, as far as clothing consisted, a shirt on; the rest of the clothes had been stolen off this dead body.

H. E. S. SOLES.

Hacha Boumar, May 21, 1919.

Enclosure 3 in No. 56.

Statement of a most old and honourable Subject in Smyrna.

W[illegible] an appearance, accompanied by cheering Greek civilians. Six companies marched past [illegible] immediately after troops and civilians came running across the [illegible] of panic. The troops then lined the edges of the square and commenced a terrible fusillade at the barracks, the coffee-houses, and Government House. What they were firing at was difficult to say, since, as far as I could make out, not a [illegible] first few shots I heard, evident[illegible] the act of some patriotic hotheads. The fusillade was kept up by the Greeks f[illegible] half an hour, when a white flag, hoisted over the barracks, was at last seen by [illegible]

As soon as the firing ceased the Turks in the barracks began to come out, holding up [illegible] a token of surrender. They were made to go through no end of [illegible] deal of knocking about. I now left the office and [illegible] at the same time as the first batch of prisoners was [illegible] the officers could with difficulty prevent their men from shooting the prisoners. As far as the custom-house I only saw one Turkish porter shot and then bayoneted. From there up to Kramer Palace Hotel I was the unwilling witness of the massacre of some thirty unarmed men, who were being marched with hands up. This butchery was committed by the Greek soldiery entirely.

At a point between the Corn Exchange and the Orient Bank I saw six being shot out of one batch within ten yards. At a point higher up I saw five others succumbing under the fire of Greek rifles. Close to the landing-place of the Cordelio boats I saw a

lot more shot down. Near Kramer I witnessed three more cases of shooting. The most horrible cases of brutality I witnessed were the following

(a.) A fat Turkish officer, shot in the stomach, tried in his agony to sit up. A Greek soldier at once rushed at him and struck him with the butt-end of his rifle

(b.) A Turkish officer, over 50 years of age, shot in the back, tried to rise into a sitting position. Rifles were at once levelled at him, but before they could fire he had fallen back dead

(c.) A civilian Turk, shot and lying on the quay, tried to move, whereupon the Greek soldiers kicked him on the head and face.

(d.) An officer, shot in both legs and chest, commenced to groan and asked for mercy. He was jeered at by the soldiery and struck down

What prevented more of these horrible deeds was the fact that the soldiers had to be careful not to shoot the Greek civilians escorting the prisoners and the Europeans on the ships and quay.

DONALD WHITTALL.

Smyrna, May 18, 1919

Enclosure 4 in No. 56

Statement by Mr. G. Perry.

Observations made during the Occupation of Smyrna by Greek Troops

To whom it may concern: *Smyrna, May 17, 1919*

[illegible] day, 15th May, the first day of the occupation.—Near the American [illegible] was shooting in the streets in this quarter. From the roof of the consulate, about midday, I saw about 100 Turkish civilian prisoners being marched along the quay—each person was compelled to hold his hands in the air

Between 1 and 1·30, from my window at 386 Quay, during the height of the rain I saw what looked to be about 150 civilians, hands in the air, being driven down the streets by soldiers and Greek civilians. One very old man in particular was being pushed on roughly. Later, I saw a waggon with three dead Turks in it being driven [illegible] much amused and pleased at the event. At another time, during the afternoon, I saw smaller groups of prisoners being marched down the quay. [illegible] 7 [illegible], in the Rue Roses, I saw two Greek women carrying loot, and o[illegible] Greek civilian with a rifle on his shoulder.

Friday, 16th May.—At 8 15 A.M. I saw a Turkish store on Frank Street which had been looted of everything. At 11 A.M. I went to the Turkish quarter by way of quay, where all along I saw pieces of torn fezes. At the konak I saw the bodies of [illegible] Turks floating in the water. A large number of Greek civilians and soldiers were standing by. I saw the same two bodies later in the afternoon. Going past the konak to the hospital I saw two cafés, a barber's shop, and a small home, which had been looted—windows, chairs, and tables were completely broken. In one café there [illegible] of blood on the floor. They had attempted to get away the iron rolling door of a Turkish warehouse without success. They had tried to break open doors of the same warehouse. Turning up the main street which led to the bazaars I saw some eight stores, and as many more in the bazaar, which had been looted. All during the afternoon morbidly curious Greek people were passing through the Turkish quarter, gloating and priding themselves over their efficiency in pillaging and looting. In the morning at the morgue, I saw twenty-two dead Turks, six of whom were without one stitch of clothing. Many of them were very old men. There was one spare leg which appeared to have been hacked off by an axe just below the hip. The rest of that particular body was not there. Turkish men, women, and children were coming there to identify their dead. Greek guards were not keeping the large, curious Greek mob away from this scene. At two houses where there were large numbers of prisoners, Turkish women were coming to find some information about their missing brothers or husbands. And, as at the morgue, the Greek civilians would hardly make room for them to pass.

Again, late on Friday afternoon I visited the Turkish hospital. At the morgue

this time I saw twenty-five more bodies, twenty of which were without clothing. [illegible] were old men. There was [illegible]

17th May, 1919.—At 4 o'clock at the American Relief Orphanage I saw a further [illegible] 16th May, not far from the American consulate. There were two other well-dressed Greeks in the party, she said. In addition, the Greeks pushed her down, and I saw her leg, which had been bruised and bandaged. She and her brother, who had been killed by the Greeks, were roomers in a Greek house

At 3·30 P.M. Mrs. Underwood, Miss Berg, and myself visited the Turkish quarter [illegible] these dead Turks which had just been taken from the water. Two of them were the same bodies I had seen [illegible] stores [illegible] which had been pillaged of everything. I saw three cafés which had been pillaged as well. Going on, we saw, in all, perhaps twenty-five stores which had been pillaged. Turkish men told how Greek soldiers and civilians had come and robbed them of all clothing, household articles, and money. I saw one little tobacco shop which looked as [illegible] had been struck by a cyclone.

Returning to my room in an Italian home on the quay, I found four Turkish [illegible] a man, his sister, and two small children—relatives of the little Turk shot by [illegible] 5·30 Friday evening, thirty Greek soldiers and civilians came with a machine-gun and [illegible] upon their home, entered it, and [illegible] their backs. They stole £T. 800 gold and £T. 900 paper. The father and mother of the Turkish boy were each wounded in the head. The man said £T. 2,000 were taken from another person. In Guestepe, he thinks, 200 houses have been pillaged

GEORGE W. PERRY.

[illegible], *Smyrna, Turkey*

Enclosure 5 in No. 56

Statement by Ahmed Feran

I, THE undersigned, live in Boudja, suburb of Smyrna. On Thursday morning, the 15th May, I took the train, as usual, and came to town. I had been hearing several reports about the Greek military occupation. Everyone had a different opinion [illegible] that the American ships would [illegible] us against injustice and bad handling by the Greek authorities. But, [illegible] helped by the Greek authorities

I, as an eyewitness, have seen the following:—

[illegible] A.M. I was walking in the square of the konak. A great crowd was [illegible] happening there [illegible] and then the Greek soldiers made their appearance and went round the [illegible] of the konak [illegible] minutes later I heard a shot go off amongst the crowd, and all at once the Greek soldiers took a hostile position [illegible] As soon as I saw this, I understood that some trouble was to [illegible] garden into the central barracks and tried to avoid the [illegible] said building, but I was not long there before I heard [illegible] through the windows. I found all the [illegible] as soon as they heard the noise and the [illegible] other they shot [illegible] Besides Turks, there were a lot of Jews. [illegible] ceased a little, we all came out of the barracks and [illegible] to the surrounding troops that we only got into the barracks to protect [illegible] in the firing, but as soon as we got out the troops started sorting out the Turks from the Christians and Jews, tearing off our fezes, insulting, and striking us down. Seeing this, I took off my fez and hid it so that I could escape from imminent danger, but this was not enough. I soon got discovered, was put in the row of Turks and marched away by the quay, hands up and bareheaded, and obliged to cry "Long live Venizelos!" If such words were not proffered we were immediately struck on

the head with the butt end of the rifle or bayonet. As many [illegible] men could not proffer these Greek words, as is natural, [illegible] Greek, they were struck down, and as they could [illegible] as serving as guides to the troops were [illegible] their comrades to see if those that were wounded were Turks, and, if so, to kill them and throw them into the sea. This recommendation was immediately put into execution. Some American and English subjects recognised me and delivered me from the clutches of this barbarous crew. As I was searched for arms and there was not a thing found on me, they simply took my money away, a sum of about £T 13.

I went and [illegible] myself to a friend's house, for all the lives of Turks were henceforward in danger, for any Greek civilian who met a Turk was simply allowed to kill him outright away without any scruples and had to keep in safety for [illegible]

After, I went to my house in Boudja to look for my house [illegible] which I found ransacked and everything stolen. Clothes, boots, beds [illegible] jewels, money [illegible] and several other Turkish houses [illegible] worse, for some people who knew me tried to save what was left.

As I dared not remain in Boudja, I closed down my shop and house and came down to Smyrna. It is a miracle how I got saved from the madness of such a barbarous army; it is indeed a shame to call them civilised. Instead of putting [illegible] they simply brought here the worst sentiments and discord amongst all the European colonies and among us Turks too.

Greek [illegible] Smyrnians, taking an example from the Greek soldiers, went straight [illegible] station, pulling out the policemen and commissaries, tearing [illegible] uniforms, insulting and beating them. Such things we never expected from a European [illegible]

AHMED FEZZI

Enclosure 6 in No. 56.

Commanding Officer U.S.S. "Manley" to Senior United States Naval Officer, Turkey

1. THE "Manley" anchored in Smyrna harbour at 1.40 P.M., Sunday, the 11th May, 1919, having accompanied the "Arizona" to port. The situation was practically the same as it had been for the previous week, [illegible] feature being the animosity, expressed and suppressed, between the Greeks and Turks.

2. On Tuesday evening, the 13th May, the senior United States naval officer present, Captain J. H. Dayton, U.S.N., informed the commanding officer of the proposed occupation of the four Turkish forts in the vicinity by landing parties from British, French, Italian, and Greek ships present, and of the contemplated landing on Thursday, the 15th May, of a Greek division to take over the military control of Smyrna. At the same time Captain Dayton stated he had made a counter proposition about the manner in which the landing and occupation should be accomplished, in which he proposed that American, British, French, and Italian landing parties take over the city on Wednesday, and on Thursday turn it over to the Greek troops. This suggestion was not agreed to.

[illegible] transports arrived about 8 A.M. on Thursday, the 15th May, and [illegible] Their arrival was accompanied by evident outbursts of enthusiasm [illegible] of the Greek civilian population, shore boats [illegible] off the quay, the ships being dressed and blowing their whistles. Greek flags were everywhere in evidence. The first troops to land stacked arms and [illegible] dance on the dock. The above facts are stated to show that very little or no tact or discretion were shown by the Greeks in handling a people the occupation of territory by them was the bitterest pill that could be administered. It is believed Captain Dayton's plan would have produced a minimum of friction.

4. As the troops marched down the front street, ab[illegible] administrative centres of the city, it was accompanied by a mob of civilians. On reaching the City Hall a shot was fired, by which side, whether military or civil, it is impossible to state, but from that time on volley firing, machine-gun fire and individual rifle fire continued intermittently throughout the day, with occasional shots during the night. Casualties probably large, but impossible to state with any degree of accuracy. On Friday, the 16th, the situation was comparatively quiet.

5. Reports of wanton brutality by Greek troops are very current, but the commanding officer can state none to which he was witness, due to the ship's anchorage and distance from the town. It is understood that several people of repute ashore have

[illegible] to submit statements to the senior officer present about facts in connection with [illegible] No attempt has therefore been made to [illegible] H.M.S. [illegible] fast to the quay wall, and who was in a position to observe accurately, has expressed to [illegible] the wanton and unnecessary brutality of the Greek troops, which leads me to believe that the current reports from other sources are [illegible] exaggerated. The Greek troops were seemingly under poor control, there being very [illegible] the division landed here was the [illegible] wall, drifted by the ship, and when close aboard, a boat, flying the Greek flag, was observed to go through the pockets and then take the clothes and shoes from the bodies.

6. On Friday and Saturday the supply of bread in the city was exhausted, due probably to the fact that everything shut down when trouble started. Reports of looting are frequent, and several cases can be substantiated by reliable [illegible] In the opinion of those ashore who understand conditions as from long observation, [illegible] the situation in the interior is much more tense than in Smyrna, and will [illegible] harder to control.

R. L. BERRY

"Manley," Smyrna, Asia Minor.
May 18, 1919.

Enclosure 7 in No. 56.

Commanding Officer U.S.S. "Manley" to Senior United States Naval Officer, Turkey

1. IN addition to the report already submitted by me, dated the 18th May, 1919, on the occurrences in Smyrna, Asia Minor, on Thursday, the 15th, and Friday, the 16th May, I have to submit the following reports which are current in the city of Smyrna, [illegible] reputable persons concerning the treatment of [illegible] Smyrna and on the day following.

2. The captain of H.M.S. "Adventure" told me that he had seen a Turkish officer marched along the street by Greek troops, with his hands over his head and compelled to shout at intervals a Greek word meaning "Long live Greece!" as were all the rest of the [illegible] This officer was observed to veer slightly [illegible] alongside the head with the butt of a musket and he went down on his [illegible] He attempted to rise and was struck on the other side of the [illegible] went down flat, probably unconscious, whereupon a Greek soldier [illegible] and stuck the muzzle of his gun close to him and blew the top of his [illegible] A similar occurrence was observed a little farther along the quay by [illegible] connected with the firm of MacAndrews and Co., [illegible] Smyrna. A Turk civilian about [illegible] years of age [illegible] and bayonetted, and, when in practically a dying condition, Greek civilians took his clothes away, and one man was about to remove his shoes when Mr. Green called out from the balcony of the hotel and the man desisted. The wounded man while still alive was thrown off the quay by civilians.

[illegible] The chief of police, with [illegible] the arrival of the Greeks to turn his office over to them, the office was entered with [illegible] the soldiers [illegible] the civilian population [illegible] him without actually killing him. It is believed he died later in hospital. The aunt of Mrs. H. C. Green, wife of the Standard Oil representative in Smyrna, was witness to the maltreatment in the street.

4. The captain of the "Adventure" [illegible] stated that the Greek troops surrounded [illegible] Turkish gunboat tied up to the quay and fired volley after volley into the ship, wounding two of the crew severely, and not desisting until the captain of the "Adventure" intervened and remonstrated with the troops. The Turkish gunboat [illegible] Greek troops was wantonly brutal and [illegible] had machine guns turned on a larger Turkish gun[illegible]

on the other side of the "Adventure," and fired some shots into her, but the captain of the "Adventure" got her out of the port before any casualties to her personnel.

5. A Turk, a civilian, said to have been the cause of the arrest and execution in R[illegible]nia of two Englishmen, and who was in prison in Roumania and later released [illegible] Germans when they entered Roumania, returned to Smyrna and openly boasted of what he had done in Roumania. The Greeks entered his house, bayoneted and shot [illegible] and five Greek troops ravished his sister. She sought aid at the American Con[illegible]ession hospital in Smyrna, and, on being examined by the surgeon [illegible] Englewood," confessed to him that five Greek soldiers had assaulted [illegible]

[illegible] deal of looting took place in the Turkish quarter [illegible] troops in many [illegible] attempting to safeguard t[illegible]y of Turkish civilians, but [illegible] the Greek [illegible] I myself have seen [illegible] pillaged and destroyed. One Turk tobacco dealer came to an American tobacco repre[illegible]sentative in Smyrna, and requested a loan of £T 10,000 (paper) to pay it to some Greeks who had stolen several hundred bales of tobacco from him. He [illegible]ced to have the matter taken up with the Greek authorities, stating that he would be killed by the Greeks, and stated that he would pay the money and avoid trouble. I am further told by an American tobacco representative in Smyrna that the Italians were secretly encouraging the Turks to resist the Greeks and probably supplying them with arms and ammunition. I cannot substantiate this statement, but I believe it to be founded upon fact and based on information received by him through Turks in his employ.

A Turkish merchant in Smyrna, in whose house I called on Friday, the 24th, [illegible] that his house had been entered by Greek troops, on the pretext of searching for hre-arms or something that might harm the Greek soldiery, and stated that the Greek troops were brutal in the treatment of his family including the women. [illegible] Greek negotiators intervened and had two Greek troops stationed in the house to protect them. This Turk naturally feels very bitter, and states that the int[illegible] Turks have plenty of arms and ammunition, and are [illegible]ermined to resist to the l[illegible] man. Many Turks are closing out their business and [illegible]eaving Smyrna rather than to [illegible]ain with the city and vicinity under Greek control.

R. L. BURRY

U.S.S. "Manley," Constantinople, Turkey,
May 25, 1919.

Enclosure 8 in No. 56.

Notes of a Conversation with Dr. Alexander MacLachlan, of the International College at Smyrna.

DR. MACLACHLAN is a Canadian [illegible]

[illegible]ming of war Moslem refugees from Macedonia came to Smyrna, 90,000 of [illegible] Smyrna overrun with them.

[illegible]Turks deported from Tenedos, Aivali, Phokia, [illegible] man orders. Practically [illegible] totally done. Mostly to Mytilene, Lesbos, &c. Only a few to the [illegible]

After the armistice and before the Greek occupation in Smyrna, the Greeks of Asia Minor were teaching pupils vile songs about Turks in the schools. They said, "Now is coming our turn. We will show the Turks that we are the better men."

The foreigners comforted themselves with the view that no such foolish thing [illegible] be done as to give this territory to Greece. They encouraged the Turks that they were disturbing themselves needlessly.

The Turks represent three-quarters of the province of Aidin. In Smyrna Greeks [illegible]ajority over the Turks. But adding the Jews and Armenians, &c., the Greeks [illegible] big minority in Smyrna itself. The suburbs—Sevedikeuy, Boudjah, Keuskoudjah, Vourla—are preponderatingly Greek. The whole peasantry, hundreds and thousands of villages, are purely Turk.

Within thirty six hours before the landing of the foreign guards (twenty at each [illegible]way), the Turks turned down the last Italian offer on ground that they would receive justice from the United States and England.

Admiral Colthorpe sent, on the 14th May, statement that Smyrna would be occupied solely by Allied troops, according to article 7 of armistice. Asked if Greek

troops would be included. Answer indecisive. They never thought that it would be a Greek occupation.

Colonel Smith, the British official in control, said that if Greek troops landed [illegible] would be no trouble.

At 2 o'clock on morning of the 15th May the news got out among the Turks that [illegible] The Turks fled to the [illegible]

(Horton, the American consul, arrived the day Dr. MacLachlan left Smyrna.)

A few were killed by the Turkish soldiers when the Turkish populace rushed the [illegible] The next day the Greek populace were given these same arms [illegible]

[illegible] that nothing toward would happ[illegible] [illegible]ation the Greek troops landed [illegible] the quays of the Turkish quarters. The troops were blessed by the Bishop Chrysos[illegible]tomos in his mitre. Marched along the quays with tremendous demonstrations.

[illegible] troops of Turkish cavalry came out of barracks to quiet Turkish population. [illegible] troops fired upon the barracks, a regular fusillade. Instructions to Turkish troops were that they we[illegible] stay within the barracks.

Turkish officers surrendered, marched along the quay with arms up in a [illegible] were forced to shout "Zeto Venizelos!" Turkish Governor-General was stoned.

Some Greek soldiers were killed, but probably chiefly by promiscuous Greek firing [illegible] by the Turks themselves.

[illegible] ted, and thrown into the water from the quays [illegible] through was called to Constantinople the day before by three telegrams.

[illegible] went to Captain Dayton, of the [illegible] or advice. He was frightened.

[illegible]ber killed, minimum 300 to 500. Now Dr. MacLachlan puts it [illegible] [illegible]ny mutilated. Over 100 unclaimed bodies known to Dr. MacLachlan.

Looting began everywhere. Everything taken from Turkish houses. Looting still going on on the 29th or 30th May, when Dr. MacLachlan left Smyrna.

The Greek young men around the suburb where the American school is located attempted to take the Turkish menservants stationed outside [illegible] them. They were only saved by being taken within the buildings of the school. [illegible] was caught and murdered, and his body lay in a str[illegible] by for four or five days.

The Greek Metropolitan [illegible] MacLachlan, at a meeting just before he left, that Greece could not handle t[illegible]

Enclosure 9 in No. 56.

Commanding Officer U.S.S. "Arizona" to Senior Naval Officer, Constantinople.

U.S.S. "Arizona," Smyrna, Asia Minor
May 18, 1919.

My dear Admiral,

YOU may be interested to hear, from one who has been [illegible] of the events of the last three days connected with the G[illegible] occupation of [illegible]

[illegible] morning a note was sent to the Vali by Admiral Calthorpe, [illegible] were advising him that, in accordance with article 7 of the [illegible] the forts of Smyrna [illegible] approaches of the city with the city itself would [illegible] forces.

Shortly after 12 o'clock a Greek force w[illegible] landed out near the old fort and took possession of it. This is the fort that commands the entrance to the harbour. It appears that an English force was landed on Long Island, some 12 or 1[illegible] Gulf, with French and Italians at other minor points. Later in the day, at 4 P.M. landings were made from the United States, British, French, Italian, and Greek warships, some twenty in each case, as guards for their respective consulates. The presence of the Greek troops in the old fort and their predominance in other places

aroused the suspicion among the Turks that the occupation was not to be by the Allied forces, except as a pretext for handing the city over to the Gr[illegible]

About 10 o'clock P.M. a second note was handed to the V[illegible] representative in English, the exact meaning of which did n[illegible] understood by the Turks, though it shortly became clear to them that th[illegible] be occupied by the Greeks alone, a fact which caused general dismay and excitement among the Turks, who at once congregated in large numbers in their quarter of the city, in their mosques, and on the side of the hill to the south-west of the Government headquarters.

The commander of the barracks was notified that he must retain the few troops that were in the city within the barracks enclosure, and be prepared to hand over the barracks at the pleasure of the Greek commander. By early morning there was great excitement among the Turkish population and the crowd in large numbers went to the entrance of the barracks and demanded they be furnished with arms to protect themselves against the Greeks. The demand was refused, but in time the crowd succeeded [illegible]ing an entrance. They were then fired upon by their own troops, and some were [illegible] the remainder fleeing back into the streets. No notification of the desire of the [illegible]nder having reached the common drug officer in barracks, and knowing that [illegible] in large numbers on the quay, less than a mile away, he sent over to the Governor to ask if the barracks were to be handed [illegible] receiving the reply that they were not to be at once handed over. Consequently, some ten minutes later when the Greek commander arrived, the Turks were still in possession. The Greek commander complained that the barracks had not been vacated in accordance [illegible]

Greek troops, at the head of which were the Bishop of Ephesus and the Metropolitan of Smyrna, Chrysostom, were now passing along the water front from the landing stage amid great manifestations of patriotism and shouting "Long live Greece [illegible] "Long live Venizelos!" The landing also had been carried out with great [illegible] steamers, which frequently blew their whistles, had come alongside the quay, a few paces away from the United States consulate, while across the end of the consulate street on the quay was a long banner stret[illegible] bearing a welcome greeting to the Greeks, while beside this was a very large pic[illegible] M. Venizelos. The troops after landing stacked arms on the quay and executed a dance round the stacked rifles. All this was calculated, whether intentionally or not does not seem clear, to aggravate the Turks to the utmost limit.

As the Greek troops marched around to the other side of the barracks to enter them from another street, a small troop of Turkish cavalry was leaving to q[illegible] disturbances in the neighbourhood. At this critical moment a single shot was [illegible] Turkish quarter) in the street, close at hand. On this the [illegible] gave the order to fire, and the barracks were at once brought under a heavy and continued fire of Greek soldiers, who also fired promiscuously on the surrounding populace. This heavy firing continued for a considerable time, and resulted in killing from 50 to 100 persons, practically all civilians.

Two of our Red Cross relief workers who passed over the scene of this fighting shortly afterwards saw only two dead soldiers (they carried some of the wounded to the American relief hospital near by). Most of the Turkish soldiers who were in the barracks on the arrival of the Greek troops fled out by another door and escaped up the hill near by; those who remained or at least a portion of them, replied to the fire of the Greeks from the windows of the barracks, as did also some of the populace in the streets with their revolvers, and thus at least two Greek soldiers were killed and some fifteen or twenty wounded, according to the statement of the Greeks. A hurried consultation of the officers in the barracks was held, and it was decided they should at once surrender, and a young officer stepped out on the balcony waving a white window curtain. He was at once slightly wounded and fell, but the heavy firing ceased almost [illegible]diately. Considerable fighting took place, if it may be called fighting, whe[illegible] the shooting was practically all done on one side by soldiers in the little park in fr[illegible] the Governor's palace and on the water-front close by, where considerable numbers were killed and wounded, practically all of whom were Turkish civilians. Although there had been considerable excitement earlier in the day on the edge of the Turkish quarter, owing to the endeavour of some of their leaders to hold the Turks in check, it was not until about 11 A.M. that the fighting referred to above began, and it was not until a few minutes later that the heavy firing began right beside the United States consulate, said to be due to shots having been fired from windows close by. Very few, however, were killed here, although the firing was promiscuous and very heavy for some [illegible] between the landing stage and the Governor's palace, and it was in some of these places where most [illegible] of the city where the Turks were few in number very regrettable incidents took [illegible]

[illegible] they served out the arms and munition there to the Greek populace. Indeed, we had ample evidence of this the next morning at Paradise when we found all the Greeks in our neighbourhood able to bear arms fully equipped with rifles, and in some cases with bayonets also, which they told us had been given to them the day before by the Greek military officials.

The firing went on intermittently for some hours, and occasionally with great violence. As was natural under the circumstances, the Turks suffered almost exclusively. On Thursday evening one of our former students who was in touch with Greek headquarters told me in answer to my question that two Greek soldiers had been killed and some fifteen to twenty wounded, and also that some twenty to thirty Greek civilians had been killed and forty or fifty wounded. (I have since discovered only a very few Greek civilians were killed and wounded.) I have not had time or opportunity to verify these statements. As to the number of Turks killed and wounded, it is difficult to form an exact estimate. On Thursday evening I was inclined to believe the number killed was not much above 100, but since then I have been obliged to increase this estimation from time to time until by this evening, due to [illegible] personal observation, I am bound to estimate the killed among the Turks at from 300 to 500 and the total casualties at from 700 to 1,000. Here is some of the evidence upon which I base this estimate. Up until this afternoon there were still about [illegible] dead bodies of Turks in the morgue at the American relief hospital and [illegible] other place near the point. During the afternoon of Thursday and all day Friday, Turkish women in large numbers flocked to this morgue to try and identify their dead among these bodies. Besides the bodies lying here there were a number of arms and legs not belonging to them. The bodies of many of the killed were at [illegible] removed from the streets by their friends and relatives, while large numbers were immediately thrown from the quay into the sea, and many of these are still floating about the bay and harbour. Only this evening as I passed along the quay near the Governor's Palace four bodies, three of them stark naked, were lying on the quay and which had evidently just been drawn from the sea.

The killing of unarmed and undefended Turks continued throughout Friday in the suburbs, some of it at the entrance to the college earn us, in Paradise, where a Turkish official was taken by the young hoodlums of the neighbouring villages over to the edge of the roadside near by and foully murdered during the forenoon of that day. His body was left by the roadside for the rest of the day, and then in the evening thrown from the high bridge near by into the stream below, where it still lay the following Tuesday evening, and was photographed by officers from the U.S.S. "Arizona."

Some of the Incidents on the Quay

Some of the worst events of Thursday took place on the quay, while large bodies of Turks, chiefly civilians, were being marched along in file with uplifted hands, by the Greek soldiers who were in charge of them, and by the Greek populace, who were permitted to inflict various kinds of inhuman treatment upon these unhappy [illegible]

While from my position I could not command but a very small portion of the quay, some of my personal friends, Americans and Britishers, who were eyewitnesses at ch[illegible] quarters have informed me of many of these untoward incidents. Old men, unarmed, and other inoffending civilian Turks were knocked down by Greeks, killed by stabbing with knives or bayonets, and then afterwards, having their valuables and clothing stripped off their bodies, were thrown into the sea. In one instance the man was again shot after being thrown into the sea this by Greek soldiers. Many of the [illegible]s, as they were marched along with hands up [illegible] rabble who followed. Specific instances are cited by these same eyewitnesses where Turkish soldiers and soldiers [illegible] were bayoneted from behind by their Greek guards, while the rabble rifled their pockets and then threw their bodies into the sea. Many of the worst instances of inhuman treatment of the Turks were while they were under arrest and on the open sea front at noonday. On

Thursday a report went out that the Turkish sailors on a small gun-boat (lying beside the British destroyer "Adventure" inside the breakwater) fired on the Greek troops as they passed along the quay on their way to the barracks. I have carefully looked into this report and find that it is absolutely without foundation. The Turkish officers who were taken prisoners at the barracks were put on board a Greek transport and placed in the quarters just vacated by horses. The Civil Government officials, who were all at once arrested, were thrown into a close warehouse room where there were no sanitary arrangements and left there for thirty-six hours without food. In [illegible] quarters where the civilians were placed to the number of 1,500 or 2,000, [illegible] many schoolchildren, no food was provided from the time of their arrest on [illegible] until it was provided by the British naval chaplain, Lieutenant-[illegible] Embling, with funds furnished by our American Commission for Relief in the Near East. On Friday this chaplain distributed food in one prison to 1,100 persons. The Governor-General of the province, Izzet Bey, [illegible] the water-front with uplifted hands, and while thus under escort had his fez knocked off by the rabble and his gold watch and chain taken.

In practically all cases where prisoners, including officers, were thus marched along the quay they were compelled to shout out every few steps "Long live Greece!" "Long [illegible] among needles from behind, which seemed to have been prepared for the occasion [illegible]. Occasionally those arrested were not Turks but Armenians or Jews, one [illegible] being our interpreter, an Armenian, at the hospital, the occasion of his arrest being that he was wearing a fez. The quay especially but also the streets leading to it, were strewn with, I may say, literally thousands of torn fezes. All [illegible] for arrest, insult, or, in some cases, [illegible] man, with his wife and daughter at his side, subjected to insult through wearing a fez. It was unsafe even to carry it in his hand as a sign of his submission to the demand of the mob that insulted him, and he had finally to thrust it inside his coat. All day Friday Turks, when they ventured in the streets, did so either without any head covering or under a hat.

[illegible]

[illegible] other quarters of the city, where looting of Turkish houses and establishments [illegible] Thursday afternoon, all day Friday, and up to this evening. The [illegible] cases that have up to late this evening been continually brought to [illegible] personal notice makes it clear that no adequate measures have up to this moment been taken to stop this pillaging of Turkish homes and establishments of various kinds.

Much of it had better be classed as robbery (for it is frequently being done under the pretext of searching for arms on the part of the [illegible] soldiers). Paper money, sometimes in very large [illegible] watches, and all kinds of valuables, are seized and carried [illegible] soldiers stop this looting, and in a few cases of which I know, [illegible] taken steps and have succeeded in restoring plundered property. In other cases, I regret to say, the soldiers encouraged the plundering, while in others they shared in it. I will mention a single instance of the [illegible] tannery, beside our American Collegiate Institute for [illegible] our American ladies, the crowd rushed in, de[illegible] thousands of pounds worth of hides, &c. When a Greek patrol happened along they first of all told some of those carrying off the goods to put them down, which they di[illegible]. Almost at once, however, the patrol passed on, and the thieves again picked up their loads and carried them [illegible]

All the Turkish homes in the neighbourhood of our college campus at Paradise were plundered throughout Friday before our eyes by the hooligans in the neighbourhood, who were armed on Thursday by the Greek military authorities. They (the Turks) have all fled to our campus for protection. As I finish this report, Sunday morning, Turks from the neighbouring town of Dejunovasi come to me reporting that all their homes there have been looted to the last item, and that they are absolutely stranded. They were told by the Greeks that if they paid them 500 gold liras they would see that the town was not sacked. They paid the 500 liras, and shortly after were stripped of all their possessions.

In the neighbouring town of Boudjah, where there are many British and some American [illegible] and [illegible] from our [illegible] and the Turkish homes have been plundered. Efforts are now being made, and with success, to restore some of the plundered property, and I trust these efforts will be continued.

I should say, however, that not all of this plundering of Turkish homes and establishments is being done by the Greeks, for I know of special cases where those of [illegible] communities—of course, in every case by people of the baser sort—have followed the lead of the Greeks and joined in the plundering. I should also add that naturally [illegible] class of Greeks and I treat most of them, if not all, deplore all that [illegible] happened during these past three days quite as much as we do, and wish as earnestly as we do to have it stopped. Strong representations have been made with [illegible] Greek [illegible] in regard to all these untoward events by the representatives of the Allies, but up to Saturday evening no efficient [illegible] have [illegible] and restitution made.

Notes (added after coming into the city to hand this report to Captain Dayton).

As I drove along the water front dead bodies are being washed up on the quay, in addition to those that were reported as being there last evening. I have this moment [illegible] people to bury unknown dead Turks who are [illegible] also seven more dead who were thrown [illegible] lie there.

This morning news comes in that different towns and villages some few miles to the [illegible] by bands of Greeks. There is also a report that the hooligans of Prop[illegible] is good news if true.' I am also told, on what seems credible [illegible] occupied by the Italians. If this is true it will prevent certain terrible reprisals against the Greeks by the Turks in these cities.

[89509] **No. 57.**

Lord Curzon to Mr. Balfour.

(No. 4099.)

Foreign Office, June 20, 1919.

Sir,

ON grounds of public policy I have been a good deal disturbed at the continuous [illegible] Greek forces in the western parts of [illegible] herewith a [illegible] that advance has so far [illegible] these movements were in part undertaken in the first instance [illegible] in the case of the Greeks with the sanction, of the Allied Powers [illegible] to be continued in their later stages, so far as is known here, with no sin[illegible] and in open disregard of the principle, laid down in the early days [illegible] Conference, that its ultimate decisions should not be prejudiced by pre[illegible] aggressive action in respect of the occupation of territory by any of th[illegible] accompanied by scenes of discreditable and unprovoked outrage.

I am the more concerned at the occurrence of this twofold penetration because it apparently being prosecuted without interference or protest (save from the Turks) [illegible] a time when the importance of retaining at least some portion of the Turkish sovereignty and of the former Turkish dominions in Asia is reported to have received a somewhat tardy recognition at the hands of the Allied Powers, although it must be clear that the realisation of any such policy will be seriously compromised by the [illegible] so small an attempt is made to conceal. A further disquieting symptom is the constant [illegible] of the consequences [illegible] must ensue from these continued encroachments upon what remains of Tur[illegible] Middle East [illegible]

be plunged into a state of renewed and, in all probability, protracted violence and disorder.

The further th[illegible] whether of Greeks or of Italians, are pushed, the greater be[illegible] withdrawal, and the more inevitable the prospect [illegible] future strife, if not of serious bloodshed.

In the various appreciations that reach the Foreign Office of the policy that is now [illegible] indeed defends these encroachments. And yet the persistence of the [illegible] successfully to effect what the considered judgment of the spectators declines to approve.

I have ventured to submit this representation, not as a protest, which I cannot but [illegible] for regarding them as provisional in character and duration. I shall be very grateful [illegible] information that you may be able to give me on these points.

[illegible] &c.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

Enclosure in No. 57.

Italian and Greek Penetration in Asia Minor.

1. THE distribution of the Italian troops may be divided into two categories:—

(1.) The force at Konia, which the Director of Military Intelligence puts at two companies and a brigade headquarters, but which an earlier report from Constantinople estimates at 1,200 men, which is under General Milne's orders and is responsible for the patrol of the Anatolian Railway between Konia and Eskishehr.

(2.) A force distributed along the coast from Adalia in the south to Ephesus in the west, occupying as intermediate points between these two places Makri, Marmarice, Budrum, Sokia, and Scalanova. This force is based on [illegible] Island of Rhodes, where, according to the Director of Military [illegible]'s information, a reserve force of at least five infantry battalions and one cavalry regiment exists.

Of these places Adalia was occupied on the 3rd April and is held by a force comprising [illegible] company. From Adalia the Italians have pushed inland to Budjak, which they have [illegible], and to Buldur where, if they have not established a permanent garrison, their political officers are extremely active in canvassing the project of a railway to Adalia.

Of the other coast positions, Budrum, Makri, Ma[illegible] May (that is to say, two or three days be[illegible] and are held by forces varying from 100 to 250 men with machine guns, except at the last-named place, where there is a force of 500 men with field guns. There are 250 men at Sokia and 100 at Ephesus.

At this western extremity of their area, the Ita[illegible] shown a disposition to dispute the Greek hold on the [illegible]ent" has already taken place at the village of Che[illegible] strife seems only to have been averted by the Greek commander's readiness to evacuate in favour of the Italians.

2. Turning to the Greek operations, the landing at Smyrna on the 15th May was effected in force, and Admiral Calthorpe reported that by the 22nd May 15,000 troops had been disembarked. After this landing the Greeks proceeded to push east along the railways as far as Alashehr and Nazili, which was occupied on or about the 3rd June. The country between these points has apparently been secured by the occupation of Eudemish, which the Greek troops were expected to enter on the 2nd June, and where their entry was being contested by the Turks. (We have had no confirmation of the place having been actually occupied.) A force of about 1,000 men was landed at Aivali on the 29th May.

West of Smyrna they have occupied Vourla and Cheme with small detachments,

* The Italians have since declared their intention of making Marmarice a naval base.

while within the last ten days they have pushed north of Smyrna up to Menemen and be[illegible]gama.

In addition to the considerable forces already employed it is reported from Athens that the 13th Greek division, lately released from South Russia, will not improbably be sent to Smyrna.

The boundaries of the Sandjak of Smyrna and the Vilayet of Aidin are marked in the [illegible] map, and it was [illegible] Greek occupations have been carried out in accordance with the authorisation given by the [illegible] Mr. Balfour's telegram No. 914 of the [illegible] of Calthorpe's representative at Smyrna, [illegible] of Nazili was carried out without previous authorisation and was not justified by any [illegible] circumstances.

That the Greeks do not regard their occupation as merely temporary appears from a request, which the Greek Minister [illegible] us, that the survey study of the Meander River Valley made prior to the war by a British group may be [illegible] by the fact that [illegible] the representatives of the Smyrna [illegible] approached M. Venizelos, with the knowledge of the British Peace Delegation, with a view to securing recognition of their company's rights.

The Turkish view of these rival movements seems to have been expressed by a recent deputation from the Council of Ministers at Constantinople, who contrasted the Greek behaviour at Smyrna with the "however regrettable, but nevertheless peaceful" Italian penetration.

June 18, 1919.

[92736] **No. 58.**

Vice-Admiral Sir A. Calthorpe to Earl Curzon.—(Received June 23.)

(No. 970.)

Constantinople, June 6, 1919.

My Lord,

IN accordance with the instructions, both written and verbal, which the members of this High Commission have received, it has been our consistent attitude to show no kind of favour whatsoever to any [illegible] treatment to be meted out to the Ottoman Empire as the result of the war is likely to [illegible] of great severity.

2. All interchange of hospitality and comity has been rigorously forbidden, and no [illegible] opportunity has been lost to [illegible] of Great Britain with nor Allies as against the Turks, and I have been, indeed, most careful to prevent any indication, whether by deed or word, which might give rise to a situation where the Turks could once again begin the practice of spreading jealousy and dissensions among the Great Powers and of turning the results to their own advantage.

The same line of conduct has been observed with both the Grand Viziers who [illegible] Tevfik Pasha and Damad Ferid [illegible] Costa, although both of them entertain strong [illegible] The advantage which I have endeavoured to draw from these feelings has been in the direction of establishing order in the provinces and of assisting Armenian and Greek refugees in their deplorable plight.

4. There have, however, been certain evidences that my French colleague was endeavouring to draw direct political profit from the subservient attitude of the Turks, evidences which I have reported to your Lordship from time to time as they [illegible]urred. It has not, however, been until these last few days that the French [illegible] Turkish Gover[illegible] by means of the publication of the permission granted by the Supreme [illegible] the Peace [illegible] Conference. M. Defrance told me that his telegram directed him to inform the Grand [illegible] He informed the Grand [illegible] not [illegible]

the [illegible] Commissioner, although the telegram specifically referred to the Allied and Associated Governments.

5. I already reported to you in my telegram No. 1193 the terms in which the invitation to the Conference were made publ[illegible] attributing it to the action taken by M. Defrance.

6. As not[illegible] was so eagerly desired by the G[illegible]ment and the people here as the [illegible] to be represented at the Conference, the effe[illegible] produced by this announcement [illegible] great. It has been followed by a continuous flood of propaganda in the press, [illegible] with some specimens. I should add that my delegate on the [illegible] found the first indication for approval, but when the words "[illegible] le bate par lui," i.e., by the French High Commissio[illegible] after applying for instructions insisted [illegible]

7. A further bid for favour was made in arranging that the Delegation should be [illegible] to France in a French man-of-war, which was done by M. Defrance at his first interview with the Grand Vizier, much to the embarrassment of the latter, who has told a trusted friend that it was impossible for him to refuse, though he is jealous of his colleague, who will be carried in a British man-of-war.

8. Your Lordship will not fail to perceive that these actions, trifling as th[illegible] themselves, [illegible] an entire break with the [illegible] of the armistice, and a reversion to the unf[illegible] believe prevailed in Turkey before the w[illegible]

9. I am qu[illegible] unaware of what the atmosphere in Paris at the present tim[illegible] whether it is one of regarding the Turks as a defeated enemy upon whom condit[illegible] naturally and deliberately decided on, are to be imposed without regard to their f[illegible] or wishes, or whether competition for Turkish goodwill forms an element in the situation. However this may be, I believe it would be difficult to select a deputation which would, on the whole, be more favourable to Great Britain than the present, nor have I [illegible] the opinions professed through life by the two Grand Viziers. There has been a [illegible] Ali Kemal Bey, Minister of the Interior, to the Delegation, but I [illegible] sure of his sentiments, and a hint from me was sufficient to procure his [illegible]

10. With regard to Ferid Pasha, his views are that the Turkish Government are unable to carry on without assistance. The disorganisation of every branch of the Administration is hopeless. It is a financial chaos; not a financial position. The interior is a welter of refugees of all races and religions who have been driven in the course of the war from their homes. The most serious problems are presented by the occupation of Smyrna by Greeks, whilst the situation is complicated by the encroach[illegible] the Italians further south. His Highness sees no possible hope save in the [illegible] of a mandatory Power, and he reasons from the signal success of Great Britain in governing their Mussulman countries that the remains of the Turkish Empire should be administered with the help of Great Britain; or the more so as the Sultan and Caliph [illegible] Power as that which already controls the destinies of the great mass of the Mahommedan world. If the mandate does not fall to Great Britain he desires that it should then be taken by the United States, but he declares himself opposed to a French mandate.

11. Tewfik Pasha is a [illegible] the Congress at Berlin. [illegible] secret understand[illegible] remains of the Turkish Empire, will bind it closely to [illegible] a certain divergence in the aims of the two delega[illegible] identical.

12. Whilst it is true to say that in Turkey such a thing as public opinion does not exist, there can be no question but that the popular feeling here has been strongly pro-English. The people would prefer, of course, to be under no control whatever [illegible] there may be some kind of party in the comparison as between a French and British mandate, all parties are unanimous in repudiating the idea that any considerable part of the Turkish Empire should fall under domination so contemptible in their eyes as that of the Italians, or, last of all, that of the Greeks.

13. But I wish to make it clear to your Lordship that an entirely new situation

has arisen since last Sunday, the day on which the French High Commissioner made [illegible] Grand Vizier of the permission for a Turkish [illegible] announcement which [illegible] was due to his own efforts. From [illegible] most marked French propaganda, without any attempt at concealment.

14. The French officer attached to the Allied police [illegible] instructions to his Turkish subordinates to supply him daily with p[illegible], although heretofore the orders of the Allied officer in command, Lieu[illegible] Sir Henry W[illegible] been of the st[illegible] to attend men[illegible]

15. [illegible] that there was already a breach between French and Brit[illegible] December last. Hopes of this nature were at that time disappointed, but they are now finding their realisation, and I fear that already the many different factions in Turkish politics, such as the Committee of Union and Progress, the *Entente Libérale* of South-e-Selamet, the so-called National Liberal Party, and others, are already ranging themselves into French and British camps, partly on the chance of scoring one over the other, but mainly in the hope of getting the better of the foreigner.

16. A party is already springing up prepared to denounce any treaty or compact [illegible] by the Turkish Delegation on the ground of the delegates not [illegible] in accordance with the Constitution.

17. [illegible] Greeks in the vilayet of Aidin, and their gradual [illegible]sion of towns and villages, whilst received with outward tranquillity by the [illegible] people, is causing them deeper and deeper resentment, and the very calm [illegible] the surface only increases my uneasiness.

18. I consider that an outbreak directed probably in the main against na[illegible] Mr. Hurst, the officer in the Levant Consular Service, who is now at Samsoun.

19. Mr. Hurst states that Mustapha Kemal, who was sent there, with the best [illegible] checking the advance of the Greeks further inland. Your Lordship [illegible] Greek authorities failed to secure the embarkation of the property of the officers, [illegible] retired inland. It cannot be expected that these will remain inactive.

20. The weakness of the Sultan and of his situation is enhanced by his fears for his own personal safety.

21. The weakness of the Government is augmented by the departure of the present and the past Grand Viziers, whose character and intelligence offered at least fairly [illegible]

22. [illegible] it is at the very moment when there is the greatest need for unity of [illegible] among the Allies that the French have openly commenced [illegible] for Turkish favour, and that one [illegible] discord between the Greeks and the Italians.

I have, &c.

A. CALTHORPE, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure 1 in No. 38

Note.

To his Excellency Colonel Maxwell.

IT is known by your Excellency that Captain Dépré has been complaining of the [illegible] this purpose alone. I tried to explain this over and over. M. Dépré replied, "[illegible]

are working together for the same purpose, you must help me as much as you can. I think your demands and petitions were never refused." Then with a proper language he said he had been in Morakesh for a long time, studied the Koran, and therefore is far from being an enemy of the Mussulman. After all this introduction, and adding about the French friendship since the time of Francis I on, he turned his subject to the present conditions, saying that it was, as a matter of fact, France that helped us to be invited to the Peace Conference, that we shall be obliged to France for returning Smyrna if conditions change; and that France, 90 out of 100, will have the mandate.

[illegible] thanked for all his kind conversation with us, and promised we would do our best to please him. I repeated, nevertheless, that I could not possibly enforce the commissariats on account of the reports dealing with political currents. Then I added that there was not a word dealing with politics even in the reports handed to your Excellency, and that it would not be right to compare our police with the European system. [illegible] commissariats, which I am doing now.

REFIK

Enclosure 2 in No. 58

Captain Depre to Colonel Maxwell.

Constantinople, le 5 juin 1919

MA [illegible] mai 1919, les commissaires de police [illegible] pouvant intéresser la sûreté publique de [illegible] à mon commissaire de liaison, ou communiquent des choses insignifiantes; malgré les demandes de ce dernier à Refik Bey, on ne répond pas.

J'ai donc l'honneur de vous rendre compte que si cet état de chose ne cesse pas [illegible], c'est-à-dire si les commissaires de police ne communiquent pas exactement ce qu'ils savent, en vertu de je ne sais quel ordre secret, je déclare ne pouvoir pas assurer la responsabilité du commandement de mon secteur, et je me verrais dans l'obligation de demander à être relevé de mes fonctions pour ce motif.

J'exige que chaque matin les commissaires de Péra adressent un rapport écrit à ce sujet à mon commissaire de liaison.

(Paraphé.)

(89010) No. 59

Earl Curzon to M. Cambon

Your Excellency, *Foreign Office, June* 25, 1919.

IN reply to your note of the 13th June, relative to the position of Lieutenant-Colonel Monin at Damascus, I have the honour to point out that the *modus vivendi* of the 30th September, 1918, was expressly designed to cover the period preceding the creation of an Arab St[illegible]

While His Majesty's Government have every desire to meet the wishes of the [illegible] such matters, they do not consider that any good reason has [illegible] upon a discussion to modify the above arrangement, at the very [illegible] ation of the future status of these regions is about to be [illegible]

I have, &c.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON

[95840] No. 60

General Sir E. Allenby to Earl Curzon.—(Received June 30.)

(No. 278.)

My Lord, *Cairo, June* 15, 1919

WITH reference to my despatch No. 269 of the 11th June, I have the honour to forward copies of a further note by Captain Garland, of the Arab Bureau, carrying on the narrative of events connected with the Khurma dispute to the 10th June.

I have, &c.

E. H. H. ALLENBY

Enclosure in No. 60.

Note by Captain Garland on the Khurma Dispute.

Latest Information.

LA[illegible] from Jeddah have confirmed the completeness of Abdullah's defeat at Turaba. According to a telegram sent by the King to Emir Feisal, the "martyrs" (i.e., Shereefian killed) amounted to 250, including several Ateibah Sheikhs, and also Seyyid Hilmi, who was Abdullah's Major-General Commanding the so-called "division" [illegible] all guns and machine guns and two-thirds of the supplies were lost, and only one-tenth of the mule mounted infantry got away.

[illegible] it, although they had had previous warning of the night attack, the regular officers who got away did so in their night attire. It was ever one of the Bagdadi officer's maxims not to allow military duties to interfere with his night's rest, and during the war, outposts, pickets, and the like were invariably dispensed with by the Hedjaz armies.

The 10,000 Bedouin originally reported to be with Abdullah seem to have melted away and, as Colonel Bassett remarks, "everything points to the majority of the tribal elements which profess allegiance to King Hussein being absolutely unreliable." A consoling feature is that the captors of the guns, &c., have no followers trained in their [illegible] Turaba [illegible] Karma. [illegible] view to attacking Abdullah, no enemy advance from Turabah is reported. [illegible] according to the King, is now "remaining on the defensive," but both he and the King fear an advance by Ibn Saud on Taif and Mecca.

It is thought, however, that Ibn Saud will now rest content with his success and [illegible] that any further advance towards the Hedjaz cities would mean sacrificing our friendship, subsidy and help, and he must realize that we possess the means to punish him even if he knows the King does not. It seems probable that His Britannic Majesty's Government's [illegible]

[illegible] that the Ikhwan have not advanced from Tarabah since they recaptured it tends to show that Ibn Saud has them under some sort of control, and if the more [illegible] ments had intended to raid Taif without his authority, they would surely [illegible] el towards it by this time.

[illegible] arrival of our aeroplanes the King will no doubt insist on immediate punitive bombing raids of Tarabah, Khurma, and other Ikhwan camps, but it appears necessary that the possible results of such action should be well considered before undertaking it. From every point of view it will be infinitely better if Ibn Saud can be compelled to withdraw by political pressure from Bagdad, as aeroplane bombing would increase the hatred and ill will between Nejd and Mecca, would render future [illegible] ation more difficult, would henceforth affect the hospitality extended to British official travellers through Nejd, and might quite conceivably precipitate a wholesale conflagration, besides possibly forming matter (suitably distorted) for Indian anti-Shereefian propaganda.

One feels constrained, therefore, to suggest that the aeroplanes should be reserved entirely for defence purposes, in case of an advance by Ikhwan from their present [illegible] tions. And, if Ibn Saud retires personally from Khurma district, it would be wisest [illegible] it until the boundary dispute is settled by our [illegible] this as a mere maintenance of the [illegible] sives have no alternative to keeping to defensive measures.

It is obvious that the settlement by us of the boundary between Nejd and the Hedjaz is one of the Arabian affairs claiming our prompt attention, and it ought not to be much longer delayed.

The military position at Khurma to-day (10th June, 1919) is as follows:—

Ibn Saud is said to be at Tarabah, and his force probably amounts to 20,000 [illegible] ans, of which some are posted 10 miles west of Tarabah.

Emir Abdullah has collected from his original force a remnant of about 3,000

Bedouins at Okleidr, 250 semi-trained regulars have left Mec[illegible] der Sagh. Kasoni to join the Emir, whilst Emir Ali at Medina is reported to be sending some machine guns and ammunition.

N. GARLAND

Cairo, June 10, 1919.

[96973.] No. 61

Vice-Admiral Sir A. Calthorpe to Earl Curzon.—(Received July 2.)

(No. 1047.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, June 18, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to state that the following interim appointments have been made to posts in the Turkish Government during the absence of the Grand Vizier and the Ministers who have accompanied him to Paris.

Grand Vizier ad interim.—This post has been given, in accordance with practice, to Sabri Effendi, Sheikh ul Islam. He is a fair sample of the Ulema class. He has for many years been an outspoken opponent of the Committee of Union and Progress, and distinguished himself as a deputy by the vehe[illegible] his speeches in the Chamber against the Committee Government before the war. He spent a good part of the duration of the war in exile. He is honest, but probably not very firm. He still belongs to the *Entente libérale* Party.

Minister of Foreign Affairs ad interim.—This post has been given to Sefa Bey, a professional diplomat [illegible] formerly Minister at Bucharest. He has never played a conspicuous rôle in politics, but may be regarded as a person of moderate Union and Progress [illegible]

Minister of Finance ad interim.—This post has been given to Shevket Torgout Pasha, Minister of War. The explanation given of this rather curious arrangement is that it was thought it would m[illegible] friction, as the Ministry of War [illegible] Department most apt to come into conflict with the Ministry of Finance. In present circumstances it matters very little who is Minister of Finance [illegible] thought that the one Minister not to appoint as Acting-Minister was the Minister of War, as the cause of the friction between the two Departments is that the Ministry of Finance has not only to curb Military extravagance, but also to secure for general purposes, any liquid assets which may be available in the War Office.

President of the Council of State ad interim.—This post has been given to Edhem Bey, Minister of Commerce and Agriculture, one of the less [illegible] members of the Cabinet, but one of the few whom the *Entente libérale* [illegible] regard as loyal.

2. The following is a complete list of the Cabinet as now constituted:—

Grand Vizier *ad interim* and Sheikh-ul-Islam, Sabri Effendi, strong *Entente libérale* up to date.
Minister for Foreign Affairs *ad interim*, Sefa Bey.
Minister of War and Minister of Finance *ad interim*, Shevket Torgout Pasha.
Minister of Marine, Avni Pasha.
Minister of Interior, Ali Kemal Bey.
Minister of Justice, Wasfi Effendi, strong *Entente libérale* up to date.
Minister of Commerce and President of Council of State *ad interim*, Edhem Bey.
Minister of Public [illegible] Bey.
Minister of Public Works, [illegible]
Minister of Pious Foundations, Hamdi Effendi.

Ministers without Portfolio.

Tewfik Pasha, ex Grand Vizier, Plenipotentiary to the Conference.
Ahmed Izzet Pasha, ex Grand Vizier, came into power to conclude the armistice. Is regarded as Moderate Committee of Union and Progress.
Reshid Akif Pasha, Senator.
General Ali Riza Pasha, Senator.
Izzet Pasha, Senator.
Ismail Hakki Pasha, Senator.
Abdurrahman Sherif Bey, Senator. A historian who has taken part in national revival movements since the armistice.

Hadarizade Ibrahim Effendi, ex-Sheikh-ul Islam, a pan-Islamist.
Ahmed Abouk Pasha, ex-Minister of War.
Colonel Sadik Bey, Titular leader of the *Entente libérale* Party. Strongly anti-Committee of Union and Progress and pro-English. In exile in Egypt during the war, and worked with British.

3. I have in a previous despatch mentioned the inclusion in the Government of [illegible] Mo[illegible] as been to give the Government as a whole the character of a Coalition, while retaining [illegible] in the main, anti-Committee, elements.

4. It is generally considered that the inclusion of the new Ministers without [illegible] Committee and other Opposition elements. Some of the Ministers, *e.g.*, Izzet Pasha, ex Grand Vizier, [illegible] committee sympathies. Churuksou Mahmoud Pasha, who was one of them, is thought to have these sympathies in an even more pronounced form. On the other hand, Sadik Bey, the latest addition to the Ministry without portfolio, is the recognised leader of the *Entente libérale* Party and has been an aspirant for the Grand Vizirate since that party became discontented with Ferid Pasha because of his opportunist, and as they wrongly thought, pro-French character. Marshal Shakir Pasha, ex Minister of War, who was also a Minister without portfolio, has just died.

5. From the above description you will see that the Turkish Government is of a mixed and nondescript character. The most important single figure in it is Ali Kemal Bey, a journalist of tortuous ways and great personal ambition. He is detested by the Committee and equally so by the Extreme *Entente libérale* Party, who regard him as a henchman of the French. There was probably some foundation for this accusation a short time ago, but Ali Kemal Bey seems rather to have shifted his ground quite recently. His one desire now appears to be to keep things together [illegible] ensure his political and personal safety, and he displays perfect readiness [illegible] co-operate with this high commission. He claims, indeed, to share the general view that the only salvation of this country lies in English protection of some kind.

6. On the other hand, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and still more the Ministry of War, must be regarded as strongholds of veiled anti-foreign and, perhaps, more [illegible] Party. They [illegible] staffed with men who consider [illegible] only crimes were its blunders, and that its blunders were its [illegible] rather than its fault.

[illegible] incoherent character of the Government has been emphasised by the [illegible] Paris of Ferid and Tewfik Pashas, both because it removes the two [illegible] areas, and because the selection of Ferid Pasha to go to Paris is in itself a bone of contention. His appointment pleased neither the Committee of Union [illegible] *Entente libérale*. An impetus has been given to the activities of the Committee of Union and Progress [illegible] *Entente libérale* are extremely [illegible] satisfied with the situation because, though they had the choosing of [illegible] Government only a little more than three months ago, and though there has been no several changes in its orientation, they feel that they have to-day only four or at most five men in the Government on whom they can absolutely rely.

I have, &c.

A. CALTHORPE, *High Commissioner.*

96986 No. [illegible]

Vice-Admiral Sir A. Calthorpe to Earl Curzon.—(Received July 2.)

(No. 1060.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, June 22, 1919.*

I HAVE the [illegible] forward herewith for your Lordship's information copy of a memorandum by Mr. Ryan, of this High Commission, giving an account of [illegible] K[illegible] Minister of the Interior and Brigadier-General [illegible] Wades and himself.

A. CALTHORPE, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure in No. 62.

Memorandum by Mr. Ryan.

THE Minister of the Interior asked to see General Deedes and myself last evening. We visited him at his house.

Ali Kemal Bey expressed fresh perturbation over the national defence movement in the Interior, especially in the direction of Karassi. There is no longer the slightest doubt, in his opinion, that this movement has the full approval of the Ministry of W[illegible] and is to some extent organised there, especially by Djevad Pa[illegible].

Djevad Pasha went to the Council of Ministers the other day and openly criticised the policy of the Government in not defending the country against Greek aggression. The people organising the present movement all shared Djevad's views.

[illegible] several papers. He began with a telegram sent [illegible] and Anti-Annexation Committee of Extremid. This [illegible] a gallant victory over the Greeks. He said instructions had been given by the civil authorities to the telegraph officials to stop all such telegrams. His next document was a telegram sent by Moustapha Kemal Pasha from Amasia to the Inspector-General of the First Army and to all army corps commanders. Moustapha Kemal said he understood that orders had bee[illegible] at the rate of de[illegible] would obey those orders [illegible] chief, but definitely joins issue with the civil authority.

Ali Kemal's next point was this. A number of students had applied for permi[illegible] into the Interior on a sort of lecturing tour to enlighten their compatriots. Be[illegible]lence the Ministry of War had communicated to him officially a telegram [illegible] commanding Officer, Erzerdjan, pointing out in connection with the expected advent of *Entente* commissions of enquiry that the voicing of the people's wishes could not be left to peasants in turbans and cummerbunds, and su[illegible] intelligent young men should be turned on the job. Halil Bey had b[illegible] the applicants here, and had reported that all of them were all right.

Ali Kemal Bey said that all this placed himself and his friends in a very embarrassing position. They had to choose between making way for the Chauvinists and resigning their own places in the Government or trying to eliminate the Chauvinists altogether. He seemed to think they could achieve the latter result, but what would be their own [illegible] afterwards if the Greek aggression continued unchecked? He had in mind [illegible] in North Western Asia Minor, but assumptions of authority [illegible] especially to the action of the Greeks in taking Turks into th[illegible] consulate general and maltreating them. He showed us a long report on incid[illegible] this kind [illegible] the Chauvinists. The bat[illegible] with th[illegible] if that happened it would be the final catastrophe for Turkey. The limits of the Greek advance in Asia Minor had at first been uncertain; limits had since been prescribed, and steps had been taken to confine the Greeks within them. As for incidents i[illegible] Constantinople, they were a matter for the Inter Allied authorities, and we had n[illegible] doubt they would be dealt with suitably. Anyhow, though disagreeable [illegible] not affect the future, and afforded [illegible]

I took the opportunity of again mentioning the question of elections. Ali Kemal Bey and the Sultan favoured them because he shrank from sole responsibility for the [illegible] The Unionist Ministers in the Cabinet clamoured all the time [illegible] for their own reasons. I said that the proposal seemed t[illegible] I knew the same view was held by my chiefs. The answer to peop[illegible] the constitutional necessity for parliamentary sanction for the Peace [illegible] quite brutal. It was, that the peace w[illegible] accept or reject, but an impaired pe[illegible]

That would be the Sultan's defence before his people and before history. Ali Kemal Bey fully agreed. He thought it would be possible to overcome the Sultan's difficulty when the time came by some sort of Crown Council.

There can be no doubt that a very definite conflict exists to-day between the military party and those who wish to continue Ferid Pasha's policy. It is q[illegible] the cards that the former may force the issue in Constantinople very rapid[illegible] [illegible] urgent decision whether we should help the Moderate [illegible] we should let things take their course. If we choose the [illegible] to possible that in a few days we may have in power a strongly [illegible] government capable o[illegible] giving us a great deal of trouble. Its programme would not include massacres, but it would countenance every kind of passive resistance to Allied intervention in the affairs of this country, and it would put no check on irresponsible people prepared to go further. It would also be quite capable of disavowing Ferid Pasha, though on the whole I think it more likely that it would be content with relegating him to the second place in the Peace D[illegible] [illegible] of all would not appear to be that of replacing Halil Bey [illegible] myself strongly in favour of accepting [illegible] that subordinate personnel will not [illegible] except in consultation with General Fuller.

98129] No. 63

Brigadier General Clayton to Earl Curzon.—(Received July 4.)

No. 311. *General Headquarters, Egyptian Expeditionary Force.*
My Lord, *June 23, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to forward a summary of the situation up to date in Syria.

In spite of the impression which appears to prevail in French Government circles that some sort of agreement was arrived at in Paris between M. Clemenceau and [illegible] there seems little doubt that the Emir has in no way changed his attitude [illegible] promising opposition to any form of French intervention in Syria.

[illegible] meeting between himself and the Commander-in-Chief in the middle of May he outlined the situation in France at the time of his departure, and, even at that time so little was he affected by any discussions which may have taken place between himself and M. Clemenceau, that he put forward a proposition to assemble selected [illegible] declaration of the complete independence of Syria. The Commander-in-Chief forbade any such action, and the idea was therefore dropped.

Emir Feisal then observed that he was unable to ask for Great Britain alone as M[illegible]ory Power, and at the same time forgo the demand for independence, for reasons that—

(a.) He feared that the French would hear of it and take steps to defeat his plans;

(b.) He was uncertain whether or not Great Britain would accept a mandate, even [illegible] independence that it was difficult to make any change at short notice.

He had therefore decided to instruct his people to ask for [illegible] or Syria, at the same time expressing the hope that it would be [illegible] countries. By this means he would be able to reconcile those who were thinking only of Syria and those who favoured the idea of a great Pan-Arab State. At the same time he proposed to tell the Commission sent out by the Peace Conference that he had been forced into this course for fear of the French, and that he would at any time accept a British mandate.

Emir Feisal added that the French could only enter Syria by force of arms, and [illegible] gly on the subject that he would identify himself with active opposition.

As regards Mesopotamia, the Emir felt that an agreement should be [illegible] Great Britain and the Arabs without recourse to the Peace Confer[illegible] that the Arabs would have a semblance of independence in that a[illegible] that they must have some sort of control the details of which should be worked [illegible] between the two parties concerned. He was anxious that British officials in the Iraq should be answerable, not to India, but to London or, preferably, Egypt.

Towards the end of May Emir Feisal received a telegram from his delegate in Paris stating that the Commission appointed by the Peace Conference was not coming

out to Syria. He was greatly distressed at this news, and the result of lengthy interviews between him and the political officers in Damascus are given in the attached Appendix (A). On receiving a telegram from the Commander-in-Chief stating that the American portion of the Commission had already left he was reassured, and the crisis passed off.

There was still some uncertainty in the minds of Emir Feisal and his followers as to the best course to take up before the impending Commission, and Emir Feisal continued to endeavour to obtain a mandate from as many of the local notables as possible, giving him a free hand in his dealings with the Commission. He has approached all communities in this sense, including the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate and the leading chiefs of the Druses in the Hauran.

[illegible] indication of a tendency to look to America was given during the visit of two American journalists to Damascus. The Arab Club took the opportunity of [illegible] reception in honour of these representatives of the American press, and [illegible] ation for all that President Wilson and his country had done for the cause of Arab independence.

Lately some rumours seem to have spread abroad th[illegible] agreement with the French during his visit to Europe, and there are reports of feeling against him owing to a suspicion that he has been entering into [illegible] knowledge of the people. He is aware of this, and has [illegible] to ask the [illegible] ly for a British mandate. This may be due to his realising that [illegible] chance of complete independence being granted.

[illegible] gations of Said Pasha Shoucair and his vehement criticisms of Arab [illegible] gements have probably shown the necessity for European advice and [illegible] Pasha has suggested certain immediate reforms, including the cutting [illegible] my and gendarmerie, and the reduction of Feisal's own Civil List. A [illegible] has now been formed, consisting of Said Pasha himself and certain other Arab officials, to examine the various departmental budgets and see whether further retrenchments can be [illegible].

The defeat of Emir Abdullah's army in the Hedjaz has greatly disturb[illegible] sal, and he and his chief advisers are anxious that a Mohammedan [illegible] sent to the Hedjaz to assist King Hussein. All agree, however, that it is not [illegible] to send any large reinforcements from Syria, and assistance is being confine[illegible] despatch of a few guns and machines, [illegible] ne, together with a small detachment [illegible] officers and other ranks.

In the middle of June Emir Feisal paid a visit to Aleppo district and was received with considerable enthusiasm throughout his tour of inspection. He had a long interview with the General Officer Commanding and the Political Officer at Aleppo at which he gave a full statement of his views on the general situation. A detailed report of this interview is attached as Appendix (B).

There is no doubt that political questions are occupying the minds of the Arab leaders in Syria to the detriment of administrative reform, which [illegible] needed. Until a decision is arrived at it is hopeless to [illegible] to an effort [illegible] is being made or his methods [illegible] satisfactory. As a [illegible] quence the Government is not progressing to any marked degree and many urgent reforms are being postponed. Old feuds are beginning to revive, especially in the Deraa district where the Arabs of the Hauran are indulging in clan forty q[illegible] Sakhr and other tribes with whom they have long standing enmities.

In the Lebanon there are two main parties, one in favour of an [illegible] Lebanon and the other desirous of forming part of an Arab State with central gover[illegible]

[illegible] Independence Party have recently been active and indulged in a demonstration at Hamana, the headquarters of the Lebanon Government, at which the Lebanese flag [illegible] and the independence of the Lebanon declared. The incident did not cause [illegible] particular disturbance and was brought to an end by the Mohafiz Governor who ordered the flag to be pulled down and dispersed the assembly.

The Independence Party, of which the Maronite Patriarch is a [illegible] are showing signs of nervousness in view of the reports that the F[illegible] an arrangement with Feisal which they think may lead to the inclu[illegible] the Lebanon in a Syrian State, in opposition to the programme [illegible] independence which they are pressing.

On the other hand, the counter party are not idle. Meetings take place every day and Moslems are working harmoniously with some of the prominent Christians [illegible] programme is an autonomous Lebanon comprised in the more extended boundaries

which they consider essential to economical prosperity, on condition that this autonomous Lebanon will recognise in principle the suzerainty of the future government of [illegible] A considerable number of Greek Orthodox Christians and of [illegible] and are engaged in canvassing in opposition to the programme of the Lebanon Administrative Council, which is in favour of the complete and absolute independence of the Lebanon.

I [illegible] to appreciate the lines which the policy of French officials in this [illegible] wing in this complicated situation [illegible] of having to conciliate Emir Feisal and the Arabs at Damascus without alienating the traditional support of the Maronite Christians, the majority of whom are members of the party which desires an independent Lebanon. Attached to this despatch, as Appendix (C), is a report rendered by the Chief Administrator (Colonel Cop[illegible]).

I have, &c.

G. F. CLAYTON, *Brigadier-General,*
Chief Political Officer, Egyptian Expeditionary F[illegible]

APPENDIX (A).

[illegible] o'clock on Thursday, the 29th May, Colonel Cornwallis and Colonel Joyce [illegible] for urgently by Emir Feisal. Arrived there they found him in a state of almost distress. He proceeded to read out a telegram which he had received from Rustom Haidar the Hedjaz delegate at the Peace Conference. The gist of the telegram was that the Conference [illegible] British troops in Syria were going to be withdrawn, and that the Commission to Palestine and Syria had been stopped. This Feisal interpreted as meaning that we were going to abandon the country to the French without any attempt being made to ascertain the wishes of the people. This he said would inevitably cause bloodshed it would mean war between the French and the Arabs. The Arabs would attack the French, and since in that case the British might be expected to come to the assistance of the French in the country, it would mean war with us as well. He made it fairly evident what part he himself would play in such a contingency. He did not even hint at trying to prevent trouble, and it is clear that he meant that he would identify himself with the movement, and place himself at the head of it. He stated that if our [illegible] were withdrawn, and any French troops left, even if only in the coastal sector, [illegible] rd it as a hostile act. On being asked if he wanted all troops, British [illegible] to be withdrawn, he hedged, and hinted that he would consider it an [illegible] y act if the British troops were withdrawn under any circumstances. His point of view in this is rather hard to follow, as it is surely what would happen if [illegible] the objects of his programme and was granted complete independence [illegible] mandatory Power. He finally wrote a telegram for the Commander-in-Chief, requesting an answer in twenty four hours, and demanding:—

1. That no British troops should be withdrawn unless all French troops were withdrawn.
2. That the Commission should come out.

He was very insistent about the Commission coming out, and scouts the idea that any arrangements acceptable to him might possibly have been arrived at in Paris. He is still unwilling to accept any compromise as regards an independent Syria. Although at one time he said he did not mind about the Lebanon being French, he afterwards hedged, and said that by the Lebanon he meant the mountains only without any portion of the coast, not even Beirut. He also showed himself very mistrustful of our Zionist aims, although he declared that he was only presenting the point of view [illegible] nounced his intention unless he received a satisfactory answer to his telegram to the Commander-in-Chief of executing a *coup d'état* by proclaiming the independence of Syria, including the coastal sector, and sending his troops to occupy the latter.

He asked what would be our attitude having in view the fact that the Arabs in Palestine would probably rise. He was informed that such an act would finally and irreparably destroy all friendship between us, as it would probably entail the loss of British lives. He agreed that this would be the probable result, but asked what could [illegible] do.

Appendix (B).

THE General Officer Commanding and Political Officer at Aleppo have had several [illegible] interviews with Emir Feisal. His attitude and policy seem very reasonable, and with his personality it should be very easy to form a National Government even in Syria. His great difficulty now is what he considers the extraordinary attitude of [illegible] after liberating the Arabic-speaking countries at an immense cost in blood and [illegible], and after four years' unbroken friendship with the Emir and the Arab, England has suddenly cooled, refuses to say whether [illegible] conquer Syria [illegible] Turkish forces in Syria, and thereby liberated the country and Sy[illegible] chattel to be [illegible] the Emir surprised at our attitude because of the obvious importance to [illegible] firm friendship of the Moslem Arabs. By breaking up the Turkish [illegible] ring the Hejaz, Mesopotamian and Syrian Moslems, England has caused alar[illegible] the Moslems who look to the Sultan as Caliph, and now she is deliberat[illegible] g away the friendship of the very people she has risked so much to [illegible] Besides, these Arab countries command all the roads leading to the East, and [illegible] consideration demands that England should not surrender this [illegible] political, commercial, and religious to even her closest ally. With these countries under [illegible] control and under firm friendship the way to the East is safe, and the rest of the Moslem world will soon be reconciled. With these countries in anyone else's hands [illegible] land becomes the humble suitor of that country. [illegible] gland and America for her future existence [illegible] Emir knows [illegible] deration I was England she [illegible] ally be pr[illegible] to void alienating England. The result is a lurking suspi[illegible] the Arabs are being sold. He regards Syria as the crux of the whole [illegible] Syria is full of promise, the gem in the Arab crown, and will be the natural leader of the Arab race. If that goes to other hands the Arabic speaking [illegible] suffer a loss that will cripple them for ever. The Emir is confident that [illegible] unite the Syrians in a common nationality. After all, the Christians and Moslems are of the same race and language—in [illegible] Moslem is superior owing to the sedentary occupations long followed by the Christians, while in int[illegible] nothing to choose. In religion [illegible] Christian is superior, and [illegible] Christians themselves, but to continu[illegible] future by outside Christians. Put the two religions [illegible] elimination and eliminate foreign influence, except under [illegible] the Syrians w[illegible] on whether [illegible] Syria has alr[illegible] not going to accept the mandate, the sooner this is [illegible] I will accept Syria the cry for [illegible] recruiting of troops will be at once dropped. If [illegible] difficulties in Syria, although she must well know that the undertaking of a [illegible] mandate would make many of her other responsibilities infinitely lighter, there [illegible] war is complete independence, she knows well enough that it means Capitul[illegible] foreign protection of Syrian Christians, foreign encroachments, and corruptions and [illegible] innumerable, but the Moslems deliberately accept this as better than a French [illegible] torate. A French mandate is regarded as a national death. It will [illegible] colonists and French officials and Christian hegemony. The Emir and [illegible] to see the fairest part of their country handed to Fr[illegible] less than an enemy and w[illegible] only intend to resist [illegible] attempt to exercise a protectorate over [illegible] a few years more, have thrown off the Turkish yoke by the s[illegible] They did not join the Allies to be put under the infinitely stronger yoke of France, and onto England shows her hand it is exceedingly hard for Syria to show here. Those who prefer England, but will not actually fight France, do not want to ask for England and then find France in charge—they fear the very natural resentment of France; their own countrymen who spoke for France will naturally be preferred until they have lived down the mistake of asking for England.

The worst of the whole situation is that the people who will oppose France most bitterly are the very best and most enlightened of the Moslems, the pick of Syria. It will not be the scum but the true Syrian Arab who will "go out" and wage war if France comes to Syria—of course the Bedouins will join the outlaws. Failing England, [illegible] ing complete independence, America is the only hope. Anything, in fact, but France.

These are the Emir's views and the views of all the best Moslem Arabs as well.

The actual details of the interests of England in Syria were, of course, not discussed with the Emir, but they were obviously present in his mind, as he insisted on the fact that our interests were identical with those of the Arabs.

It is easy, of course, to say that the Emir is actuated by personal ambition, &c. That may be true enough, but he undoubtedly has the Moslems of this part of the country with him, and also all the Bagdad Arabs now here.

The Christians are sitting on the hedge, and are hopelessly intractable and fanatical. Their only platform is anti-Moslem and self-interest, and they will fawn upon whatever Power receives the mandate. A statement that England will accept the mandate would be received with unbounded enthusiasm by every Moslem from the sea to the desert, and there is no question but that the s[illegible] Protectorate would go far to tide over the difficult days of [illegible] getting the country going on modern lines.

With an English Protectorate the French will at once [illegible] but actually popular, as their language and civilisation are undoubtedly intensely admired. In the present political situation they are unpopular, and their language hated.

Appendix (C).

Report by Colonel Copin (French Army), Chief Administrator Occupied Enemy Territory (West).

No civil administration or government exist in the Lebanon besides the Military Administration. On the arrival of the Allies and in accordance with the [illegible] contained in General Headquarters telegram of the 22nd October, [illegible] trative Council of the Lebanon continued to function, the only modification being that the Senior Military Administrator of the Lebanon was entrusted with the presidency of the Council.

Under this senior officer there are three deputy administrative officers, one at Batroun (northern Lebanon), [illegible] at Beteddin (southern Lebanon), and one at Zahleh [illegible] Lebanon.

The kaimakams and the mudirs are the only people who have been retained as civilian officials of the Administration.

I beg to furnish hereinafter the information required regarding the political situation of the Lebanon.

The Lebanon has at all times been constituted in Syria as a small island, partly isolated, sheltered by its mountains, and has remained always, whoever was the dominator of the country, a feudal people, very attached to its beliefs, its traditions, [illegible] guaranteed to it a separate [illegible] it has always shown itself [illegible] A [illegible] because it marked the end of the Turkish regime. The Lebanese have only seen in these alterations the absolute certainty henceforth of the maintenance of the privileges previously contested. Confident in this hope, and of the Allied nations, they have awaited the decisions of the Peace Conference with the greatest tranquillity.

Towards the end of April, after the arrival of Emir Feisal at Beirout, the Sherifian Party stirred themselves, organised manifestations, and started carrying out an active and an undeguised propaganda. The Moslems proclaimed that Syria, including the Lebanon, must return to El Emir. The Lebanese, surprised, deceived and uneasy, saw in these exaggerated manifestations a menace of Sherifian attempts at inclusion. The consequence of this fear was a calm, pacific, and orderly, but firm and decided reaction. The great majority of the Lebanese, the municipalities, and the clergy undertook a campaign for independence.

At present the situation is clear. On one side, and these represent the great majority, the partisans for the autonomy of the Lebanon claim a [illegible] large but are entirely firm and unanimous on the principle of the independence of the country, under the French Protectorate. On the other side, the partisans of Feisal, most of them are Druses, demand the attachment of the Lebanon to Syria.

The Sherifians, and more particularly those of Zahleh show themselves very active, trying to gather signatures in favour of El Emir, distributing money, and promising posts and employment in the future government. This propaganda is carried out in full daylight.

As a proof, I beg to draw your attention to the attached tract, of which I am sending the original and a translation, which has been distributed at Zahleh by Michel Bey Lostfallah, member of the Committee of "Société des Secours pour la [illegible] The latter has been authorised to circulate in Syria so as to control the distribution of [illegible], on the express condition that he should not interfere in policy during his journey, it being well understood that the permit for travelling could be withdrawn from him on the 18th February, 1920. I cite also Iskandar Bey Ammoun, Inspe[illegible] Justice, Damascus, who has held numerous meetings in the Lebanon [illegible] [illegible]ored to recruit adherents to the Sherifian cause, thus breaking the neutrality [illegible]

[illegible]h is, at present, the political situation: on one side an active propaganda, on the other a very clear and a very calm policy.

[illegible] that it would be advisable to regulate, as soon as possible, the [illegible] Syria in order to avoid the uneasiness which is developing from day [illegible] observation, and which may, in accentuating [illegible] that public order [illegible] disorder does not offer any cause for anxiety. The general [illegible] satisfactory.

Beyrout, June 4, 1919.

Enclosure in No. 63

Les Lois fondamentales

Parts du l'Union syrienne centrale—Egypte

(Traduction.)

1. LA Syrie tout entière doit être une, depuis les monts Taurus jusqu'au Khabour et l'Euphrate à l'est, le désert arabe jusqu'aux villes de Saleh au sud la mer Rouge jusqu'à la ligne El Arish, Rafge et la mer Méditerranée à l'ouest.

2. La Syrie doit être parfaitement indépendante; son indépendance doit être garantie par la Ligue des Nations, aussi bien que ses lois fondamentales. Cette garantie doit conserver les droits de l'indépendance.

3. Le Gouvernement du pays doit être aidé par la Ligue des Nations, en c[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]ermentés aux hautes fonctions de conseillers nécessa[illegible]

4. [illegible] ernement doit avoir une forme démocratique; la base de ses lois et de ses codes doit être civile, sauf les lois régissant les statuts personnels, qui doivent rester telles qu'elles sont.

5. Les lois actuelles doivent être conservées jusqu'à la réunion du P[illegible] [illegible] qui les corrigera ou les changera d'après les intérêts du pays et les l[illegible]

6. Le pays doit se diviser en vilayets indépend[illegible] [illegible] autres pour le bien commun. On doit garder l[illegible] géographiques, telles que les considérations locales particulières de Palestine et Houran, [illegible] de Deir Ez-Zor, et les traditions du Liban, ses anciennes limites naturelles et ses anciens privilèges.

7. Chaque vilayet aura un Conseil administratif particulier élu par le suffrage [illegible] aura lieu une fois tous les quatre ans. C'est lui qui dirigera les affaires du vilay[illegible] fermera ses lois intérieures, selon les cas qui conviennent au vilayet, à condition qu'e[illegible] ne contrarient pas à celles du pays.

8. Le pays aura un Parlement général composé de membres élus par les Conseils administratifs; la proportion sera de un sur trois. Ce Parlement se réunira une fois par a[illegible] [illegible] et pour former les lois qui conviennent au pays.

9. [illegible] aura pour capitale en été Damas, en hiver Beyrouth; il aura un Ministère responsable [illegible] le Parlement.

10. Tout vilayet formera des agents de police pour sa propre sécurité, et le Gouvernement général élaborera une loi spéciale pour le recrutement des forces [illegible]

11. Les fonctions seront dans les mains des hommes capables du vilayet.

12. Le programme de l'enseignement doit être unique, commun à tout le pays et convenable à tous les enfants des divers rites et religions.

13. Les frais et dépenses de chaque vilayet seront payés de ses propres impôts. Mais les revenus des intérêts communs, tels que la douane, la poste, le télégraphe, les chemins de fer, les bateaux et les mines seront mis à la disposition du Gouvernement central, qui les utilisera pour les travaux comm[illegible]

14. Si la nation arabe formait une nation sépa[illegible] [illegible] condition que cela ne change rien de sa propre unité ni de la forme [illegible] Gouvernement.

[97957] No. 64

Mr. Balfour to Earl Curzon — (Received July 4.)

(No. 1148.)

MR. BALFOUR presents his compliments to Earl Curzon, and transmits herewith copies of two documents on the subject of the proposed Zionist activities in Palestine.

Paris, July 2, 1919.

Enclosure 1 in No. 64

Dr. Weizmann to Sir L. Mallet

Délégation sioniste au Congrès de la Paix,
10, Place Edouard VII, Paris, June 18, 1919.

Dear Sir Louis Mallet,

I HAVE been thinking a great deal over the valuable suggestion you made when I last saw you a few days ago regarding the desirability of entering on practical work in Palestine as soon as possible. Since seeing you I have discussed the same subject with Lord Eustace Percy who, I understand, has mentioned it to Mr. Balfour. These two gentlemen, as well as others, seem to share your views in the matter, and after a further conversation with Mr. Vansittart I have decided to approach your department formally and submit a programme of work in Palestine, which, to my mind, is already [illegible]h desirable and possible. Before doing so, however, I venture to submit to you one or two general cons[illegible]

In the first place, [illegible] which may be given to us by His Maje[illegible] Government would, in [illegible] [illegible]wry, be received by the whole of the Jewish world with deep relief and gratitude. Secondly, the development of certain of the undermentioned lines of action would introduce into the country [illegible] additional men of character and of brains, and also capital, and would thereby improve the economic condition of the country, and thus contribute more than anything [illegible] towards establishing good relations between the Jews and the Arabs. If the Arabs see that practical work, remunerative to them as to the other elements in the population, [illegible] beginning in earnest, and that this work, far from affecting their conditions unfavourably, improves them, any artificial agitation that may still be prevalent will [illegible], and wild and unfounded rumours that may be circulating will be [illegible]

[illegible] out for the information of His Majesty's Government [illegible] ful of the great financial responsibilities which will [illegible] Organisation immediately after the signature of peace, and meet these responsibilities we have been endeavouring to create the necessary

[illegible]

the greater number of our supporters in the east of Europe. However, in addition to balancing the Zionist budget for the current year at 500,000*l.* we have established a company with a capital of 10,000,000 roubles for the erection of dwellings in Palestine, this company to be registered in England, and we are moreover establishing a development company with a capital of 4,000,000*l.* The status of this latter company is being considered now in London by the committee of our Organisation, of which Mr. Herbert Samuel is chairman, and it is hoped that it will be possible to register it in the near future. In the meanwhile negotiations are in progress on behalf of this company for the purchase of a number of transportable houses, and the erection on its behalf of hotels in Palestine has already commenced.

The activities in Palestine which seem to us of an urgent character are as follows:—

1. The acquisition of the Jaffa–Jerusalem railway.
2. The acquisition of the German colonies and town settlements in Pales[illegible]
3. The acquisition of the Kaiserin Augusta Victoria Hospice on the Mount of Olives, which is German State property. We are specially anxious to [illegible] fect this as the hospice adjoins the university site, [illegible] if we could fit it out as a temporary university b[illegible] I need not point out the immense importance of such a [illegible] the moral, intellectual, and political points of view, [illegible] building for the University is very difficult at present on account [illegible] of building material, which is itself a consequence of the [illegible] transport. The acquisition of the hospice building would relieve u[illegible] this responsibility.
4. Permission for Jews to enter and settle in the country. These would be guaranteed by the Zionist Organisation as economically sound and anxious to invest their capital in Palestine. There is a large number of Jews who are ready to proceed to Palestine to found small industries there, to open mineral undertakings, and to acquire and work land. Their entry into Palestine is at present rendered very difficult. The Zionist Organisation would be quite prepared to guarantee the *bona fides* financial position an[illegible] suitability for the purpose of such immigrants. We are ourselves most anxious to stop all unsuitable immigration and have published warnings to that effect throughout the Jewish world. On the other hand, we are also anxious to introduce into the country in limited numbers people willing and capable of assisting the development of the country on sound [illegible]
5. [illegible] or body to be constituted [illegible] the purpose of the waste or unoccupied lands that could be [illegible] plough almost immedia[illegible] We are particularly anxi[illegible] to settle the demobilised Jewish soldiers in Palestine as an encouragement not to leave the country. Means are available to do this, and, if only we had the land we could set to work immediately.
6. [illegible] establishment of a shipping line principally for the transport of material from the Mediterranean ports and Palestine, but also possibly f[illegible] England. This would enable us to import building material, of wha[illegible] the need is greatest at present and the meeting of which need is an inevitable preliminary to further activit[illegible]
7. The acquisition by the Zionist Organisation or other public body of certain small concessions to be developed for the purposes of public utility, *e.g.* telephone, radio-telegraph, and water-power of the Audja [illegible]

I should like to point out to you that all these concessions, with the single exception of that of the waste lands, would not affect the present agrarian policy of the administration and should not interfere with the susceptibilities of the Arabs. For us, however, they would mean a very important beginning. If, as I hope, the Secretary of State considers the immediate carrying out of the programme outlined above desirable I would be ready to proceed to Palestine in the near future, and in the company of Justice Brandeis and other friends discuss with the administration on the spot the best ways and means of putting the programme into effect. I would also propose to visit Feisal in Damascus, and, in co-operation with him, elaborate a

conciliatory policy so far as the Arab population is concerned. For this purpose I shall be grateful to receive the necessary recommendation from His Majesty's Government.

I am, &c.
CH. WEIZMANN.

Enclosure 2 in No. 64.

L. Mallet to Dr. Weizmann.

July 1, 1919.

Dear Dr. Weizmann,

I HAVE read and shown to Mr. Balfour your letter of the 18th ultimo, submitting a programme of work in Palestine which you would like his authority immediately to carry out.

I understand that you have already received a letter from him for presentation to General Allenby asking him to discuss with you in detail whether there are any immediate questions which could be quietly taken up and "pushed forward a little" without waiting for further developmen[illegible]

You will no doubt raise with him the question of the Jaffa–Jerusalem railway, but, as you are aware, this railway is French property and the French [illegible] have already addressed His Majesty's Government several times with regard to its immediate return to French control, so that it is not possible for the British authorities to dispose of it.

Mr. Balfour doubts therefore whether it would serve any useful purpose to open a discussion of this question with the French Government at the present stage and thinks that it might possibly provoke inconvenient opposition if broached before the mandate is given to the British.

As regards the acquisition of the German colonies and town settlements, so long as the country is only in the military occupation of the British, they are not in a legal position to expropriate the German possessions, so that we fear that little can be done in this direction for the present.

The same argument applies to the Kaiserin Augusta Victoria Hospice, but it occurs to me that possibly an arrangement might be made for its provisional use by the Zionists as a temporary university building. This, however, is a matter on which General Clayton's advice would be valuable, as there may be practical reasons against its adoption.

No. 4 is also a matter for discussion with the local authorities. I, personally, think that it is the most useful suggestion in your letter. If a few of the best sort of Jewish immigrants were allowed to enter Palestine and to purchase land at good prices from Arabs who were willing to sell, the effect might be good, but, in view of the accounts which we have been receiving of the hostility felt by the inhabitants for the Jews, the greatest care and tact would have to be exercised and the immigrants carefully chosen. If there were any waste lands available on which settlement of demobilised soldiers could be unostentatiously begun, it would be very desirable.

The establishment of a shipping line for the transport of materials to Palestine is not one upon which the views of His Majesty's Government or of the Palestine authorities is presumably requ[illegible]

As regards your seventh suggestion, I fear the military authorities would not have legal power to grant permanent concessions to the Zionist Organisation.

Meanwhile, as you are aware, precautions have been adopted that no step shall be taken which will enable commercial interests, whether British or foreign, to establish themselves in Palestine or obtain control over land or industries until the decision of the conference enables His Majesty's Government to work out the full implication of their acceptance of a mandate for Palestine and of the policy of a national home for the Jews.

I have just heard that General Clayton is shortly due in London, so that you will have an opportunity of discussing these matters with him before going out.

Please understand that I am not raising these difficulties with a view to discourage you from trying to make some small begin[illegible]

When I enquired of you the other day whether some small practical work could not be begun, it was with a view to make your own position rather easier with your fellow Zionists, and I was really thinking more of the necessary preparation in the way of providing houses or at any rate provisional shelter for the first arrivals, of [illegible]ng beforehand in what regions the early immigrants would be placed, and of the

necessary organisation for the distribution of food than of concessions, but it is useful that these questions should all be discussed and I much hope that there will be some good result

Believe me, &c
LOUIS MALLET

[102545] No. 65.

Vice-Admiral Sir A. Calthorpe to Earl Curzon.—(Received July 11)

(No. 1021.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, June 27, 191*

WITH reference to my telegram No 1336 of the 24th June relative to the zone of the Greek occupation of Smyrna and disorder prevailing in the interior, I have the honour to forward herewith for your Lordship's in[illegible] Mr Ryan relative to a conversation which took place on the [illegible] my military attaché, and Sobri Effendi, the Grand Vizier *ad interim*, relative to the [illegible] being conducted in Turkey to carry out armed resistance to the peace terms

I have, &c
A. CALTHORPE, *High Commissioner*

Enclosure in No. 65

Memorandum by Mr. Ryan.

GENERAL DEEDES and I called on the Acting Grand Vizier [illegible] instructed, while the Council of Ministers were sittin[illegible] [illegible] omin[illegible] call on him This may have [illegible] had heard through the Minister of the Interior that we were thinking of a *démarche* of the kind, and welcomed the idea.

Anyhow, we made it clear to his Highness at the start that, even if he had not asked us to call, we had intended to come with a very important communication. We asked him to tell us what he wanted first

Sabri Effendi said that they were trying to get Mustafa Kemal back wit[illegible] driving him into revolt. He had countered a request for his return by a requ[illegible] reasons He had also telegraphed (I think to the Sultan) to say th[illegible] back he anticipated as possible the fate of Ali Ihsan Pasha. Sabri [illegible] know whether he (Mustafa Kemal) could [illegible] on that point [illegible] y nothing about this without taking instructions [illegible] closely connected wi h what we ourselves had come for, the best thing would be to make our communication straight away We had prepared it be[illegible] in Turkish and read it out, making it clear that it was a verbal communication of which no copy could be left, and which was read only as a matter of convenience. It was to the following

The High Commissioner, we said, had sent us to speak about a matter which had much preoccupied him for some days and which had now acquired a character [illegible] He had spoken to the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs and would speak to him again, but the matter was so serious that he desired also to draw the attention of the head of the Government to what was passing

There were many indications that [illegible] was being conducted in this country with a view to armed resistance to possible decisions of the [illegible] It was even said that the movement was definitely directed against the constit[illegible] that it was because of their known policy of compliance [illegible] The High Commissioner did not know how far [illegible] but the existence of an agitation admitted of no doubt. It was equally certain that certain military authorities were playing an active rôle in the agitat[illegible] The activities of Mustafa Kemal Pasha in the district of Samsoun left no d[illegible] this subject. The High Commissioner had been compelled a few days before to address to the Minister for Foreign Affairs a written demand for this officer's recall, and he awaited impatiently information that effect had been given to his demand. [illegible]

information from the district between Balikesser and Edremid, where certain military [illegible]

These activities constituted a further grave menace to the security of the country, which had long been seriously disturbed The High Commissioner had not yet discussed them with his colleagues, but, speaking for himself, he wished the A[illegible] [illegible] to lead to dangerous results. It should obviously be the aim of everyone to maintain [illegible] tranquillity until the [illegible] of the Peace Conference were known Anything in the nature of serious incidents or any attack on the constituted authorities of the country could not leave the British Government indifferent, and the High Commissioner did not think it could leave [illegible]

The authors of the agitation attempted to p[illegible] the legitimate advances by the Greek forces in th[illegible] if this were a justification, it had ceased to exist, as the limits of the Greek occupat[illegible] [illegible] taken to ensure observance by the Greeks of these limits The High Commissioner hoped that it would be possible in the very near future to inform the Porte officially of the limits of the occupation. [illegible] the effect produced by constant Greek advances, and the lack [illegible] to be occupied. He also dwelt on the insolence shown by the Greeks in many ways here. He admitted the existence of the agitation, however, and the impotence of the Government to deal really strongly with Mustafa Kemal Asked whether it was true [illegible] Fevzi Pasha was being sent Fauderme[illegible] he said the Council were considering a proposal in that sense. He was sure [illegible] Mustafa Kemal General Deedes and I suggested [illegible] that Fevzi Pasha might be very like him [illegible] of the Minister of the Interior, as being unequal to the situation, and [illegible] because of his irreligiousness He seemed very much inclined to try to replac[illegible] I reminded him that "le mieux est l'ennemi du bien."

A. RYAN

Constantinople, June 23, 1919

[104612] No. 66

Vice-Admiral Sir A. Calthorpe to Earl Curzon.—(Received July 18.)

(No. 1132.)
My Lord *Constantinople, July 5, 1919*

[illegible] information of your Lordship, [illegible] commander-in-chief, Mediterranean Station, [illegible] Aegean Squadron, relative to the naval measures to be taken as a result of the Italian decree establishing a naval base in the Dodecanese

I have, &c
A. CALTHORPE, *High Commissioner*

Enclosure 1 in No. 66

Commander-in-chief, Mediterranean Station, to the Commodore Commanding British Egean Squadron.

(No. 5505. Secret.) *H.M.S. "Iron Duke," June 28, 1919.*

HEREWITH is forwarded for your information a copy of an Italian decree [illegible] establishment of a naval command in Dodecanese.

2. The terms of the decree [illegible] these waters, and on the shores of Italians to inaugurate an exclusive Italian control in these waters, and on the shores of [illegible] mainland and it has already become apparent that they would, if they had the right, resent the presence of British ships in these parts.

[illegible] no account encourage this idea b[illegible] refraining from visiting these waters, or by acquiescing in the exclusive use by [illegible]

in these ports, most of which, according to international agreement, still come within the limits of the British Ægean command.

4. They should therefore be visited as frequently as the resources of your command permit, and it would appear that the sloop which up to the present has been normally stationed at Suda or Syra would generally be available for this service.

5. In this connection, it should be noted, that for the above purposes the limits of the Ægean command have been extended as far along the Karamanian coast as longitude 31° 50′ E. (see my communication of the 6th June, 1919, No. 5401).

A. CALTHORPE, *Vice-Admiral.*

Enclosure 2 in No. 66.

Extract from the "Official Gazette" of April 16, 1919.

[illegible]

[illegible] Collection Law and decree of the kingdom contains the following decree:—

We, Thomas of Savoy, Duke of Genoa, Lieutenant General of His Majesty [illegible] Manuel III, &c., in virtue of the authority delegated to us, in view of the Royal Decree of the 28th February, 1904, relative to the attributions and duties of commanders of naval stations abroad, in view of the regulation for military discipline for the naval forces of the 20th October, 1903, in view of the regulation on special duties afloat, approved by Royal Decree of the 16th May, 1907, and its successive modifications, recognising the necessity of uniting under a single command the ships scattered in the islands of Dodecanese and on the coasts of Asia Minor from the Gulf of Scala Nova to the south of Smyrna as far as Adalia and beyond, as well as the services of the Royal Navy on shore in the above localities, have decreed and decree:—

Single Article.

From March 16, 1919, there is established in the Dodecanese a "[illegible] Command" with coastal jurisdiction over the islands of the Dodecanese and [illegible] coast of Asia Minor from the Gulf of Scala Nova to the south of Smyrna [illegible] Adalia and beyond, under which are placed all the ships operating in these waters as well as the services of the Royal Navy on shore in the above localities. We order that the present Decree, to which the Seal of State is attached, be inserted in the [illegible] collection of the Laws and Decrees of the Kingdom of Italy, enjoining on all whom it may concern to observe it and cause it to be observed.

Given at Rome this 3rd day of March, 1919.

(Signed) THOMAS OF SAVOY.

DE BONO.

[illegible] keeper of the [illegible]

(Signed) [illegible]

105186 [illegible]

Mr. Balfour to Earl Curzon.—(Received July 21.)

(No. 1350.)

My Lord, *British Delegation, Paris, July 19, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's despatch No. 1183 of the 24th June enclosing a copy of a note from the French Ambassador relating to the [illegible]

2. It seems clear that no responsibility [illegible] Majesty's Government for anything that occurred up to the date when British military forces occupied the territory in which the railway is situated, and any [illegible] based by the French company upon proceedings before that date must be [illegible] against the Turkish Government and not against His Majesty's Government.

3. The French company's case for compensation for any action taken by British military authorities after the date of occupation appears to rest on article 53, second paragraph, of the Land War Regulations, according to which the railway should be "restored and indemnities for it regulated at the peace."

4. In order to reply to the French Ambassador satisfactorily on this aspect of the [illegible] under your Lordship's cover [illegible] authorities showing clearly what has been done to the line during the period of occupation. If, as seems probable, the railway has been improved during this period His Majesty's Government will have a complete answer to both parts of the French [illegible]

5. As regards the French company's claim against the Turkish Government, the [illegible] which it is proposed to establish to deal with such reparation claims [illegible] line has not been improved, the company will be presumably entitled to require that the future Government of Palestine should restore the line to the position in which it was when the British military authorities took it over. It seems, however, likely that if His Majesty's Government secure a mandate in Palestine they may desire to expropriate the railway and make it a State concern, in which case the problem of compensation might be simplified, as it would only be necessary to give the company fair compensation for the loss of their property without going into the question of what has been done to the line by His Majesty's Government during the occupation period. Such power to expropriate private interests in the line will probably be granted to the mandatory by a general clause dealing with concessions in territories [illegible] Turkey, whether this clause be eventually inserted in the treaty with Turkey [illegible] instrument determining the mandates of the territories ceded by [illegible]

6. The reply to M. Cambon might await the result of the report from the military [illegible] the line has been improved, M. Cambon should be so informed, and details of the actual improvements [illegible] In any case it should be added that His Majesty's Government admit no claim whatever against [illegible] satisfies the present position of His Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.

(For Mr. Balfour),

EYRE A. CROWE.

105777) No. 68

Vice-Admiral Sir A. Calthorpe to Earl Curzon.—(Received July 22.)

No. 1127.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, June 30, 1919.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 1358, of the 29th June 1919, and other recent correspondence relative to the general situation here, I have the honour to transmit herewith a translation of a circular issued by the late Minister of the Interior on the 18th June and published a few days later in the local press.

2. Ali Kemal Bey's personality has never inspired great confidence, but it must [illegible] popularity [illegible] pose issue with the chauvinist elements, who wish to organise physical resistance to any extension of Greek occupation, and possibly to unwelcome decisions generally of the Peace Conference.

3. The enclosed circular is one of the factors which finally compelled Ali Kemal Bey's retirement.

4. It was intimated to him definitely by the acting Grand Vizier (not himself a chauvinist, but anxious to hold on) that if he did not retire, the Cabinet as a whole would resign.

5. As his position was rapidly becoming untenable in any case, he complied with the strong hint and tendered his resignation with the results indicated in my telegram under reference.

I have, &c.

A. CALTHORPE,

High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 68

Circular issued by the Minister of the Interior.

LE CALME EN PROVINCE

APRÈS l'avoir fait approuver par le Conseil des Ministres, Ali Kemal Bey, Ministre de l'Intérieur, a envoyé la circulaire suivante à tous les vilayets:

Tout en étant vivement ému de l'occupation brutale et contraire à tous les droits, effectuée sur certaines parties de l'Empire, le Gouvernement ottoman, n'étant pas en état de faire la guerre présentement, a jugé que les moyens politiques sont sa seule défense. Grâce à Dieu, ces moyens réussissent complètement.

Notre espoir concernant l'assurance de l'intégrité de l'Empire, que nos délégués [illegible] s'abstenir de toute formation de milice ou de défense nationale, qui ne pourraient que compromettre les résultats [illegible]

Il faut donc prodiguer des conseils à tous ceux qui troublent la tranquillité publique, qui provoquent le mécontentement des représentants des Puissances alliées, en agissant à façon de semer la discorde entre éléments. Alors que nous sommes obligés de clore à jamais les périodes de brigandage, de pillage, et d'inégalité, nous ne pourrons tolérer en aucune façon la résurrection de cet état d'âme, qui, pouvant être jugé antitétique, nous ferait perdre notre cause à la Conférence de la Paix.

Ne reculez donc devant aucun moyen pour réprimer avec la dernière énergie tout [illegible] à tous ceux qui, poussés par l'excès de zèle envers la patrie, se jettent dans [illegible] aventures pareilles. Agissez sans hésitation contre ceux qui persévèrent dans leurs [illegible], guidés par une ligne de conduite et par intérêt qu'ils ont adopté dans le passé. Tâchez de faire comprendre à tous que nous possédons enfin un Gouvernement énergique [illegible] travaille de toutes ses forces à la restauration et au maintien du droit et de la concorde entre les éléments. Voilà le devoir sacré qui incombe aujourd'hui à tous, [illegible] devoir dont vous êtes conscients, et je vous fais savoir que, dans l'intérêt supérieur de la patrie, je n'hésiterai pas à frapper avec une rigueur extraordinaire tous ceux qui n'obtempéreront pas aux instructions précises que je vous mande.

ALI KEMAL,
Ministre de l'Intérieur.

Le 18 juin 1335

105779] No. 69

Vice-Admiral Sir A. Calthorpe to Earl Curzon.—(Received July 22.)

(No. 1129.)

[illegible] *Constantinople*

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith copies of a report [illegible] section of this High Commission by the representative of [illegible] Patriarchate, which is a fair specimen of the reports received weekly during the last month or more.

2. While in several cases it is probable that the provincial representatives of the Patriarchate somewhat exaggerate the present state of affairs in the interior, there is no doubt that it is very far from satisfactory. Reports similar to the enclosed are being received by me almost daily from all sections of the Christian [illegible] districts of the interior of Asia Minor and Thrace wi[illegible] occupation of the Allies.

[illegible]

Christian[illegible]

I have, &c.
A. CALTHORPE, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure in No. 69.

Report.

Samsoun, May 27.

FIFTY Armenians deported from Samsoun, Tcharshamba, Baffra, Tokat, &c., have arrived at Samsoun from Sokhoon in a very poor and miserable condition. There is no means to feed them. The houses of most of them are [illegible] T[illegible] intending to demolish the houses of the newly returning by night. [illegible] tiles of such houses are carried off in open daylight even in a city like Samsoun.

In the vicinities of Samsoun, 400 out of the 500 Armenian houses are pulled [illegible]

[illegible] the number of Armenians, both those that have remained [illegible] and those that have been deported but have now returned, [illegible] are also 400–500 orphans detained in Turkish houses.

[illegible] chairman of the Emigrants' [illegible] Samsoun. He [illegible] travelling expenses to be paid to emigrants. He has even proposed to pay only half of the fixed amount.

The 600–700 and the Islamised young ladies of a considerable number, found in the diocese of Samsoun, have not yet been gathered on account of the lack of means to take car[illegible]

Malatia, May 28.

Great preparations for resistance are going on. The Kurdish chieftains of Arabkir, Madan, Petourg, and other sanjaks and kazas, are united with the Turks and grow [illegible] They declare that since they are to die anyway, it is better for them to die as bravely as possible.

More than 400 orphans and widows who have been gathered are thrust into great misery, and need immediate relief.

The orphans that are found [illegible] kazas and villages are not being handed over, but made to labour gratis by the Turks.

Sivas, May 2.

Meeting on the occasion of the occ[illegible] Fiery speeches and orations. Threat to declare "djihad" [illegible] threatening telegram of the Grand Vizier sent to the Council of Four has strongly [illegible] the Turks and rendered them more [illegible]

Fatsa (Samsoun), March 28.

An attempt is made to kill Hovhannès Boumian of Hovagar village of the Kaza [illegible], who was neither exiled nor Islamised. His house is burnt by night, and two members of his family die in fire, while others who try to escape are shot down. The man escapes and comes to Fatsa, where he remains with other poor Armenians in need of support and security.

[illegible], May 23.

Means are lacking to support the 600–700 orphans now found in the diocese of Samsoun, and relief is asked with urgency. The Americans do not wish to supply [illegible] stating that they are already caring for 400–500 Greek orphans.

[illegible] on condition that the Armenians supply the [illegible] of the institution.

[illegible] gathering the Islamised girls and women. Even the few gathered are escaping on account of the lack of proper care.

Malatia, May 25.

Appreciation of Governor Rahmi Bey, who tries to guarantee the general security.

Yozgat, June 2.

The Government is prosecuting ten Armenians of Indjirli, who, after completi[illegible] their military service with twenty-nine other compa[illegible]s, had returned to their houses, and have been now accused of murder.

Arab Oghlou Abdulrahman, a notorious lawyer, who had been instrumental in organising massacres, is [illegible] ming a political party named "Midetpervéran" (patriots), the aim of which is to excite provocation and prepare massacres. His dismissal from office is urgently asked.

[illegible] June 4.

Insecurity dominates. The returning Armenians are threatened by [illegible] Accusations have been made against Ghevont Seraidarian and Yervant Apkarian as [illegible] they had killed a Turk four years and a half ago in the neighbourhood of [illegible] Gul village. Also Harootune Malian, Khatcher Khatcherian, Nigoghossian (Mukhtar), Isahag Donigian, and Kerovpé Yesmayan have been cl[illegible] with the murder of a Turkish emigrant at the place called Tash Oljaghi, half-an-hour distant from the city. Besides these, Garabet Tel[illegible]tchian Arshaloun Tashjian, Khosrov Sirogian, Hagop Tchokirian, and Ha[illegible] Kotchakian are also accused as [illegible]red a Turk in the forests [illegible]

[illegible]rs have been issued for the arrest of all these innocent persons.

Since three months Hodja Kokya Medzad [illegible], of Satchle village, is being kept in prison accused of having killed a gendarme, while it is already verified by the military authorities that he was serving in the Turkish Army at the time when he is said to have committed the crime.

If the situation be not ameliorated, the returning young men will be obliged to go to Constantinople or somewhere else, and the orphans and widows will be left without any supporting hand.

Bogtoshian, May 27.

It is complained that the attorney-general Refik Bey and examining judge Mustafa Bey are defending the [illegible] of massacres, and obstructing their arrest. [illegible] notables of the Turkish notability, are instigating their [illegible] ambulate the returning Armenians.

[illegible]d to this end, and also sent the notorious Ormanlu Hassan to the [illegible] purpose of supplying false witnesses against Ar[illegible] [illegible]f trying the case of the awful crimes perpetrated upon the Armenians, [illegible]nment is busied with the examination of false accusations against them.

Brousa, June 7.

Ibrahim, the Union and Progress delegate of Brousa, and the ex-mayor Mouktar, [illegible] the awful massacre on Mount Armanos, are still not arrested [illegible]

Emin Bey, one of the employees of the "Regie" at Brousa and the father of Halidé Edib Hanoum, the writer and orator, is continually coming to Constantinople in order to visit and consult the above-named Ibrahim and similar criminals, who are [illegible]pposed to be connected with certain plots.

Denek Marsen, June 5.

Lack of security continues. The ignorant population does not have any idea about [illegible] certain criminals who h[illegible] disappeared have, on the occasion of Smyrna [illegible] reappeared on the scene and begin their disastrous activity.

A captain from Beyolu village, Kazim Bey by name, who was a deserter, is now organising a band of [illegible] to [illegible] of 150 persons of whom are notorious with their criminal past. The local G[illegible] of these happenings, yet tolerates them with absolute [illegible]

Nicomedia, June [illegible]

Eighteen years old Samuel, of Arslanbeg village, is found murdered on the 7th instant, at ten minutes' distance from the farm of Ali Kouyu where he used to work.

Another Armenian from the same village is shot while labouring in the fields [illegible] Bardizag, but fortunately he is not wounded. It is becoming impossible to work in open air in these regions.

Karadjabey (Brousa), June 9.

Out of 180 families, only 40 have survived and returned [illegible] Tchorkes Ali Bey, of a neighbouring village, is very active in cultivating relations w[illegible]

members of the Union and Progress. It is rumoured that he will gather 2,000 Circassians and declare Bolshevism. The Armenians run the danger of being the first victims of that movement. The Greeks have also grown anxious, and have sent a report to their Patriarchat.

Balukesir, [illegible]

Insecurity is at a climax. Massacres are threatened every day. [illegible] vernor has notified the Armenian and Greek "Mukhtars" to facilitate the conscription of soldiers whenever the need arises, threatening them with appearing before the court-martial.

The existing insecurity, along with this plan for conscription, has created a state of hopelessness.

The comparatively well-to-do class of returning Armenians has begun to migrate to Smyrna and Constantinople, while the poorer class, which was just beginning to earn a living, is being obliged to sell all belongings at even a lower price than that of the deportation period, and to depart as soon as possi[illegible]

The British military representative of Panderma has visited Balukesir, but the request of the Armenians for the extension of protection over them has not been [illegible] no account of the lack of forces to be sent there.

[102622] **No. 70**

Earl Curzon to Mr. Wardrop

Sir, *Foreign Office, [illegible] 22, 1919.*

I HAVE to inform you that you are appointed to proceed on a sp[illegible] political mission to Transcaucasia, with the title of Chief British Commissioner.

Although the *de facto* authority of the Governments of Georgia, the Armenian Republic of Erevan, and of Azerbaijan has not as yet been formally recognised by His M[illegible]at, you will be required to keep in close touch with these Govern[illegible] [illegible]ned of your mission through their Delegations at the Peace [illegible]ference in Paris.

You will be accompanied by a staff composed of Mr. Vice-Consul T. E. Milligan Grundy, Mr. Vice-Consul J. A. Waite, and another secretary to be selected.

The objects of your mission, in addition to that already mentioned, will be [illegible]

(a.) [illegible] to report on the political situation in Transcaucasia.

(b.) To do your utmost to prevent friction between the volunteer army and the Transcaucasian Republics, and to ensure respect for the line to be drawn between [illegible]spective spheres.

Should this line at any time in the future be so defined as to be [illegible] the territory of [illegible] the North Caucasian Republic, on its southern side, you will be requi[illegible] to maintain relations with its Government in the same way as with those of the three Transcaucasian Republics already mentioned, and in any case you should endeavour to obtain information as to the political situation in Daghestan and report from time to time to His Majesty's Government.

(c.) So far as the personnel at your disposal and the circumstances permit, to advance the interests of British trade in Transcaucasia and to report on trade matters.

[illegible] as remain in Transcaucasia, matters of a pure[illegible] [illegible]neral Officer Commanding [illegible] [illegible] States mentioned, you will be independent of the [illegible] [illegible]ugh you should make a point of consulting the General Officer Commanding in the various questions which may arise. It will at the same time be the duty of the General Officer Commanding in so far as political questions may affect his work, to consult with you, and not to act without your advice and consent.

[illegible] Office, with the exception that, in [illegible]s of supply and relief, your communications should be made direct to the Supreme [illegible]ne Council in Paris, and in matters of trade to the Department of Overseas [illegible] Copies of your communications with these bodies should be sent to the Foreign [illegible] in the case of relief and supply, to His Majesty's High Commissioner at [illegible]

X 2

Constantinople for communication to the representative of the Supreme Economic Council at that place.

Detailed accounts of the expenditure of the mission should, of course, be kept, and it will be convenient that the first account should be rendered in respect of the period from the commencement of the mission to the 30th September next. Accounts should be rendered quarterly thereafter. Suitable forms of accounts and vouchers will be supplied by the ch[illegible]rk to the member of the mission who will be charged with the preparation of the accounts.

I have &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[107336 No. 7

Earl Curzon to Mr. Balfour.

(No. [illegible]070.)

Sir,

Foreign Office, [illegible]

IN the course [illegible] conversation with the Italian Ambassador to-day, I [illegible] he could give me offi[illegible]ormation of the information which had reached me [illegible] ago from Paris that th[illegible] Italian Government had abandoned their intention to take [illegible]ther of the Caucasus or the Caspian (see your despatch No. 1257, 14909, of the 10th instant).

I told him that we [illegible] that this was the case and [illegible]ng [illegible]ents to hand over the Caspian flotilla to General Denikin prior to the withdrawal of the military forces from the Caucasus.

The Marquis Imperiali replied that he believed me to be correctly represented the de[illegible] age of policy when M. Tittoni became Foreign Minister. He would, however, telegraph to his G[illegible] to obtain offi[illegible] of the fact.

I have, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[109747 No. 72.

Vice-Admiral Sir A. Calthorpe to Earl Curzon. (*Received July 30.*)

(No. 1230.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, July 17, 1919.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith for the infor[illegible] of your Lordship a copy of a letter of the 2nd July, which I have addressed to the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, relative to the removal of General Mustapha Kemal Pasha [illegible] Djemal Pasha from their [illegible], and copy of the reply received thereto of the 10th July.

A copy of this despatch is being sent to Mr. Balfour in Paris.

I have, &c.
A. CALTHORPE, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure 1 in No. 72.

Vice-Admiral Sir A. Calthorpe to Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Sir,

Constantinople, July 2, 1919.

I HAVE the honour to inform your Excellency that, from reports received there [illegible] to be a [illegible]ous movement in the districts of Sivas and Konia, having as its [illegible] and the formation of armed bands and action contrary to the interests of the Allies.

2. This movement appears to be direct[illegible] of the Committee of Union and Progress, and to contemplate action indepen[illegible] of the Ottoman Government.

3. The principal instigators of this movement are General Mustapha Kemal Pash[illegible] and General Dje[illegible]

[illegible] Army of the Black Sea, requested the Ottoman Minister of War to remove General Mustapha Kemal Pasha from his appointment. An order to this effect was despatched to that officer by the Ottoman Minister of War on the 8th June, but so far it has not been complied with.

5. I addressed a letter to your Excellency on the 17th June in the same sense, but no reply has been given to my letter nor has any effect been given to the request contained therein.

[illegible] Excellency [illegible] the gravity of the information which is being received from the interior, to the [illegible] recalling to Constantinople, without conditions and without delay, both Generals Mustapha Kemal and Djemal Pashas.

7. I request that I may be immediately informed what action is taken on receipt of my letter, a copy of which is being forwarded to His Britannic Majesty's [illegible]

I have, &c.
A. CALTHORPE, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure 2 in No. 72.

Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs to Vice-Admiral Sir A. Calthorpe.

M. le Haut Commissaire,

Constantinople, le 10 juillet 1919.

J'AI eu l'honneur de recevoir la note que votre Excellence a bien voulu m'adresser, le 2 juillet, concernant l'agitation qui régnerait à Sivas et à Konia et la nécessité de [illegible] à Constantinople les Généraux Moustapha Kemal et Djémal Pachas.

[illegible] réponse, je m'empresse d'informer votre Excellence que Kemal Pacha, [illegible] Constantinople, a été relevé, par iradé Impérial, de ses fonctions d'inspecteur de la troisième zone militaire. Il n'a donc pas aucune qualité officielle. Ce fait a été porté à la connaissance de toutes les autorités civiles et militaires de ladite zone.

Quant à Djémal Pacha, inspecteur d'armée à Konia, il se trouve déjà à Constantinople depuis plus d'une semaine.

En ce qui concerne l'agitation susvisée, je me permettrai de faire observer tout d'abord qu'elle n'existait pas avant l'occupation de Smyrne par les troupes helléniques [illegible] Elle est due, avant tout, à l'indignation profonde causée par l'invasion absolument injustifiée d'autres troupes dans le vilayet d'Aydin et le caza d'Izicemid et aux horreurs [illegible] nées par elles de connivence avec les bandes grecques qu'elles ont formées sur les lieux.

[illegible] on des populations musulmanes a encore été accrue par les bruits [illegible] tant l'extension du territoire de la République arménienne jusqu'à Sivas, et la [illegible]tion dans le vilayet de Trébizonde d'un nouvel État grec sous le nom de République du Pont.

A cette surexcitation, parfaitement compréhensible, des musulmans s'est ajouté naturellement le souci de défendre leur honneur, leur vie et leurs biens en cas où de nouvelles mises en vedettaient à avoir lieu [illegible] les massacres, les viols et les déprédations de toute nature commis par les [illegible] laissent pas que de justifier l'effervescence et les inquiétudes de la population dont il s'agit, le Gouvernement Impérial, dans son vif désir de maintenir la sécurité dans le pays et de prévenir toute perturbation, n'a pas manqué et ne manque pas de travailler, par tous les moyens qui lui restent, à l'apaisement des esprits et de recommander toujours la modération.

Je suis porté à croire qu'il vaut mieux ne pas avoir recours en pareille circonstance à des mesures de violence extrêmes qui pourraient bien avoir pour résultat une plus [illegible] même [illegible] au cas où l'effectif de l'armée ottomane n'aurait pas été considérablement réduit, [illegible]

[illegible] ins, les autorités Impériales des[illegible] provinces, conformément aux ordres [illegible] et réitérés qui leur ont été donnés, déploient tout leur zèle pour maintenir l'ordre et la sécurité qui, heureusement, ne peut pas être considérée comme étant troublée [illegible] devoir d'attirer une nouvelle fo[illegible] votre Excellence sur le fait que des associations d'agitateurs politiques, [illegible] et aidées par certaines institutions ecclésiastiques, tâchent de provoquer des [illegible]

exaspérer l'élément musulman et de l'amener à [illegible] excès. Le but qu'elles poursuivent est évident, comme j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de le relever. Elles veulent, par là, jeter le discrédit et l'opprobre sur le peuple turc, [illegible] opinion que le Gouvernement est impuissant à remplir ses devoirs et obtenir [illegible] la réalisation de toutes les visées et convoitises grecques.

[illegible] terminer, je me permettrai de dire que le moyen le plus efficace de calmer [illegible] d'assurer le règne de la tranquillité serait de mettre les troupes hellènes en demeure d'évacuer les territoires qu'elles ont envahis en Asie Mineure, au mépris des droits les plus incontestables du Gouvernement ottoman et de la nation turque, et qu'elles continuent à souiller [illegible] heux avec l'assistance des t[illegible] grecques.

[illegible] d'intérim des Affaires Etrang[illegible]

[109749] No. 73

Vice-Admiral Sir A. Calthorpe to Earl Curzon.—(Received July 30.)

(No. 1[illegible])

My Lord, *Constantinople, July 17, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith for the information of your Lordship copy of a report dated the 27th June which I have received from my representative at Smyrna relative to recent events at Pergama.

2. A copy of this despatch is being sent to Mr. Balfour in Paris.

I have, &c.

A. CALTHORPE, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure in No. 73.

Representative of British High Commissioner, Smyrna and Aidin Vilayet, to British High Commissioner, Constantinople.

(No. 50/11.) *June 27, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to submit the following report on Pergama, supplied by various witnesses including Jews, Armenians, and Moslems:—

The town of Pergama contained some 30,000 inhabitants. Owing to the expulsion of Greeks just before the war there were no Greeks in the town, the inhabitants being Moslems, Jews, and Armenians. About the 12th June some 800 Gr[illegible] the town and stayed there until the 15th, when the Greek [illegible] that Turkish irregulars had concentrated outside the town [illegible] and threatened that in case they made common action with the irregulars the town would be burned. In the evening of the 15th, the irregulars being now near the town, the Greek troops engaged with them, but in a short time they (the Greeks) were put to flight. A few escaped to Menemen. The irregulars entered the town, and for two [illegible] indiscriminately Jews, Armenians, and Turks. The total number of [illegible] 100.

The Turkish irregulars shot two Turks in front of the Government for having manifested sentiments of goodwill towards the Greeks. A third Turk was wounded, and it is said that one Jewish woman and an Armenian were killed. The irregulars, who were about 3,000 in number, seemed to have come from Panderma, Bankesir, Soma, &c. After pillaging for two days, it was reported that Greek troops had landed at Dikili, and the irregulars went out to meet them. The people of the town seeing [illegible] badly for the irr[illegible] Pergama, began to get alarmed as to their fate at the hands of the Greeks, although they allege that they had taken no part in any action against the Greeks or their [illegible] leaving nothing to chance, the greater part of the Moslem population fled [illegible] the arrival of the Greeks, and are now scattered about Soma and [illegible] having lost practically all their possessions and being without food or homes. These [illegible] Soma are still in a state of alarm, as they have heard that the Greeks have occupied Kirik, some three hours from Soma. In order to remedy this state of affairs, it would be necessary that all these people should be sent back to their homes, but they refuse to go without a guarantee of some *Entente* Pow[illegible]

JAMES MORGAN.

[109762] No. 74

Vice-Admiral Sir A. Calthorpe to Earl Curzon.—(Received July 30.)

(No. 1246.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, July 20, 19[illegible]*

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith for your Lordship's information copy of a report dated the 1st July from my representative at Smyrna, relative to a meeting held by the High Commissioners' delegates to discuss the Greek evacuation of Aidin.

I have, &c.

A. CALTHORPE, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure in No. 74.

Representative of British High Commissioner, Smyrna and Aidin Vilayet, to Commodore Commanding British Egean Squadron, Smyrna.

(No. 142/11.) *July 1, [illegible]*

I HAVE the honour to inform you that at to-day's meeting of the delegates of the High Commissioners the Greek evacuation of Aidin was discussed.

We were of opinion that the Turks are aware that the Greeks have only been authorised to occupy a part of the sanjak of Smyrna, and that they are likely to go on attacking the Greeks until the Greeks are driven within their proper limits.

In these circumstances fighting between Turks and Greeks is likely to go on until the Greeks are driven back (if they are driven back) to Ayasolak. Such fighting will naturally be accompanied by massacre, pillage, and incendiarism on both sides, and by the flight from their homes of both Christians and Moslem inhabitants.

In these circumstances the delegation thought it might be best if the Greeks were to withdraw within the sanjak of Smyrna after due public warning of their intention to evacuate territory at present held by them had been given, and after some arrangements had been come to between a Commission of Allied Officers and the Turks that the latter should refrain from any further activity.

The French and Italian delegates were of opinion that a Turkish attack might also be expected in the Manisa district, with the object of driving the Greeks out of Kassabi and Manisa, both of which towns are outside the Smyrna Sanjak.

How far the Turkish attacks are actuated by a desire to push the Greeks back into the limits assigned to them remains to be seen.

[illegible] Turks, in the eventuality of their driving the Greeks back into the [illegible] stop at the sanjak frontier?

In fact, the possibility of having to hold in readiness, from now on, *Entente* troops, guns and material to be landed in support of the Greeks may have to be taken into [illegible] consideration.

The use by the Turks of Aidin of cannon against Greeks who, for the moment at least, had been authorised by the *Entente* to stay in Aidin, raises the question as to whether Turks in now attacking Greeks are not making war on the *Entente*, and thus violating the Armistice.

I think the Turkish Government ought to be asked to define its attitude in [illegible] tion with the Aidin incident.

JAMES MORGAN.

[109763]

Vice-Admiral Sir A. Calthorpe to Earl Curzon.—(Received July 30.)

(No. [illegible]) *Constantinople, July 20, 1919.*

WITH reference to recent correspondence relative to the effects of the Greek occupation of Smyrna, I have the honour to transmit herewith a message addressed to Mr. Balfour by the Shaikh-ul-Islam, who was Acting Grand Vizier in the absence of Ferid Pasha, when he sent it to me, and, I understand, to the other High Commissioners also.

The message was enclosed in a short letter from the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs [illegible] sage should be transmitted by telegraph. The note was delivered by the private secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who was charged with a personal message from Sefa Bey entreating me on his own behalf also to do something to put an end to the deplorable incidents which had arisen out of the occupation of Smyrna.

3. The member of my staff to whom the note was handed could only [illegible] so far as this High Commission was concerned, every endeavour was being [illegible] put a stop to these incidents by obtaining a clear definition of the limits of the Greek occupation. I fear, however, that after so many weeks during which the question has made no progress this assurance has worn rather thin.

4. I have not thought it necessary to transmit the Sheikh ul Islam's message by telegraph, and it adds nothing to what is already fully known in Paris and London.

5. Copies of this despatch and [illegible] been sent to the Peace Delegation.

[illegible]

A. CALTHORPE, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure in No. 7.

Sheikh-ul-Islam's Message to Mr. Balfour.

S. Excellence.

APRÈS l'occupation de la ville de Smyrne, occupation que rien ne justifiait [illegible] lours, les troupes hellènes se sont étendues graduellement sur les autres parties [illegible] vilayet. Elles y ont occupé différentes localités dont les populat[illegible] grande majorité ou en totalité musulmanes. L'entrée de troupes hellènes dans chacune de ces localités est suivie de toutes sortes de violences et d'atrocités contre l'élément [illegible] sont incendiées et leurs habitants mis à mort [illegible] ne sont pas épargnées. Celles-ci sont violées et [illegible]

[illegible] été le sort de la ville d'Aidin, une des principales villes de la province, ainsi que d'autre localités où l'énorme majorité de la population est musulmane.

Des milliers de musulmans ont péri, et plus de 150,000 ont été obligés, pour échapper au massacre et aux horreurs, de quitter leurs foyers et de se réfugier à l'intérieur du pays où ils se trouvent actuellement [illegible] dénuement complet.

Ces faits pourraient être constatés facilement par une commission d'enquête dont nous sollicitons l'envoi immédiat sur les [illegible]

[illegible] sans compter les indigènes qui s'en étaient éloignés.

Ce fait rapproché de ceux qui précèdent ne permet pas de douter que le but poursuivi est évidemment de faire disparaître les musulmans en les exterminant systématiquement ou en les obligeant à quitter leurs foyers sous l'influence de la terreur et de les remplacer par des Grecs.

Profondément ému par le danger qui menace les populations musulmanes du vilayet [illegible] nt Impérial croit de son devoir de le signaler à la bienveillante [illegible]

Le Gouvernement Impérial est persuadé que ces Puissances ne manqueront pas, dans leur haute et juste appréciation, de prendre toutes les dispositions qu[illegible] jugeront efficaces pour mettre fin à une situation qui, il en a la ferme conviction, ne répond ni à leurs intentions ni aux sentiments de justice et d'équité dont elles sont animées envers [illegible]

La plus juste de ces dispositions et celle qui répondrait en même temps le mieux aux principes du Président Wilson serait évidemment la prompte évacuation par les Hellènes des territoires qu'ils ont occupés en Asie Mineure et sur lesquels ils n'ont aucun droit valable.

(Grand Vizir *ad interim* le Cheikh ul Islam.)

MOUSTAFA SABRI.

[112576] **No. 76.**

Colonel French to Earl Curzon.—(Received August 6.)

General Headquarters, Egyptian Expeditionary Force,
July 19, 1919.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I have now received various accounts of the ideas formed and the conclusions reached by the American commissioners who are examining the conditions in Palestine and Syria.

The most important of these ideas and conclusions are as follows:

1. [illegible] represented by occupied enemy territory (East) will not accept France peaceably as mandatory Power.
2. That the Zionist programme for Palestine can only be carried through against the wishes of the people and by force. The opposition of the non-Jewish portion of the population was not at all realised by the members of the Commission before they reached the country.
3. That Arab national aspirations to semi-independence under an Anglo-Saxon regis are worthy of encouragement.
4. That the general wish of the people is for a United Syria.

The commissioners have formed a high opinion of British officials in occupied [illegible] territory and of British systems of administration.

I have, &c.,

C. FRENCH, *Colonel,*
Acting Chief Political Officer,
Egyptian Expeditionary Force.

[109680] **No. 77.**

Earl Curzon to Sir G. Grahame.

(No. 1041.)

[illegible]

I HAVE received your despatch No. 738 of the 27th ultimo, enclosing a copy of an article by M. Robert de Caix, which appeared in a recent issue of the "Bulletin de l'Asie française," attacking the British administration and policy in Syria, and your subsequent telegrams reporting similar attacks on the part of other French newspapers.

The recrudescence, after some weeks of silence, of these quite unjustifiable [illegible] upon His Majesty's Government in the French press causes me serious [illegible]

[illegible] M. Cambon I accordingly sent for M. de Fleuriau, who was received by Sir Ronald Graham.

Sir Ronald Graham spoke very strongly, and pointed out that what amounted to [illegible] campaign against [illegible] appeared to be in progress. It had started in the "Bulletin de l'Asie française," and had been continued in the "[illegible] Journal," the "Démocratie nouvelle," and the "Pays." The accusations [illegible] Ma[illegible] the French Government. They were generally extravagant, and many of them had already been disproved. It was unnecessary to dwell on the true facts with [illegible] Britain relative on the Syrian question, as they had already been [illegible] in conversations with M. Cambon. It was perhaps possible that subordinate British agents in Syria had shown an anti-French bias, although this had not been proved.

Sir R. Graham went on to say that certain fresh allegations had been made [illegible] by the French Embassy, such as the unwarranted arrest of eight Arab chiefs at Homs and Field-Marshal Allenby had at once been called upon for a report, but it [illegible] to point out that previous allegations of a similar nature which had formed the subject of enquiry had been proved to be of the flimsiest nature. The French Government [illegible] Allenby [illegible] or against His Majesty's Government. Their whole position in Syria was dependent [illegible] support. Our services [illegible] perfectly correct. We had categorically, repeatedly, and publicly disclaimed any

intention of accepting a mandate for Syria, and had, in so far as was possible, supported [illegible] popularity and the want of confidence which they inspired. Field-Marshal Allenby [illegible] act with great discretion in order to avoid an explosion, and when he expressed fears that the decrease of British or the increase of French troops in those regions would produce a collision with the Arabs his fears were genuine. It was true that M. Cambon affected to disbelieve the possibility of any such danger, [illegible] officer on the spot was presumably the better judge.

[illegible] Government were now faced with what might be described as an [illegible] in the French press. Its systematic continuance in a series of French newspapers made it appear that, if not organised, it must at least be [illegible] by the French Government, although His Majesty's Government would [illegible] ything of the kind was p[illegible].

Sir Ronald Graham reminded M. de Fleuriau that a campaign of a somewhat [illegible] nature had been conducted in the Italian press with the connivance of the Italian Government. It was directed against the aims of Italy, and had ended not only in exciting public feeling in that country to a dangerous extent, but had finally passed out of the control of the Italian Government, and had overwhelmed them. There was a danger of these French attacks embittering French feeling against this [illegible], and they would certainly lead to replies in the British press and to polemics [illegible] tal to our good relations with France. Moreover, so serious a [illegible] by His Majesty's Government that it [illegible] would feel compelled to take steps, either by a public statement or otherwise, to bring the true facts of the situation to the public [illegible].

M. de Fleuriau accepted all that was said in extremely good part. He declared that he had no wish to discuss the rights or wrongs of the British attitude on the question of Syria or the grievances which the French Government entertained on the subject. He entirely agreed that press articles of the nature indicated were most undesirable. They could serve no useful purpose, and must lead to mutual [illegible]. He took careful note of the names of the papers in which [illegible] and promised to call the im[illegible] and to repeat Sir Ronald Graham's observations as to them.

M. de Fleuriau said that he felt certain that neither M. Pichon nor the Fr[illegible] Government were in any way responsible for the articles in question, and had given no [illegible].

M. de Fleuriau added that there might be subordinate Brit[illegible] who did not carry out the wishes and intentions of His Majesty's Gove[illegible] there were certainly subordinate French agents in Paris who wrote in the press and could not be trusted to follow the lines which the French Government recommended. He enquired whether a representation on the same lines as that addressed to him by [illegible] His Majesty's Embassy in [illegible].

You should, therefore, take the earliest opportunity to make represent[illegible] the French Government in accordance with the terms of Sir Ronald G[illegible] statement.

A copy of this despatch has been sent to Mr. Balfour.

I am, &c.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

115267

Earl Curzon to Mr. Lindsay.

No. 4[illegible]

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 11, 1919.

THE American Ambassador called upon me at his own request this afternoon in order to enquire about the position in the Caucasus.

By a fortunate coincidence, there had arrived only twenty-four hours before a letter from Mr. Balfour, in Paris, in which, anticipating the massacres that were almost universally prophesied as certain to follow our contemplated evacuation of the [illegible] attempt should be made to interest the American Government as the possible future mandatory for Armenia, in the subject of the Caucasus, and that we might even

delay the concluding stages of our withdrawal if we could induce the American Government to send military forces to take the place of ours.

I accordingly explained the situation with complete frankness to Mr. Davis; told him the circumstances in which we had decided to withdraw our troops; explained the stage which arrangements for withdrawal had already reached; referred to the abortive attempt to introduce the Italians on to the scene, and confirmed Mr. Balfour's apprehensions as to the local consequences that might be expected to follow the departure of our troops.

I then asked the Ambassador these questions: Did he think that th[illegible] Government were at all likely to entertain such a request if it was made to t[illegible]? Had they the troops available in Europe or elsewhere who could be used f[illegible] purpose? Was it likely that Congress would be willing to accept [illegible] Armenia or any other portion, larger or smaller, of the Turkish Empire? [illegible] was the earliest date at which such a decision might conceivably be [illegible] a Government decided to assume responsibility for Armenia, was it probable that they would extend their interest to the Caucasus as well?

Ambassador was very careful to explain in reply that he could not speak authoritatively or officially for his Government on any of these matters. In so far, however, as he was entitled to express an *a priori* opinion, he had very little difficulty in doing so. In the first place, he said that the Americans now had only 100,000 troops remaining in Europe, the bulk of whom were under orders to return to their country, and any of whom it would be impossible, in existing conditions, to move to [illegible] Caucasus. Indeed, any despatch of A[illegible] attempted without the knowledge and consent of Congr[illegible] [illegible]dates, although he was aware that, on humanitarian and philanthropic grounds, the American people were deeply interested in Armenia, yet he personally did not believe that these considerations would induce his country to depart from the twofold traditional basis of its foreign policy, namely, (a) the refusal to be entangled in foreign alliances or commitments; (b) a strict adherence to the Monroe Doctrine. M[illegible] which they probably di[illegible] [illegible] graphical, physical a[illegible] [illegible]wise, of the Armenian problem, he felt very doubtful whether philanthropy [illegible] survive in the contest with expediency. As t[illegible] or any other portion of the Turkish Empire, while it was conceivable that the Amer[illegible] nation might be attracted by such an idea, here again, expressing his personal opinion, [illegible] did not believe that, in the last resort, it would take effect.

Summing up the situation, therefore, the Ambassador said that, while he saw no reason why the request suggested by Mr. Balfour should not be made to the American Government if we wished to make it, he did not anticipate that it would be attended by any practical results.

In reply to further questions which I put to him, he informed me that he did not think it probable that the American decision on the mandatory question would be reached in a period of less than three months from now.

With this very uncertain and rather disquieting forecast of events, which promised little relief from our impending anxieties in respect of the situation in the Caucasus and of the position in Asiatic Turkey in general, the American Ambassador took his leave.

I am, &c.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

115568. No. 79.

Vice-Admiral Sir A. Calthorpe to Earl Curzon.—(Received August 13.)

[illegible]

Constantinople, August 1, 1919.

WITH reference to my telegrams Nos. 1521 and 1525 of the 23rd July, I have the honour to transmit herewith a memorandum on a manifesto published by the representatives of a large number of Turkish parties on the 22nd July and a translation (as published in a local French paper) of a circular issued by Damad Ferid Pasha immediately on his resumption of office.

The universal hostility with which the new Government is regarded by the [illegible] leaders and the press augurs ill for the future of the Cabinet. It is specially

noteworthy that that larger fraction of the "Entente libérale" party which follows Sadik Bey and disavows the Sheikh ul-Islam have at last found common ground with parties whose advances the "Entente libérale" had hitherto rejected.

3. The fact is that this country has now quite definitely reached the point at which every Turkish element in active political life is dominated more by national sentiment and the desire to conserve at least the unoccupied remnant of the Empire as an undivided whole than by any other consideration. Broadly speaking, the various elements, all equally nationalist, are ranged in two camps according as they think that there is still something to be hoped from the *Entente* Powers, esp[illegible] think that the time has come for resistance, however desperate, to the [illegible] humiliating decrees of the Peace Conference.

4. The distinction between these two schools of thought is blurred in Constantinople, where both sides are for the moment united in detestation of the Grand Vizier, and where even the most Chauvinistic think it still advisable to affect respect for the *Entente* Powers as a whole and love of England in particular. In the provinces the second school of thought is definitely in the ascendant. The present Government cannot afford to fight the movement in the interior. Its only strength lies in the support of the Sultan, himself a rather uncertain factor, and in the fact that few of the parties have much solid backing, as the bulk of a Moslem population care nothing at all for politics, and demand only a quiet and well fed life.

5. The issue of this confused situation is as difficult to foresee as ever. I see nothing, however, to make me alter the opinion which I have so often expressed that the combined result of adverse single decisions and the delay in a[illegible] settlement must be to make all the active political elements concent[illegible] and to make the centre of gravity of the growing coalition shift in [illegible] direction of Chauvinism and resistance. If I were to hazard a definite prophecy, it would be that the Chauvinists will either gain a definite ascendancy here, as the [illegible] already done in the provinces, or will set themselves up in some prov[illegible] open opposition to Constantinople.

6. Considerable uncertainty prevails as to what is going on in the more remote parts of the interior. The Grand Vizier himself remarked on the 25th July that he was in the presence of an enigma. Every sort of rumour was current, he said, [illegible] Chauvinist activities and provincial congresses, but a telegram just received from [illegible] said that the situation there had never been so calm. This te[illegible] [illegible] from a military authority who would almost certainly be in sympathy with the [illegible] movement, and on being asked what the civil authorities and the Grand [illegible] said. My latest information leads me to believe that the congress is sitting, but I have not been able to obtain anything certain as to the [illegible] it is taking.

7. I do not think that I exaggerated the potentialities of the present situation when I stated in a recent telegram that the country was faced with the possibility of a disintegration of order and security on a large scale. The new Government inspires no confidence in its ability or in the character of the majority of its members. Ferid Pasha is perplexed and easily deceived. The presence of Tewfik Pasha makes [illegible] sobriety, but, while less easily gulled than the Grand Vizier, he is to some extent accessible to the suggestions of an entourage steeped in Chauvinism. The Sheikh-ul-Islam, an outcast from his party, had already, before the Grand Vizier's return, played with the idea of a rapprochement with the Chauvinists. There is no outstanding figure among the remainder of the Ministers, and as a whole they may be expected to do any time-serving that is required of them.

8. As against this inadequate Central Government we have the Congress at [illegible] know little except that it is dominated by dashing yo[illegible] who are willing to stake everything on a gambler's throw, and who h[illegible] purposely shifted the main scene of their activities east and north with the double purpose of securing a freer field and defending Armenia from the fate of Smyrna. The new Government has not dared, even if it wished, to remove from the Ministry of [illegible] the "opposite numbers" of these provincial officers. It was rumoured on the morrow of its advent to power that Djevad Pasha, Chief of the General Staff and another equally notorious sympathiser with the "national defence" movement, would be removed. There was a storm of protest, and nothing more has been heard of the proposal.

9. A further indication of the desire of the Government to be all things to all men is the decision definitely taken on the 27th July to proceed with the elections. There is an endeavour to placate its critics here and to steal the thunder of the Congress at

Erzeroum. If any serious attempt is made to give effect to the decision, it can only lead to fresh troubles, and the end may easily be to conjure into existence a Parliament representative of nothing but the unquiet ghost of the Committee of Union and Progress.

10. Taking it all round, the present outlook is more disquieting, from the point of view of tranquillity, than it has been at any time since the Supreme Council decided that Greek troops were to occupy Smyrna.

I have, &c.

A. CALTHORPE, *High Commissioner.*

[illegible]

Memorandum.

[illegible] ("Socialist") published a manifesto adopted by a meeting of party representatives at the "Entente libérale" headquarters on Monday night, the 21st July.

The manifesto recites the names of the parties, &c., represented, as follows:

"Entente libérale
[illegible]
Midi Akmar [illegible]
Turkish [illegible]
[illegible]
Trebizond [illegible]
Smyrna Defence of Ottoman Rights.
National Congress.
[illegible]
Kurdish [illegible]
Turkish Pre[illegible]

The manifesto states that the representatives, considering the formation of a third [illegible] Pasha Cabinet dangerous in the extreme to the national interests, after he has by his performances at home and abroad lost the confidence of the nation, unanimously adopted the following resolutions after three hours' continuous deliberations for submission to Caliph and the nation generally:—

1. The third Ferid Pasha Cabinet formed yesterday is an unconstitutional Cabinet.
2. The said Cabinet has no qualification or capacity to direct the foreign policy or internal affairs of the Empire.
3. Damad Ferid Pasha is absolutely undeserving of confidence, as a result of the [illegible] displayed by him hitherto in defending and maintaining the [illegible] all the parties are united in seeing the necessity for the removal from power of a Cabinet of this kind and the formation in its place of a Cabinet enjoying general confidence and capable of defending the national interests.

July 23, 19[illegible]

Enclosure 2 in No. 79.

Circular respecting the Situation in Anatolia.

LE Grand-Vizir, Damad Ferid Pacha, a adressé aux vilayets d'Anatolie un[illegible] importante circulaire dont voici le texte:

Nous avons pris connaissance du télégramme-circulaire du commandant [illegible] division de Karahissar dont un exemplaire nous a été transmis par le mutes[illegible] [illegible]. Cette circulaire porte à la connaissance des intéressés que la réunion d'un Congrès national, dans une région orientale de la Turquie convenablement choisie, Congrès chargé de régler et de fixer les destinées du pays, ayant été décidée, trois délégués devaient être élus et envoyés à Angora. De même, nous avons pris connaissance de divers télégrammes parvenus de Konia et relatifs aux frais de route de

L'état de désordre et de trouble dans lequel j'ai trouvé l'Anatolie [illegible] absence de six semaines, motivée par mon séjour à Paris, à la Confére[illegible] m'a cause une grande peine.

Dans la Constitution que nous sommes tous tenus de [illegible] Constantinople étant la capitale de l'Empire ottoman, il est clairement dit que l'Assemblée législative ne peut et ne doit être ouverte que par Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan. Par conséquent, cette façon d'agir, qui est contraire à la Constitution, aux des rs et ordres de notre gracieux Souverain et aux intérêts supérieurs de la patri[illegible] absolument cesser. Je vous demande donc tout particulièrement de faire des communications énergiques et réitérées dans ce sens, à tous les mutessarifs et caimakans dépendant de votre vilayet.

Quant à savoir s'il y a lieu ou non de payer les frais de route aux délégués, l'acte de les élire étant tout d'abord illégal et contraire à la Constitution, il est du devoir des autorités civiles et militaires non seulement de ne pas faciliter un acte aussi illégal, mais surtout d'empêcher de pareils agissements.

Je vous recommande tout particulièrement et de la façon la plus categori[illegible] dans le sens que je vous indique.

Le 20 Juillet 1334 1919.

[115591] **No. 80.**

Vice-Admiral Sir A. Calthorpe to Earl Curzon.—(Received August 13.)

(No. 1363.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, July 31, 1919.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith a memorandum drawn up by Mr. Hohler, regarding a conversation which he had yesterday with the Grand Vizier.

2. Among the points touched upon in this interview, the first one which I wish to deal with is the question of the personal safety of the Sultan and the Grand Vizier, in the event of the abdication of the one and the resignation of the other as both of them have, according to every indication which has reached me, done their utmost to carry out the terms of the Armistice and to conform to them. I consider it will be proper and in conformity with the views of His Majesty's Government that I should take any steps that might be necessary to ensure that these persons should be treated with all proper respect, and that they should not be molested in any way, nor their safety endangered.

3. With regard to the political issues involved, I find myself confronted by very serious difficulties. It is not many days past that I telegraphed to you that the situation here has gone beyond the application of any local remedy, and to this view I still strongly adhere, but no remedy is coming or appears to be in sight from outside, and it becomes therefore incumbent to consider what action, if any, should be taken in order to meet the present complications.

4. It is by no [illegible] importance which is to be attached to the [illegible] being held at Erzeroum, Sivas, and [illegible] at times the Grand Vizier is disposed to make light of them, it is only natural that a man in his position should do so in order not to admit that the authority of his own Government was seriously shaken. At other times he contradicts himself, and confesses that the situation is very serious, and I was only yesterday he admitted to Mr. Hohler, in plain words, the possibility of the provinces shaking off their allegiance to the capital.

5. The precarious position of the present Government is sufficiently clearly shown by the memorandum which I enclose. It is a Government which shows good will, and is, I think, genuinely in favour of the Allies, understanding that the Turkish Empire can have no possible hope save in them. It is, however, little able to ensure that its orders shall be carried out in the provinces, and it appears to contain within itself certain disloyal elements. It seems certain that it can only be maintained in power by a very determined effort on the part of the Allies. But it has been our policy not to interfere more than appeared indispensable for the maintenance of public order in the internal affairs of the Empire, and whilst in a number of cases our interest on behalf of the Christian populations has carried us rather far in this respect, no interference has taken place which has been instigated with a view either to the political or the commercial advantage of His Majesty's Government. In other words, our interference has been purely altruistic, and on no occasion selfish. The results promised

well, and would have, I believe, been entirely satisfactory, had it not been for the unfortunate events attending the Greek occupation of Smyrna. It was these that threw the whole of the Turkish people into the orbit of the Committee of Union and Progress, a faction which, but for these events, was rapidly being broken up.

6. According to the Grand Vizier, the Sultan states that he will never accept [illegible] His Majesty. It is true that it might, perhaps, be possible to deter Izzet fr[illegible] seeking office on the lines mentioned by Mr. Hohler, but I am not certain that this is desirable. If Izzet, who of course used to be an adherent of the [illegible] into power with a Cabinet composed of Unionists, it is probable that they [illegible] possessed of much greater authority in the provinces than the present Government, the "congresses" in the interior would be replaced by the "Parliament." Farid Pasha has had to yield to the cry for parliamentary elections, though I understand that it it [illegible] to protract the proceedings as much as possible) in the capital, where is [illegible] exposed to the powerful influences of the *Entente* forces, much lip service [illegible] rendered to the Allied High Commissioners, but a tacit and sullen opposition to any of the measures which they might desire [illegible] the interior for the protection of Christians would have to be anticipated [illegible] exchange [illegible] with memorandum of Mr. Balfour's private letter of instructions to me on the [illegible] be so greatly prolonged, but the turn of events is again bringing us face to face with the situation which nine months ago, he was contemplating. There will be more satisfaction, even if there should be more difficulty, in exacting hard terms from the Unionists rather than those who, one has reason to believe, are fundamentally well-[illegible] to be guided by the principles laid down in my [illegible] of the 23rd instant, which, not having evoked any comment from you, has presumably met with your approval.

9. I should note that whilst I expressed to the Grand Vizier the opinion that it [illegible] desirable at the present time to hold elections, yet I have taken no further [illegible] active steps to stop them, as it appeared to me to do so would be in [illegible] with the liberal spirit of the age, and the principles of President Wilson, although opinions may differ as to how much or how little these ideals are to be considered as adaptable to the conditions prevailing in this Empire. This High Commission will continue to act in the closest accord with the French, w[illegible] I propose to discuss at the earliest possible moment the considerations I am presenting to you in this despatch.

10. I have hopes that a material amelioration in the situation will be produced as soon as my French and Italian colleagues receive their instructions to sign the Note informing the Porte of the decision of the Supreme Council limiting the Italian and Greek spheres in the Aidin vilayet, though the delay which still continues in making this pronouncement is every day more regrettable, and I fear lest the Grand Vizier be correct when he states that now it will be insufficient to allay the agitation in Asia Minor, and that its effect will be far inferior to that which it would have had two months ago.

I have, &c.

A. CALTHORPE,

High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 80.

Memorandum.

THE Grand Vizier came to see me this morning. He said that the situation was fast becoming impossible. The Committee were "again raising their hydra heads," and the members of his Cabinet were continually receiving orders from them to resign [illegible] threatening letters of all kinds. He was taking the most active steps in his power against its manifestations in the provinces, but he believed that the centre of the organization was here. He said it had cost him five days' hard struggle before he [illegible] Mu[illegible] Kemal, Raouf Bey, an officer called Shakir, and a brigand chief near Ismidt whose name he had forgotten. Opposition to him in this had come from the military party

but especially the Minister of War, whom he believed was a traitor to him. The orders sent before with this object had been of a general nature, not specific like those sent last night. He stated that at the head of the movement were Izzet Pasha, Ahmed Riza, and Mahmoud Churouk Sidou, and they had got the Crown Prince entirely into their [illegible] Sultan yesterday, and had neglected all the forms of courtesy which are usually used by the members of the Imperial House in addressing the Sovereign, and had simply abused him for maintaining the present Government, and as being the ruin of the country, the Caliphate, and the Sultanate. At the same time he had not made any proposals which had the slightest practical bearing.

3. Seeing the extreme difficulty of the situation, the Grand Vizier had, in the [illegible] Tewfik and asked him if he could form a Cabinet. Tewfik replied that it would be useless, because he could only make one exactly similar to the present, and it could not last. Also he referred to the inseemous circumstances which had attended his last fall from power. The Sultan had expressed the firm decision not to summon Izzet Pasha to [illegible] he had suffered too much at the [illegible] past two years, and he was unshakeably resolve[illegible] So to this he would resign the throne.

4. The Grand Vizier asked me, supposing this were to take place, would Great Britain ensure that the person of the Sultan in such circumstances would be protected? He also asked the same question in respect to his "insignificant self." I said that he broached a grave question, which it would be necessary to refer to London, but if such an event happened before it were possible to get an answer, I could only say that I felt certain that this High Commission would take a lively interest in their fate, and would [illegible]mate to any succeeding Government that interest. I did not go so far as to express my personal opinion, which is that we should take every possible step to ensure t[illegible] personal safety.

5. The Grand Vizier went on to say that the Sultan [illegible] was fit to take on the Government except himself [illegible] Tewfik and it was for this reason that the situation was so extremely seri[illegible]

6. I asked the Grand Vizier whether it would produce a considerable effect for the better if it were known that the Peace Conference were taking steps, through British instrumentality, to define the zones of Greek and Italian activity in the Aidin vilayet, and he replied that it most certainly would, although at the same time he doubted [illegible] would be altogether sufficient. I told him then that steps of this nature [illegible] and would shortly be communicated to him, together with the [illegible] occupation of certain regions by Greek and Italian troops in no way [illegible] decisions of the Peace Conference as to the final disposal of those regions. [illegible] that he should regard this information, for the present, as entirely [illegible] He regretted that it could not be used for publication, but expressed very great satisfaction at the news; but still, he said, this will not be sufficient entirely to calm the agitation which is being provoked by the Committee. He affected to attach little importance, nevertheless, to the Congress which is being held at Erzeroum, and said that the gatherings at [illegible] Amasia were [illegible] in [illegible]

7. He again reverted with great insist[illegible] Persia.

8. He said that the Sultan had suggested his visiting both the French and the British High Commissioners, but he had replied that it was useless to go to the French as no effective assistance would be forthcoming. He had throughout his tenure of office sought help and advice for the government of the country from the British, and this had been the result of his efforts and convictions for thirty years past. He [illegible]ed that no action on the grounds of his previous suggestion in this direction had [illegible]aken, though he quite understood the situation which was caused by t[illegible] of consulting the [illegible] he had no fear save in God and Great Britain.

9. It appears to me fairly certain that Izzet is at the root of the present trouble, and I do not see that it could do any harm, and on the other hand it might do much good, if an indication in polite terms could be made to him of the reasons why he would do well to abstain from causing trouble.

10. It appears to me that it would be most emphatically undesirable in the highest degree to have anything in the form of a Committee Government, and it looks as if we shall have to take perfectly firm action to stop such an eventuality. If therefore

the warning were to prove insufficient, I am inclined to think that we should be prepared to face the necessity of arresting and deporting of Izzet, and perhaps of one or two of his fellow-workers as well.

Constantinople, July 30, 1919.

[116385] No. 81

Earl Curzon to Sir G. Grahame

[illegible]

I ASKED M. de Fleuriau to call upon me this afternoon in order to draw his attention to an announcement which had appeared in the French newspapers of the impending despatch of a French judicial mission to Teheran. I recapitulated to the French Minister the previous history of this question, and read to him *verbatim* my notes of the last conversation which I had on the subject with M. Cambon when the latter visited me in the Foreign Office on the 4th July.

I had explained to M. Cambon on that occasion that, while I h[illegible] object to the deputation to Tehran of French professors skilled in medicine, surgery, and mathematics, I was at a loss to understand why the institution of a Law School or the sending of French Professors of Law should be required. I had pointed out that, the frontier between law and politics being admittedly thin, there was some [illegible] of any serious occupation, might feel tempted to take a hand in the local political game. I had also put to the French [illegible] said had the British attempted a similar move in some sphere of clearly French influence. In reply, M. Cambon had said that, upon his approaching visit to Paris, he would discuss the question of the French legal professors; and he had left upon my mind the impression that it would not be necessary to persevere with that part of the French programme.

In these circumstances, I had been considerably surprised at reading in the "Temps" only a few days ago an announcement to the effect that a French Judicial Mission had been formed by the French Minister of Justice, with the consent of the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, and was to leave for Persia next month to found a School of Law in Tehran. The names of the members of the mission were given, and it had been added in the "Temps" that the mission itself could not fail to benefit French influence in the East.

The ground which I had taken in my conversation with M. Cambon was, I now [illegible] by what had [illegible] in the interval. The British Government had for some time been engaged in negotiations with the Persian Government, culminating in an agreement which I had just concluded and which was about to be published in both countries. I gave the French Minister a general sketch of the contents of this agreement, and I said that it seemed to me singularly inappropriate that—at a time when the Persian Government had themselves recognised the predominant political interest of Great Britain by inviting her assistance in the manner provided for in the agreement—the French Government should think it fit to appear upon the scene almost in the guise of rival competitors, suggesting to Persia and to the world that the old competition between European nations (in former times usually Russia and Great Britain) was about to be revived, and that France regarded with some jealousy the occupation of the field by England.

M. de Fleuriau undertook to verify what I had said to M. Cambon, and to communicate to Paris the substance of our conversation to-day.

I went on to say to the French Minister that indications had reached me lately [illegible] of an inclination on the part, not, I hoped, of the French [illegible] but of certain advanced sections of [illegible] I quarrel with this country, and to adopt an attitude towards Great Britain that was scarcely consistent with the close and [illegible] day it was Tangier, again it was some other part of the Eastern world. I told him that I thought we had said good-bye to the policy of pin-pricks, which had done so much to exacerbate relations between our two countries in the past, and, when on the part of the two Governments there was still the firmest intention in the public interest to pursue a policy of close co-operation, it seemed to me little short of scandalous that

any encouragement should be given to those wh sought to poison the wells. I reminded M. de Fleurian that, upon my instructions, Sir Ronald Graham had spoken to him with great frankness last week on the question of Syria, pointing out to him that, while we desired no mandate for that region, and would certainly refuse it if offered, the only reason for which a military occupation of Syria by the French had not been encouraged by our military authorities was that such an occupation would be absolutely certain to lead to collisions between the French and the native populations.

Upon the French Minister doubting whether this was the case, I informed him and this he had not previously heard—that on a recent occasion a French officer of the highest rank had actually been fired upon and wounded by the population of a district of the Lebanon in which the French claimed a long-standing political predominance.

Further, I asked whether a stronger evidence of our disinte[illegible] ing than the fact that, though France had no legitimate claim to Cilicia, had [illegible]ved a mandate for that part of the Turkish Empire, and might indeed in the f[illegible] not receive one at all, yet we had voluntarily invited French troops to that country, of which they were now in possession. Not a word of recognit[illegible] given to this fact, while, on the other hand, inspired writers in the leading [illegible] newspapers endeavoured to make mischief as regards Syria by bringing wholly unfounded charges against this country.

M. de Fleurian disputed the inspiration under which these writers penned their a[illegible] but I said that I could not doubt seriously that such had been the case.

I [illegible] him to help to keep the relations between our two countries free from th[illegible] atmosphere of suspicion and insinuation, of which there appeared to be too many propagators in the French press.

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON

[116079] **No. 82.**

Sir G. Grahame to Earl Curzon.—(Received August 14.)

N[illegible]

My L[illegible]

Paris, August 12, 1919.

ON receipt of your Lordship's despat[illegible] No. 1041 of the 8th instant on the subject of the anti British campaign here in connection with Syria, I requested the M[illegible] for Foreign Affairs to receive me. His Excellency fixed this morning for my visit.

I began my conversation by saying that, as he was aware, the attacks o[illegible] French press had caused His Majesty's Government serious concern. In the [illegible] of M. Paul Cambon, Sir Ronald Graham had seen M. de Fleurian, and I was [illegible] to repeat to his Excellency what Sir Ronald Graham had said to him. M. [illegible] showed unusual warmth directly I informed [illegible] before I could begin: "I will answer you [illegible] of what had been said to M. de Fleurian, a report of which had apparently already reached him. M. Pichon [illegible] full of reports of anti French propaganda carried on by Anglo-Syrian agen[illegible] reports were so detailed and concordant that it was absolutely impossible for the French Government not to believe that they were well-founded. He did not for a moment wish to insinuate that His Majesty's Government were at the back of these proceedings [illegible] he must tell me that he felt sure that neither Field-Marshal Allenby nor the British Government could be aware of what was being done. I interrupted his Excellency at this point to tell him that British officers, personal friends of mine, who had come back from the Near East and who had talked to me on the subject, had spontaneously assured me that the French were entirely mistaken in thinking that we were working against them there; that the sole idea of the British authorities was, [illegible] from carrying on premature propaganda calculated to stir up trouble. M. Pichon listened to me, but maintained his view that contrary information was reaching him from many quarters, which he could not possibly disregard.

His Excellency said that I must know that the press here could not be controlled by the French Government. In fact, the latter were attacked in many of these articles for not properly defending the French cause. Needless to say, M. Robert de Caix had

acted entirely independently of the French Government. I said to him at this point that these articles against England were of daily occurrence, and I showed him two, [illegible] "Figaro" (reported to your Lordship in my despatch No. 783 of yesterday) [illegible] ther written by M. Gauvain in the "Journal des Débats" (please see my [illegible], of which, I pointed out, His Majesty's Government were not cognisant when writing to me the instructions on which I was acting. In M. Gauvain's article the British Government were directly accused. M. Pichon had not seen them, but he observed that in the "Figaro" article the French Government [illegible] As regards M. Gauvain, he attacked the Government frequently, and paid no attention to their wishes. The same was true of the auth[illegible] of the other articles brought to his notice.

M. Pichon said there was another aspect of the question which he would like to [illegible] vinced that His Majesty's Government were not fully aware [illegible] about Syria in this country. It was not a thing of yesterday, [illegible] ment which was continually increasing. It would be the greatest [illegible] the almost passionate interest which the French took in this [illegible] had themselves open to the charge of not properly [illegible] interests, they would be swept away. They would not get ten votes [illegible] and he told me that a strong attack was coming when Parliament met towards the end of the [illegible] which the French Government were neglecting the proper [illegible] go into the Tribune and [illegible] suggested that it was not one which he relished.

I said that it was a really deplorable situation. Up to the present I had not noticed that the British press had taken up the [illegible] ter, but this might happen at any moment, with the result that the controversy w[illegible] be still further aggravated. I [illegible] and I stood to go to the [illegible] steps which would have the effect at least of putting the soft pedal down [illegible] load anti-British campaign. M. Pichon said that he saw no means of [illegible] n so doing unless he were helped by us; both sides must do something, [illegible] ly the French Government. His Majesty's Government should send [illegible] Syria to abstain from the attitude of which the French complained.

In one part of our conversation M. Pichon mentioned the fact that Mr. Lloyd George had at an earlier date made an attempt with M. Clemenceau to find some settlement, but that it had been abandoned, and now M. Clemenceau would not take the [illegible]

[illegible] y attempts to shake his belief in the anti French action of British [illegible] feeling that he was firmly persuaded [illegible] the reports which had reached him represented in the main a true picture of what [illegible] ing. He seemed to be honestly convinced of this, and there does not appear [illegible] to me to be any prospect of eradicating this idea from his mind. I gathered that M. Paul Cambon was quite as convinced as he was himself that the French have the [illegible] well founded reasons for complaint [illegible] still greater difficulty in obtaining a favourable hearing of our case from the public in [illegible] ment refuting the charges brought against us would be [illegible] effected. It is not believed here that Great Britain is seeking a mandate over Syria [illegible] believed that British agents are endeavouring to prevent France [illegible] Near East [illegible] ally in Syria.

(Communicated to Peace Delegation and Mr. Balfour.)

I have, &c.
GEORGE GRAHAME.

[112962]

No. 83

Earl Curzon to Mr. Balfour.

(No. [illegible])

Sir,

Foreign Office, August 14, 1919.

WITH reference to my despatch No. [illegible] of the 7th instant, I have the honour to inform you that M. de Fleuriau called at this Office on the 5th instant and saw Sir R. Graham.

[illegible] note, of which a copy is enclosed, M. de Fleuriau took occasion to [illegible] was not satisfied with what Sir R. Graham had said to M. Cambon in the [illegible] as reported in my despatch under reference, and that he did not [illegible] tion of the division of military spheres in Turkey should be dropped, [illegible] trary, that the arrangements summarised in his note, which were based [illegible] instructions from the French Government, should be carried into effect.

After reading the note, Sir R. Graham at once took serious exception to the first paragraph. This proposal, he pointed out, constituted an entirely fresh departure [illegible] entailed the substitution of a French officer for General Milne [illegible] Constantinople under General Franchet d'Esperey. In previous conversations M. Cambon had assured him that there was no intention on the part of the [illegible] Government to bring about any change in control at Constantinople, and he [illegible] informed our military authorities.

M. de Fleuriau replied that the new functions allotted to Gen[illegible] Paris Conference appeared to him to necessitate some readjustment [illegible] Constantinople. General Milne could scarcely exercise his new supreme command in Asiatic Turkey and at the same time [illegible] at Constantinople.

Sir R. Graham said that M. de Fleuriau's proposal would be communicated to the military authorities, but that he could hold out no [illegible] of its being accepted. The best course at the present moment seemed to him [illegible] that the question of military spheres in Turkey should be allowed to sle[illegible]

I am, &c.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON

Enclosure in No. 83

Note.

LE général français commandant l'armée d'Orient à Constantino[illegible] actuellement le General Franchet d'Esperey) exercera le commandement des troupes alliées à Constantinople; il désignera l'officier qui [illegible] xercera effectivement le commandement militaire de cette ville.

La zone du commandement confiée au général français [illegible] mantique de Constantinople jusqu'à la limite du Mutesarriflik de [illegible] Dans cette zone, le contrôle du commandement britanique d'Asie Mineure s'exercera sur le chemin de fer d'Ismidt à Haidar-Pacha, y compris la gare et le port de la gare de Haidar Pacha.

Les mines de charbon d'Héra[illegible] continueront à être exploi[illegible] actuellement en vigueur, et le charbon extrait de ces mines sera utilisé [illegible] pendant les mois de mars à juillet 1919, pour l'approvisionnement de Constantinople et [illegible] for de Roumélie.

M[illegible] Corinna suait, &c.

Ambassade de France, Londres,
le 5 août 1919.

[118381]

No. 84.

Vice-Admiral Sir A. Calthorpe to Earl Curzon.—(Received August 20.)

(No. 1368.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, August 5, 1919.

I REPORTED in my despatch No. 1358 (paragraph 9) of the 31st ultimo that I intended to discuss with my French colleague the serious problems presented by the

[illegible] situation of this country. It is unnecessary that I should trouble you with the details of the two or three very long and friendly conversations which I have had [illegible] acquaint you briefly with the results.

The acting Italian High Commissioner had not yet received instructions to sign the note to the Sublime Porte concerning the delimitation of the Greek and Italian zones in Asia Minor, and I arranged with M. Defrance that he should call upon him to [illegible] the terms of the telegram of the Italian Government [illegible]

[illegible] channel of communication between the Supreme Council and the said G[illegible] M. Ladhé accepted this interpretation, and agreed to sign the note (a copy of which I enclose herewith*), which was handed to the Grand Vizier on Sunday last, the 3rd August. His Highness received it with [illegible] satisfaction, stating that it would [illegible]

[illegible] that the advent to power of a Government [illegible] character would be essentially undesirable in the interests [illegible] of maintaining order as well as for the reason that it [illegible] observation of the armistice, and [illegible] acceptance, eventually, of the terms of the peace which would be imposed, we [illegible] to the conclusion that it was necessary to give such support as we properly [illegible] vernment, although [illegible] interference in internal politics.

[illegible] order to reconcile these various aims we had decided that after prese[illegible] Vizier by our Dragomans that he would do well to proceed with gre[illegible] against those whom he knew to be implicated in Unionist intrigues, or in [illegible] would have the result of placing obstructions in t[illegible] of the armistice.

5. This we did, and I again impressed this matter on his Highness's attention this morning, when he came to pay me a visit of farewell on the occasion of my approaching [illegible] departure from Constantinople.

[illegible] to have our support in taking action against the Committee, to whom he is as entirely opposed as we are, but [illegible] week, and he asked whether, in the event of a number of arrests being [illegible] to arrange that the persons arrested should be conve[illegible] unfortunate results which may attend such a connection.

[illegible] me from General Sir George Milne as well as from other [illegible] doubtful of the utility of occupying Trebizond. He has promised me to express [illegible] on the question at the earliest possible moment, with a view that we may continue to work as hitherto in the closest agreement.

9. It was with no little regret that I parted with my French colleague, with whom my relations have always been most agreeable, and indeed, [illegible] extremely close.

I have, &c.

A. CALTHORPE, *High Commissioner.*

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* Not printed.

Rear-Admiral Webb to Earl Curzon.—(Received August 20.)

(No. 131.)

Constantinople, August 9, 1919.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegra[illegible] 7th July [illegible] to have [illegible] committed by Greek troops in the Aidin Vi[illegible] y telegram No. 1, [illegible] the 31st July, I have the [illegible] opy of a [illegible] ated the [illegible] representative at Smyrna on this subject.

I [illegible]

RICHARD WEBB
Acting High Commissioner.

Enclosure 1 in No. 85.

[illegible] representative of British High Commissioner, [illegible]
British High Commissioner, Constantinople.

(No. 104.)

July 30, 1919.

WITH reference to your telegram No. 109 of the 25th July, I have the honour to submit the following report o[illegible] in after its occupation by the Greeks.—

Greek troops occupied Aidin on the 27th May 1919, without incident; and for three or four weeks nothing untoward appeare[illegible] have occurred, although a memorandum presented to a British na[illegible] representative at Denizli on the 11th July alleges that M[illegible]s were arrested and imprisoned and their fezzes torn off, and that at Eshesh and Carabunar, stations west of Aidin, forty-eight Moslems were killed by [illegible]

On the 21st June, a skirmish took place near the Meander river between Turkish irregulars and Greek troops. The Turks were driven off. The Greeks then set [illegible] the two Turkish villages of Emir-Keuy and Kuch-Keuy between Aidin and the M[illegible]

The Turks retaliated by burning various farms belonging to Greeks.

After this engagement relations between Turks and Greeks in Aidin town became worse.

South of the Meander bands of Turkish irregulars were gathering with the knowledge of Turkish regular officers, who were warned on the 21st June by Lieutenant Hodder th[illegible] attack on Aidin was not to be allowed.

[illegible] n the 23rd June, on returning from a tour as far as Denizli was [illegible] ion, east of Aidin, an ultimatum, signed by Yuruk Ali, head of [illegible] urkish irregulars operating east of Aidin, and addressed to the inhabitants of Aidin, stating that if Greek troops did not evacuate Aidin in three days they would be driven out by force.

Fighting, ho[illegible]ver, had begun on the same day to the south of the town where Greeks appear to h[illegible] tacked Turks, and continued till the 30th July, when the Greeks finally evacuated the town, and Colonel Chefki Bey, commander of the Turkish troops, entered it.

During the evacuation the Greeks set fire to the Turkish quarter, and shot down Turks who tried to escape.

The attached report, which was supplied to me by M. Dacono, manager of the Imperial Ottoman Bank at Aidin, gives an account of this killing of Turks by Greeks.

This killing seems to have been done entirely by Greek soldiers.

The Greek defence is that they were fired at from houses as they retreated through the Turkish quarter and had to reply.

The number of Moslems thus killed or burnt in their houses is unknown. Turks say 2,000, but it seems impossible to arrive at a correct estimate.

In entering the town the Turkish irregulars found that numbers of their [illegible], and began massacring Greeks. The Greek quarter was [illegible] rsons who attempted to escape from burning houses were shot down. All [illegible] seen in the streets were fired at. Those who took refuge in the French convent were respected, but all others found about were killed without distinction of age or sex. A number of Greeks who had tried to follow the retreating Greek army and had been repulsed by the latter were found by the Turks on the hills and cruelly massacred.

Lieutenant Hodder saw the bodies of persons thus slain, and has sent photographs and a report to the British naval [illegible] ntative here.

Greeks estimate the num[illegible] of Greeks killed at 1,500 to 2,000.

[illegible] rooms again occupied Aidin, but before their arrival [illegible] a hundred, had fled over the Meander to [illegible]

[illegible] nt Hodder's report of the 10th July and subsequent British naval [illegible] reports give more ample details of the Aidin incidents.

On the other hand reports come in from Turks in the Denizli and Chinar region [illegible] ing the Greeks of having begun the massacre in Aidin, and thus provoked [illegible]

The Greek side of the matter is that they were first attacked by irregulars, and that subsequently the Moslem civilian population fired on Greek troops, who [illegible] obliged to take measures to protect themselves.

That both Turk and Greek have committed atrocities cannot be doubted. The [illegible] regard public opinion in Europe, and to punish the wrongdoers. In this respect I find M. Sterghiadis very h[illegible] best intentions and able to carry them out.

On the Turkish side there seems no tendency to punish the wrongdoer. The irregular bands and t[illegible] no orders from a[illegible] T[illegible] r barbarian and massacre without any [illegible]

The Italians south of the Meander, far from preventing Turks attacking Greeks, seem to encourage them.

Both Turk and Greek seem to be acquir[illegible] British feelings, the former for our aiding Greece to occupy parts of Asia [illegible] and the latter for our preventing him dealing with th[illegible]urk as he wishes.

Copy sent t[illegible]

JAMES MORGAN

Enclosure 2 in No. 85.

Report of Events in Aidin.

(Confidentiel.)

À LA suite d'une escarmouche qui eut lieu aux environs du Méandre, le 21 juin, [illegible] ent et incendièrent deux villages, Emir-Keuy et Kuch-Keuy, [illegible] population de 150 habitants chacun. Les Turcs, de leur côté, brûlèrent, à [illegible] après-celles, quelques propriétés grecques non loin de ces deux villages.

[illegible] le 26 juin, le Colonel Chefki Bey, alors commandant de la division d'Aidin qui, [illegible] occupation grecque, s'était retiré avec un millier de soldats au delà du Méandre [illegible] régulières qu'irrégulières de ce secteur, [illegible] 10 kilom. de la ville (haute de la zone grecque, l'autre rive se trouvant dans la zone [illegible] qui sont mis en déroute par l'attaque des Turcs. Le reste de la journée se [illegible] le calme et le lendemain matin, samedi, 28 juin, un nouveau détachement, [illegible] e point, est de même attaqué par les Turcs, qui le poursuivent, sur la [illegible]

[illegible] les renforts turcs étant arrivés, nous entendons, à notre sortie du [illegible] eau, des coups de feu et nous nous rendons sur la colline de Képès pour voir ce qui [illegible] Pendant que nous sommes là, les Turcs tirent dans la vallée; des coups de [illegible] fusils et de [illegible] partent des points occupés par les Grecs dans la ville et sur [illegible] postés sur trois points dominant le [illegible] autre livre au pillage et au massacre [illegible] des hauteurs de Trilles, occupées par l'armée grecque, des [illegible] dit quartier et le village de Tcherkes-Keuy, très proche de [illegible]

[illegible] Turc, tous ceux qui essayent de fuir sont [illegible] dudit quartier, et les soldats sont aidés [illegible]

La fusillade devenant de plus en plus vive et nombre de balles com[illegible] autour de nous, nous sommes obligés de quitter notre point d'observation [illegible] tournure grave que prennent les choses, nous nous réf[illegible]ns, M. Stolzenberg et moi, dans le couvent des Sœurs de Charité, qui est sous la [illegible] se réfugier à leur tour quelques familles musulmanes. [illegible] toute la nuit. Le pillage des maisons et des magasins turcs, commencé dans la journée, continue.

Le lendemain, dimanche, 29 juin, la fusillade et les coups [illegible] reprennent dès l'aube; la fusillade des Turcs est plus rapprochée, ce qui nous fait comprendre qu'on se bat aux abords de la ville.

L'incendie, alimenté par des constructions en bois, par un léger vent, [illegible] proportionnel se dirige d'un côté vers la gare et de l'autre vers le bazar et le quartier grec de N[illegible]

La bataille fait rage, des milliers de coups de feu font un va[illegible] (mitrailleuses, fusils, grenades à [illegible]

[illegible] tres du couvent; deux autres tombent sur le quartier de Kepèk, où ils provoq[illegible] des incendies. Aux obus succèdent les shrapnels. Toute la journée se passe ainsi et, en dehors des incendies allumés en ville, deux villages des environs, Tcherkez-Keuy et Tepetjak, sont entièrement détruits par le feu et par l'artillerie grecque.

Le soir du même jour, à 11 heures, on vient nous informer que la garnison grecque, ne pouvant plus tenir, a décidé de se retirer. La nouvelle se propage et affole, à juste titre, la population qui se porte vers le quartier général, demandant à suivre l'ar[illegible] Quatre à cinq cents civils réussissent à passer, lorsque survient le Lieutenant-Colonel Sarrus, qui refuse au reste de ces malheureux de suivre les [illegible] montagnes, il les fait repousser brutalement en les menaçant des [illegible] conduite du commandant grec est aussi inconcevable que sa retraite [illegible] irréguliers, alors que les troupes grecques s'élevaient à plus de 3,000 hommes. Nous avons [illegible] la certitude de l'exactitude de ces chiffres après notre départ d'Aidin. [illegible] saurions dire jusqu'à quel point ceci peut être exac[illegible] fait est qu'il y a eu un [illegible] l'Allemagne, n'a coûté aux Turcs que la perte de quarante-sept [illegible] entre morts et blessés.

Aussitôt que la [illegible]

En ces moments si critiques, le courage et l'abnégati[illegible] les deux bonnes sœurs, notamment de la Supérieure intérimaire, Sœur Marie Rueddin, est au dessus de tout éloge; elles ont été sublimes. Et, comme elles, les trois sous-officiers de la gendarmerie française, envoyés de Smyrne après l'affaire de Nazli pour protéger les sœurs, se sont multipliés pour inspirer le courage et maintenir l'ordre, en s'exposant tout le temps dans les endroits les plus dangereux.

Les coups de feu qui se [illegible]t entendre dans les rues de la ville nous annoncent l'entrée des Turcs.

[illegible]

L'incendie se rapproche de plus en plus et nous voyons le moment où le couvent sera entouré de flammes. Nous décidons de la quitter pour nous rendre dans l'église

arménienne, sise en face du couvent et qui est tout à fait isolée. Comme je servais [illegible] [illegible] entre les gendarmes français et les deux fractionnaires, je demandais à ces derniers de permettre au monde de quitter petit à petit le local. Après avoir laissé sortir une vingtaine de personnes, ils refermèrent la porte en disant que seuls les musulmans pouvaient sortir. Ils livrèrent alors passage à ces derniers en faisant rentrer à coup de crosse les non-musulmans qui essayaient de se faufiler. Dès que tous les musulmans furent partis, je revins à la charge pour prier nos deux gardiens de [illegible] r le reste aussi, en leur faisant remarquer que tout ce monde serait étouffé [illegible] flammes nous auraient entourés. Leur réponse fut : " Yok, hazé ré ! " (Non, que [illegible]). Alors des scènes de désespoir se produisirent parmi tout ce monde [illegible] clairement quelles étaient les intentions des Turcs à notre égard. [illegible]ement pour la majorité, mais malheureusement pour un petit nombre, la porte [illegible] aux premières personnes qu'ils virent devant eux furent tuées à coup [illegible] Grâce au Gouverneur intérimaire, à Edhem Bey et surtout à Rifa[illegible] trouvaient déjà dans la cour de l'église arménienne et qui accoururent à notre secours, [illegible] fugés purent sortir en laissant aux mains des Turcs tout ce qu'ils avaient [illegible] bijoux, paquets d'effets, portefeuilles, &c.

Les gendarme[illegible] l'ai déjà dit, a été au-dessus de tout éloge, ont quit[illegible]sement, empêcher les deux fractionnaires de tuer une dizaine de personnes parmi les dernières sortantes du couvent.

Comme les flammes envahissaient de plus en plus le quartier de l'église [illegible] Là nous trouvâmes le Colonel Chefik Bey, qui, après avoir rassuré tout le monde, dirige [illegible] Konak et l'installe dans les divers bureaux et dépendances dudit local et celui de la gendarmerie.

En me voyant, le Colonel Chefik Bey me dit qu'à peine entré dans la ville, il av[illegible] se garde devant la banque. L'incendie se propage de tous côtés et durant toute [illegible] on voit du Konak qui domine la ville, se consumer ce qui reste de cette pauvre [illegible] tandis qu'on entend, au loin, les coups de canon et de fusil de l'armée grecque [illegible] les bandes turques.

[illegible] avec le Colonel Chefik Bey de faire évacuer la ville en commandant à diriger les [illegible] tantôt sur Nazli et Denizli, les moyens de les loger et de les nourrir faisant [illegible] envoyés à Aidin, lors des événements de Nazli, pour [illegible] les faire passer dans la zone italienne dès qu'il y aurait [illegible] partir mardi matin, 1er courant, en compagnie des deux [illegible] France, M. le Docteur Apéloulos et moi [illegible] que les quelques petits services que [illegible] pu rendre pendant que nous étions [illegible] et de les accompagner. Je tenais beaucoup à cela, pour [illegible] personnel de la banque.

Le Colonel Chefik Bey met très aimablement à notre disposition le seul [illegible] pant et nous donne une escorte de deux [illegible] jusqu'au pont du Méandre. Je fais tout mon possible pour amener [illegible] mais les gendarmes français s'y opposent formellement, craignant qu'un plus grand nombre de voyageurs ne donne lieu à quelque attaque de la part des bandes en course [illegible]ute.

Nous quittons donc Aidin le mardi, 1er courant, à 10 heures du matin, après avoir [illegible] l'assurance formelle de Chefik Bey qu'il aurait veillé sur notre local et [illegible] pôts.

Je suis, en effet, heureux de porter à votre connaissance que l'agence ainsi que nos dépôts n'ont eu nullement à souffrir. A mon arrivée ici, j'ai malheureusement appris le [illegible] meurtre de notre cavass Kalaïpanoglou Ibrahim, qu'on a trouvé assassiné dans le local même de l'agence.

Nous arrivâmes à Smyrne, le dimanche soir, 6 courant, après six jours d'un voyage [illegible] empêché de la part des autorités italiennes. L'itinéraire suivi a été du Méandre [illegible] Mitas et Kuluk en camion automobile, de Kuluk à S[illegible] à Nova à [illegible]

[illegible]

Dans l'entre-temps, à notre arrivée à Milas, le jeudi, 3 courant, j'avais fait [illegible] sur M. Stolzenberg, le restant du personnel de l'agence et les quelques fam[illegible]

Après notre départ de Aydin, le Colonel Chefik Bey, d'après ce que [illegible] barbarie, des hommes, des femmes, et jeunes filles ont été massacrés et mutilés. Suivant l'évaluation des [illegible]

A l'heure qu'il est, le 80 pour cent des maisons et magasins d'Aydin ont brûlés, les quartiers chrétiens ayant complètement disparu. On me rapporte que les [illegible]

Vu, comme nous le disons, l'incertitude de la situation, d'une part, l'exode de la population et l'impossibilité de séjourner, en ce moment, dans la ville, d'autre part, nous vous prions de vouloir bien nous autoriser à nous mettre d'accord avec les autorités grecques [illegible]

M [illegible]

I [illegible] avant le retrait des troupes helléniques, sur 45,000 habitants que comptait Aydin il n'en reste plus que 3,500 non-musulmans, [illegible]

[illegible] ont dû les laisser, pour sauver leur vie, aux mains des brigands. C'est vraiment malheureux qu'aucun de nous n'ait péri. Seul notre magasinier, M. Hagdjano, a à déplorer la perte de son père qui a été égorgé.

[illegible] de sorte avec des effets empruntés à des amis; je me permets de vous remettre, par lettre spéciale, un reçu de ce qu'il a perdu dans l'incendie et vous remettrai prochainement le reçu de ceux perdus par le personnel de l'agence, qui se trouve actuellement réfugié au complet à Smyrne.

J'aime à croire, MM. les [illegible]

[illegible] somme pour remplacer les effets que nous avons perdus.

Smyrne, le 10 juillet 1919.

P.S.—Writer wishes his identity kept dark lest he may be persecuted by Greeks in future.

[illegible]

118409 No. 86

Rear-Admiral Webb to Earl Curzon.—(Received August 20.)

(No. 1417.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, August 9, 1919.*

WITH reference to Admiral Calthorpe's despatch of the 31st ultimo, and his despatch of the 5th August, I have the honour to inform your Lordship that after careful discussion my French colleague and I decided that we would each send a representative to converse with the Crown Prince to point out the dangers that would be attendant on any participat[illegible] by His Royal Highness in the proceedings of the Unionist Party.

2. Prince Abdul Medjid on being sounded expressed his desire to see Mr. Hohler, [illegible] it undesirable under [illegible] circumstances that any person of diplomat[illegible] rank should see him, and it was arr[illegible] the first place [illegible] by M[illegible]

M. Ryan accordingly had his audience with the Prince yesterday morning [illegible] the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith a very [illegible] the conversation which took p[illegible]

It is difficult to reconcile the great divergence between the C[illegible] language and the reports of him which reach me from the Grand Vizier, as well as from other sources.

The Grand Vizier's utterances are [illegible] doubt coloured by feelings of perso[illegible] Crown Prince is probably of a noble ch[illegible] and is under the sway [illegible] has last seen him.

6. I was glad to have an opportunity to refer to the reasons for which His Majesty the King did not answer the telegram which Abdul Medjid had addressed to His Majesty some three months ago, and it served as a useful introduction for the more personal message which we had considered it advisable to convey to hi[illegible] [illegible] despatches al[illegible] of himself and his French colleague to advise the Grand Vizier to proceed with greater severity against those who were connected with the Unionist Party. The result of this was that his Highness first communicated to me the names of some of those people whom he desired to see out of the way. It eventually appeared that his idea was not so much [illegible] imprisoned, which indeed would be difficult, as they h[illegible] should be banished as political undesirables [illegible] the list of five or six grew to almost fifty, and it then transpired th[illegible] ng believed that the arrests would be carried out by the Allies. He has been thoroughly u[illegible] this point, and the [illegible] is now narrowed down to one of inviting the persons originally n[illegible] to go on a visit to Italy if the Italian Government have no objection.

9. At the same time whereas some ten days or a fortnight ago a considerable agitation was going on, at the present time there is a marked apparent suspension [illegible] but I think it will be a great mistake to assume that on that a[illegible] way ceased.

10. It would be difficult to exaggerate the complexity of the present situation with a Government which is moderately satisfactory in its general character, but too weak to ensure the execution of its orders, and to which there appears to be [illegible] [illegible] opposed to the aims and interests of the Allies, and to the execution of the terms of the armistice.

RICHARD WEBB, *Acting High Commissioner.*

Enclosure 1 in No. 86.

Account of Mr. Ryan's Conversation with Prince Abdul Medjid.

(Very Secret.)

I SAW the Crown Prince this morning as arranged. He received me with [illegible]ality and spoke freely. The audience lasted nearly two hours.

I spoke first to the Prince in the sense of the attached note (which I had prepared

beforehand and had communicated t M [illegible] adding various politenesses and embellishments. The Prince listened carefully and without interruption. On my [illegible] categorically that he had any hand in the movement or that he had the smallest idea of putting himself at the head of it.

I knew, he said, what the circumstances of the Imperial family had been. Under [illegible] had been prisoners. After the Constitution they had enjoyed personal liberty, but had been kept remote from politics. Princes were with[illegible] influence in the political life of the country. His own convictions were that [illegible] policy should be that of Reshid Pasha and Ali Pasha – steadfast by [illegible] He had expressed his views freely before the war in conversation with, among others, Sir G. Lowther. He did not know whether Sir [illegible] thought them worth recording, but they had taken place. He had held th[illegible] successively to Sultans Abdul Hamid, Hou[illegible], and Val[illegible]

His relations with the present Sultan, the Prince said, were based on a community [illegible] and a friendship which had lasted forty-five years. There was no quarre[illegible] them. The one question on which they differed profoundly was that of Ferid [illegible] of whom the Prince spoke with the utmost bitterness and contempt. The Sultan's insistence on keeping Ferid Pasha in power was a fatal mistake. Ferid had admitted himself guilty in the matter of Smyrna, and yet had been recalled to power. He had made a fiasco of the delegation to Paris, and had again been placed in power. The people did not want him. What was necessary was a strong G[illegible] man enjoying the confidence of the people. Let the [illegible] for Tewfik [illegible] a genius certainly, but a man of experience intimate with British statesmen, or let him call some other person, who would appeal [illegible] like Izzet Pasha, Tchoruk [illegible] Mahmoud Pasha, or Ahmed Izzet Bey.

The people, he explained, did not want mil[illegible] an turned not as a fantastically extensive Empire, but [illegible] Turkish people, instead of which there was nothing but talk of partit[illegible] tragedy of Smyrna was before their eyes. A foreign estimate, he was told, had put the butcheries committed by the Greeks in a short time at 20,000. The movement in the interior, of which I had spoken, was traitorous, idiotic, disastrous, but the people wanted something better than a Ferid Pasha Government, and if they responded to the movements of people like Mustafa Kemal and Raouf it was because their wi[illegible] were not respected. He gave his word of honour that he had no connection with the [illegible]

I said that the views expressed by the Prince about the movement in the interior [illegible] that could be held by a sane and reasonable person. His word of [illegible] sary therefore to prove that he held them, but, if it were given, it was the word of a Prince and a gentleman. As for the position of Princes in the political life of the country, it was true that they had no direct rule, but they could exercise great moral authority. That was why Abdul Hamid had a[illegible] them altogether. He was himself distinguished among the Princes by [illegible] a group of affairs from every standpoint, including the Eu[illegible] could not deny, I said, the unfortunate incidents which had followed the [illegible] Smyrna. The figures which he had heard were thought exaggerated. The incidents were tragic enough to need no exaggeration. They had been aggrava[illegible] by the counter-movement, about which I had spoken to him. Anyhow, they were [illegible] gated by an inter-Allied Commission. This could not un[illegible] but it would place them in their true l[illegible]

The most serious question which he had raised, I said, was that of Ferid Pasha [illegible] statesmen. Tewfik was, sh his Imperial Highness said, and might [illegible] al Vizier but he had tried three times, his third attempt had been a [illegible] lure, and he was old and worn out. All the other men he had met to-day were more or less implicated in the movement in the interior, I was assured. Ferid [illegible] were an endeavour to get the situation in hand, and the [illegible] of the Sultan must count for a great deal. Everything I heard [illegible] led me to believe that the real people desired only peace and quietness [illegible] were agitators everywhere who pretended to be the voice of the people [illegible] a lot, and when Mustafa Kemal passed through any given place the real people [illegible] accustomed to see authority go hand-in-[illegible] When Mustafa Kemal had gone by the agitators continued their w[illegible] real people subsided into passivity.

The Prince said he really knew nothing of what was going on in the interior. He had no sources of information [illegible] of any but a few intimates of his; not politicians. He was out of touch with the Government, because of Ferid Pasha's attitude towards him, which was incorrect and unmannerly. They had once been friends, and a cause of difference had arisen. It need not have prevented correct relations when Ferid came into power, but Ferid's conduct had been such that at last he himself had said he would not now respond to advances if they were made. These personal matters were too petty to influence his own views. He only mentioned them to explain how little he was in touch with official sources of information. He kept clear of politics. He lived remote, and amused himself with art and literature. When he [illegible] direct to the Sultan and to him alone. If his name was misu[illegible] it was not his doing. One of his objects in remaining at Tchemlidja, which I [illegible] was being used to give colour to idle rumours, was to ensure his aloofness.

I remarked that the only thing which seemed to separate his Imperial Highness from the High Commission was the question of Ferid Pasha, unfortunately a very [illegible] He held it still. He had implored Sultan Reshid not to send Jemal Bey as vi[illegible] [illegible] disclosed Jemal's wild ideas about Egypt. He had known Jemal [illegible] and had known him as a friend, no, not as a friend [illegible] Prince added interjectionally, as an acquaintance, in short, a man good enough for Scutari, disastrous in Mesopotamia. He (the Prince) had [illegible] stop the [illegible] Patriarch would confirm that, as [illegible]

[illegible] were his views. March with [illegible] Palmerston's portrait hung on [illegible] hung there throughout the war. He [illegible] one day be Sultan, [illegible] it did.

[illegible] of our diplomacy had then given Turkey into the hands of Germany, despite the wave of pro-English feeling which followed the Constitution. There were now in his view only two Great Powers left – England and America, two peaks rising side by side. He did not know how complete our unity of view might now be, but we should have our disagreements in future. Let us not hand Turkey over to America, but keep her [illegible] useful neighbour on the north of the stretch of country towards India held [illegible] invoked Wilson's principles emphatically in the course of the c[illegible] versation, expressed no views about mandates, and [illegible] mechanically as an appanage of the Sultanate. I did not enter into any discussion of [illegible] our general policy beyond suggesting that the surrender of Turkey to [illegible] country was [illegible] Constitutional episode as the fruition of Abdul Hamid's policy [illegible] Abdul Hamid had sown a seed, but it [illegible] only a seed in a f[illegible] ght he had planted a tree in a field, and that in the fullness of time (i.e., after the Constitution) the tr[illegible] shadowed the [illegible]

[illegible] ke without open bitterness of [illegible] episode of his telegram to the [illegible] other heads of States, but he accepted the explanation that each country had its own way of looking at things, and that for one reason or another, including constitutional reasons, the King had found it impossible to answer him.

On my departure the Prince personally conducted me to another room to show me the picture of Lord Palmerston.

The Prince makes a favourable impression, speaks with at least an air of sincerity, shows considerable intelligence and reading; expresses himself well and easily in French, is obviously highly strung, and, I should say, impressionable.

M. Ledoux told me he intended to ask for an audience for Saturday, the 9th August.

Enclosure 2 in No. 86

Note.

M. HUHLER regrette de n'avoir pu se rendre au désir de votre Altesse Impériale pour telles et telles raisons.

2. Votre Altesse Impériale a témoigné de son intérêt direct et pe[illegible] question de Smyrne par sa dépêche aux chefs des États ententistes [illegible] côté, que les Gouvernements de ces États ont étudié la question des événements suivant l'occupation de Smyrne de la manière la plus sérieuse.

3. La décision prise dernièrement par la Conférence [illegible] Gouvernement ottoman à deux points de vue. Il y aura délimita[illegible] formellement que tout cela ne préjuge en rien la solution éventuelle des questions [illegible]

4. Cette décision prive de toute ombre de just[illegible] quelque temps, à l'intérieur et même à Constantinop[illegible] préparer une résistance aux décisions définitives de [illegible] raison que ces Hauts-[illegible] sabilité toute particulière qu'ils ont pour le maintien de l'ordre, ont suivi [illegible] d'une démarche verbale pour attirer l'attention du Gouvernement encore une fois sur la [illegible] la responsabilité dont je viens de parler découle des termes même de l'Armistice. Ils sont résolus à s'en acquitter par le seul moyen possible, c'est à dire en soutenant l'autorité légitime du souverain et de son [illegible]

6. Les Hauts-Commissaires sont confiants que votre Altesse Impériale partage leurs idées et qu'elle se rend compte de l'effet dangereux qui produirait sur les [illegible] de ce pays tout mouvement qui serait contraire à l'ordre ou qui mettrait [illegible] danger la vie des habitants. Ce serait compléter la ruine d'un Empire déjà ébranlé jusqu'à ses fondements par la fête des Gouvernements d'il y a cinq ou quatre [illegible]

7. Malheureusement des gens malveillants abusent du nom auguste de votre Altesse Impériale pour attirer vers ce mouvement les âmes simples. Les Hauts-Com[illegible] savent combien ces calomnies sont injurieuses pour [illegible] ne saurait vouloir s'opposer à l'autorité du [illegible] des mesures tout-à-fait contraires aux intérêts de [illegible] famille Impériale.

8. Le peuple ignorant est d'autant plus facilement trompé par ces calomnies que la résidence de votre Altesse Impériale à une certaine distance de la capitale donne lieu à toutes sortes de bruits relatifs à ses mouvements actuels et futurs.

119995 No. 87

Colonel French to Earl Curzon.—(Received August 23.)

General Headquarters, Egyptian Expeditionary Force,
August 11, 1919.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith for your information copy of a letter from the Commander-in-chief, Egyptian Expeditionary Force, to the Secretary, War Office, London, in regard to Mr. Justice Brandeis and Zionism.

I have &c.

(For Acting Chief Political Officer, Egyptian Expeditionary Force.)
C. WALEY, *Major, G.*

Enclosure in No. 87.

General Sir H. Allenby to Mr. Churchill.

General Headquarters, August 6, 1919.

SIR,

MR. JUSTICE BRANDEIS, who sailed for Europe on the 26th July [illegible] doubt discuss at some length with you the impressions he has gained and the conclusions he has come to as the result of his visit to Palesti[illegible]

On his arrival in Egypt I pointed out to the Judge, in a lengthy interview between us, the peculiar local difficulties besetting the Zionist programme in Palestine, the opposition to it on the part of the non-Jewish elements of the population—which at present constitute a large majority—and the fact that my administration, being a purely military one, can only act in strict adherence to the laws and usages of war. I laid stress on the fact that scrupulous fairness characterised the dealings of my administration with all classes and creeds, and I pointed out that His Majesty's Government's policy, contained in the Balfour declaration, though fully appreciated by myself and my subordinates, did not entitle me as a military administrator to grant to the Zionists privileges and opportunities denied to other members of occupied enemy territory. Mr. Justice Brandeis, who appears to me to consider the future of Zionism in a statesmanlike and broad-minded manner, at first gained the impression, I believe, that I was unduly apprehensive, and consequently rigorous in my control of the actions of the Zionist Commission. On his return from his tour, however, he admitted that [illegible] the position was in no wise exaggerated, and that he found the difficulties [illegible] and serious than he had anticipated. At the same time his visits, [illegible] ded twenty-two colonies and all the towns where important Jewish influence [illegible] gthened his opinion as to the wisdom and practicability of the establishment of a National Home for the Jews in Palestine. He agrees with me that the only policy to be followed at present is one of great patience and moderation, and that every care should be taken to avoid exciting, by threats of expropriation and subjection to Jewish dominion, the enmity and fear of the non-Jewish elem[illegible] that the same sane spirit and [illegible] and vision does not [illegible] ng articles of Zionist publications in Europe, most of which find [illegible] and centres of Palestine and are the primary cause of the bitt[illegible] antagonism at present shown to the Zionist progra[illegible]

Mr. Justice Brandeis was accompanied by the Zionist Commission during his tour, but Major Waley also travelled with him and ensured his coming into close contact with such sections of his community as cause a bad impression and represent the [illegible] tory aspect of Zionism. His demeanour towards local leaders was exceptiona[illegible] [illegible] and on several occasions he administered rebuke to those who had caused trouble by immoderate conduct and self-advertisement, thus giving proof to Palestinian Jewry that the real leaders of the movement appreciate the pettiness and undesirability of local disputes and intrigues. The Zionist Commission, on the other hand, has not always been firm enough with the unruly spirits of the community, and has made promises of concessions impossible to be carried out. This has resulted in a loss of authority and prestige.

During his tour various grievances against my administration were laid before Mr. Justice Brandeis. It was alleged that there had been unfair restrictions on Jewish development, amounting to contravention of His Majesty's Government's policy, and that this was due to anti-Semitic prejudice on the part of Government officials.

[illegible] pared fully into the alleged anti-Semitic attitude of the administration, I am satisfied that any such complaints are without foundation. I understand that Mr. Justice Brandeis on the conclusion of his visit held the same opinion. There have certainly been some misunderstandings between the administrators and the Jewish leaders, and it has been and will continue to be necessary for qu[illegible] security or military exigency to take precedence, a necessity which [illegible] naturally sometimes unable to appreciate. The chief administrator has, however, invariably been ready to receive the representatives of the Zionist Commission at any time, and if those grievances had always been brought before him they would have been carefully considered. The Zionist Commission has, however, not always adopte[illegible] his policy, and has referred complaints direct to its organisation in Europe. Such [illegible] ture makes difficult the relations between the Chief Administrator and the Zionist [illegible]

Mr. Justice Brandeis fully appreciated this and has explained to the present leaders of the Commission his views as to the correct method of procedure.

[illegible] the Judge expressed his gratitude for his sympathetic reception [illegible] ties and for all the facilities afforded him during his stay.

I have, &c.

E. H. H. ALLENBY, *General Commanding-in-Chief,*
Egyptian Expeditionary Force.

No. 88

Colonel Wilson to Major Young.—(Received August 26.)

My [illegible] Y[illegible] *The Rest, Ellington Road, Taplow, Bucks, August 23, 1919*

[illegible] SENDING [illegible] the ownership of Khurma which I wrote on my way hom[illegible]

I would be very much obliged if you would kindly bring them to the [illegible] the authorities concerned. I regard this question of Khurma as being [illegible] His M[illegible] and [illegible]

Yours [illegible]

E. WILSON

Enclosure in No. 88

Some Notes on the Ownership of Khurma

1. THE Emir Ibn Saud claims that Khurma is within the boundaries of his Emirate of Nejd. As far as I am aware, practically no evidence has been produced by Ibn Saud to substantiate his claim.

2. All the evidence obtained from notables in Jeddah and in Mecca (some of them Wahabis), from tax collectors of the Turkish Government, greybeards of the Buqum and Subai tribes, and others is unanimous on the point that Khurma district for generations has been under the jurisdiction of the Emirs of Mecca, with the exception of the period during which the holy cities were occupied by the Wahabis early in the nineteenth century.

3. Assuming Ibn Saud's contention to be correct, it follows that the Emirs of Khurma are subjects of, and owe allegiance to, Ibn Saud alone, and it is relevant to consider how far the conduct of Emir Khalid al Khwai has been consistent with such alleged allegiance.

4. Late in 1916 King Hussein hearing that Khalid was getting too enthusiastic about the recently formed Akhwan, sent him orders to come to Mecca [illegible] was kept under "open arrest" as he [illegible]

At the request of Emir Abdulla he was allowed to go to the former's camp at Wadi Ais, where I met him in April 1917.

Emir Abdulla states that he had long talks with Khalid about the Akhwan movement, [illegible] towards the end of 1917 [illegible] being satisfied with the latter's professions of loyalty [illegible] the reluctant consent of King Hussein to the return of Khalid to resume his [illegible] of Khurma.

5. With reference to the Cadis of Khurma, I offer the following remarks:—

After the suppression of the Wahabi revolt early in the nineteenth century, a [illegible] of the inhabitants of several villages, amongst them Khurma, clung to the [illegible] W[illegible] g to the Hanbali division of the Moslem relig[illegible] the number of Wahabis in Khurma the Emirs of Mecca usually appointed a Hanbali [illegible] the local cadi.

Emir Abdulla informs me that the present cadi is from Wadi Dawasir and was appointed in the ordinary course by the Emir of Mecca (King Hussein), who paid his salary and those of his assistants. It is not impossible that the cadi also received some salary from Ibn Saud.

In 1917 it was reported to King Hussein that the cadi was preaching the Wahabi [illegible] He was ordered to Mecca, where he was given a serious lecture by King H[illegible] returned to his post at Khurma. As he still continued preaching the W[illegible] faith, he was sent for to Mecca a second time, and appears to have [illegible] King Hussein with his protestations of loyalty, &c.

However, on returning to Khurma the second time, the cadi threw off all pretence [illegible] original cadi, who was officially discharged.

6. The Emir Khalid arrived at Khurma from the Emir Abdulla's camp about the

time the Cadi of Khurma had refused to obey the third summons to Mecca, thereby openly defying King Hussein's authority.

7. On the arrival at Khurma of the newly-appointed cadi, Khalid refused to allow him to take up his duties or to recognise his appointment, and openly raised the standard of revolt against King Hussein.

8. It is a fact that Khalid obeyed the King's summons to Mecca and spent the best part of a year (1917) at least in that town and Emir Abdulla's camp. Also in [illegible] Khalid, as Emir of Khurma, attended King Hussein's "coronation" and [illegible] it was during this visit that King Hussein ascertained that Khalid had joined the Ikhwan.

9. If Khalid was an Emir under Ibn Saud and ruling a part of the latter's territory, would Ibn Saud have quietly acquiesced in an important official of his being kept a virtual prisoner for about a year?

If the cadi was an official of Ibn Saud's and appointed by him, would he have kept quiet knowing that King Hussein had sent for the cadi and severely lectured him?

Ibn Saud has lost no opportunity of making complaints to His Majesty's Government about alleged hostile actions of King Hussein, and if either of the above men was really an official of Ibn Saud's, I find considerable difficulty in believing that he would allow such flagrant encroachments on his sovereignty to pass unnoticed and in silence.

I understand that Mr. Philby largely bases his assertion that Khalid is one of Ibn Saud's governors on the statement that Khalid was in receipt of some salary from Ibn Saud before his revolt. This is by no means unlikely; indeed, it is probable that when Khalid joined the Akhwan, Ibn Saud paid him some sort of stipend for propaganda and political purposes, a financial investment which has proved highly profitable.

10. Soon after Khalid raised the standard of revolt, Mr. Philby passed through Khurma (December 1917), and it is interesting to note how the situation was reported to him on the spot. In the account of his journey from Riadh to Taif (Arab bulletin No. 81, page 74, dated 9th March, 1919), Mr. Philby writes as follows:—

"Khurma is inhabited mainly by Subai tribesmen, who at the moment of our arrival were all out in the desert, leaving the village to their slaves and women, and to the Jew merchants, mainly representing Washm, who reside here in connection with the trade with the interior.

"The cause of the exodus of the tribesmen with the local Emir—a shereef—appeared to be that the latter had incurred the displeasure of the Shereef of Mecca by embracing the Wahabi faith, or perhaps had embraced the Wahabi faith because he had [illegible] the shereef's displeasure, and that the Shereef of Mecca has commissioned the [illegible] of Turaba and the Buqum tribe to attack the rebels of Khurma as occasion offered.

"The place was therefore virtually in a state of siege in the sense that [illegible] was allowed to its people in the direction of the Hedjaz, while the warriors of t[illegible] and Buqum were trying to out manœuvre each other in the vast plains between Qunaiya and the Hadhu hills."

It will be noted that Mr. Philby writes of the "rebels of Khurma." Thus Khalid and those inhabitants of Khurma who revolted with him were described to Mr. Philby as being rebels against King Hussein.

Mr. Philby had been living in Riadh for some time. His escort was composed of Nejdis supplied by Ibn Saud, and it is probable, though I have no information on the point, that Ibn Saud sent a responsible sheikh or a member of his entourage with him.

When passing through Khurma district Mr. Philby records the fa[illegible] given to him at the time, that the Emir and some of the inhabitants of K[illegible] open rebellion against King Hussein.

It will be agreed that Khurma cannot correctly be described as being in a state of revolt against King Hussein if it forms an integral part of Ibn Saud's dominions.

Surely if Khurma belonged to Nejd some one member of the escort or some local sheikh or Arab would have informed Mr. Philby of the fact.

11. As I have frequently pointed out, the Khurma episode has its origin in Khalid joining the Akhwan movement and eventually openly revolting.

King Hussein was fully occupied at the time with the war against the Turks and, miscalculating the strength of the revolt, twice sent a hopelessly inadequate force to put [illegible] King Hussein remained on the defensive, and no further attacks were made by him.

[illegible] two had corresponded and arrived at an understanding), laid claim to Khurma; he

[illegible] to Taif and should the Emir and a sufficient number of the inhabitants of Taif join the Akhwan movement [illegible] town would not be unexpected.

One of the big Sudai Sheikhs (Mishari-ibn-Nasir) came to Jeddah last month with Emir Abdulla. He states that his tribe has always belonged to the Hedjaz, and been under the Emirs of Mecca, [illegible] the Akhwan sect, and his tribesmen have become Akhwan by force of circumstances; an Arab strongly objects to leaving his own country, and as remaining entails sudden death or an outward profession of the Akhwan faith, it is not surprising that the latter [illegible] usually taken.

[illegible] I feel it my duty to again emphasise the fact that it is impossible [illegible] King Hussein to accept arbitration on the question of the ownership of Khurma. It [illegible] did his prestige would suffer a very severe blow, while Ibn Saud's would be correspondingly increased.

Should His Majesty's Government insist on the ownership of Khurma being [illegible] a subject for arbitration I have little doubt (Emir Abdulla and others have [illegible]) King Hussein would abdicate, a course which would almost certainly be followed by general anarchy in the Hedjaz; Emir Abdulla, the Grand Cadi of Mecca, and all other [illegible] we consulted are convinced on this point.

I maintain that it is [illegible] the Hedjaz, and if its ownership is arbitrated upon by His Majesty's Government Akhwan shares would certainly boom.

14. King Hussein has times innumerable warned us of the dangers of the Akhwan movement, [illegible] to realise and fear them and both appear willing to co-operate with King Hussein in preventing further infiltration [illegible] into their countries. Indications of a growing nervousness in Koweit and Iraq [illegible] (see recent reports circulated by Bagdad).

15. In our own [illegible] only course open to His Majesty's Government is to adhere strictly to their frequently expressed decision that they regard Khurma as being within the dominion of King Hussein; any other course is fraught with grave danger to British interests.

[illegible] With regard to [illegible] Boundary Commission could work on the ground, and at any [illegible] years before any Boundary Commission could work on the ground, and at any [illegible] marks would be a useless expenditure.

[illegible] between duly authorised representatives of each side should be arranged [illegible] Cairo, Ko[illegible] or some suitable place; an impartial British official with a [illegible] Arabic, e.g., Commander Hogarth, C.M.G., would be appointed arbitrator by His Majesty's Government with or without assistants and decide on the future boundary.

If Ibn Saud and the Emir Abdulla were the representatives at such a meeting I am inclined to think there would be a good chance of an amicable agreement being arrived at.

17. The decision as to the line of action to be taken by His Majesty's Government should not be delayed.

C. E. WILSON, *Colonel.*

August 8, 1919.

No. 89.

Earl Curzon to Rear-Admiral Webb.

(N. 1416.)
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, August 27, 1919.

YOUR despatch No. 1417 of August 9th.

I approve Mr. Ryan's language.

You should discourage project of sending Unionist undesirables to Italy.

[121950]

No. 90.

Rear-Admiral Webb to Earl Curzon.—(Received August 28.)

(No. 1457.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, August 17, 1919.

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 1327 of the 9th August, and to my telegram No. 1669 of the 17th August, I have the honour to state that I have already on many occasions impressed upon the Turkish Government its responsibility for taking all possible measures to prevent massacres of Christians. I have pointed out that such occurrences can only result in opinion in Europe becoming more averse to Turkey. The Grand Vizier and the Cabinet realise this, and also the fact that disorders or massacres are most prejudicial to Turkish interests and aspirations. I am continuing to make strong representations in this sense.

2. The difficulty is not due to failure on the part of the Turkish Government to realise the seriousness of such occurrences, but rather to its lack of authority, and to its powerlessness to enforce its will in many of the districts of Anatolia.

3. In this particular case (the reported killing of Christians at Oushak), the Turkish Government asked permission to send the 23rd Division, some 1500 strong, from Afion Karahissar to restore and maintain order. This could not be agreed to, as General Milne was of opinion (in which I fully concur) that there was a danger of these troops [illegible] Greek Area of Occupation. The Government has, however, no means of taking effective action to put down disorder except the army, and the feeling aroused in the army by the events following the Greek occupation of Smyrna is so bitter that it is most inadvisable to allow part of it to be employed near the area of occupation in order to put down Turkish risings directed against that occupation.

4. I am convinced that the present unsatisfactory situation in Anatolia (which tends to grow worse as time goes on) is the direct result of the presence of Greek troops in the Aidin vilayet, and the regrettable excesses of which, there is unfortunately no doubt, they have on several occasions been guilty.

5. It is hoped that the delimitation of the respective spheres of military occupation [illegible] guerilla fighting by bands of irreconcilables.

[illegible] I would urge that more than local conditions in and around the Aidin [illegible] by the continuance of the Greek and, in a lesser degree, the Italian [illegible] to weaken the authority of the Turkish Government, to increase racial animosity and lawlessness in other districts than Aidin, and to give into the hands of the Committee of Union and Progress and National Defence leaders a weapon of which they are [illegible] all use to work up Turkish opinion against the Allies.

7. The fact must not be lost sight of that every Turk, of no matter what party or political sympathies, is sincere in looking upon the Greek and Italian occupation as a violation of right and justice.

8. I consider that the difficult situation with which the Allies are now faced in [illegible] would greatly improve if an agreement were come to by which both Greek and Italian troops were entirely withdrawn from Asia Minor. This withdrawal would, [illegible] the National Defence Party by depriving it of its main *raison d'être*, and would thus largely assist to put an end to the present state of affairs which is the direct outcome of the landing of these troops.

9. The presence of a number of Allied officers in the districts evacuated by the Italian and Greek troops would, I consider, ensure that reprisals were not carried out, and the Turkish Government, in its measures to maintain order, would have the support of all elements except the professional brigands and the Committee of Union and Progress leaders.

10. The present situation is that neither the Allies nor the Turkish Government are in a position to suppress sedition or disorder in the provinces. Unless we are prepared to undertake a military occupation, it is essential that the authority of the [illegible] support of the moderate Turkish elements can be won back as long as the presence of the Greek and Italian troops remains a cause of irritation and unrest.

11. I am, of course, aware that the putting into effect of this proposal would mean the reversal of a decision already agreed upon by the Supreme Council, and that there

are other considerations involved, such as the *amour-propre* of the Greeks and Italians, and the effect which would be produced upon public opinion in these countries by the withdrawal of their troops. Regarding the importance to be attached to these considerations, I can express no opinion. It is because I feel strongly that the only effective way to remove the most serious of the difficulties with which the Allies are confronted in Turkey is by carrying out the measure proposed, that I now put it forward for your Lordship's consideration.

12. The withdrawal of these troops would not, in my opinion, be taken by the Turks as a sign of weakness on the part of the Allies, but as [illegible] Allies—were able to control such smaller nations as are pursuing a policy [illegible] and annexation, and as an indication that the final terms of peace, however severe would not entail the partition among various claimants of the predominantly Turkish parts of the Empire. The Committee of Union and Progress would doubtless endeavour to make capital out of this withdrawal, but their influence and power to cause trouble would be greatly reduced from the fact that the danger of Greek aggression in Asia Minor no longer threatened.

13. In submitting this proposal for your Lordship's consideration, I venture to express my opinion that, apart from the beneficial effect it would have on the situation now and during the remainder of the Armistice period, the withdrawal of Greek and Italian zones of occupation would greatly increase the possibilities of peaceful [illegible] being maintained in this country after the signature of peace, when presumably [illegible] part of the forces of the other Allied nations will be withdrawn from Turkey. [illegible] permanent establishment of a Greek military occupation in Anatolia would only provoke disorder and unrest, bring about the kem tadji hostilities between the two races which prevailed for so long in Macedonia, and be a constant danger to the maintenance of peace between Greece and Turkey.

14. I am keeping in close touch with my French colleague on this subject, and he has expressed his concurrence.

15. A copy of this despatch is being sent to Mr. Balfour in Paris.

I have, &c.,
RICHARD WEBB,
(*Acting High Commissioner.*)

[122311] No. 91

Earl Curzon to Mr. Lindsay.

(No. 407.)
Sir, *Foreign Office, August 29, 1919.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 150 of the 11th instant, I have to inform you that the American Ambassador called on Sir R. Graham on the afternoon of the [illegible] to speak about the evacuation of the Caucasus. Mr. Davis said that he [illegible] an answer from the United States Government to the enquiry which he had addressed to them after his conversation with me on the 15th instant, which was embodied in my despatch to you No. 447 of that date and the letter which I had sent to him on the following day, a copy of which is enclosed herewith.

[illegible] defray the expenses of the continued [illegible] British troops in the Caucasus. To obtain such funds they would have to ask Congress for an appropriation for this purpose. In view of the present political situation in America such action would be most inopportune and injudicious and might prejudice the prospects of the Peace Treaty being accepted. Nor could the American Government give any assurance whether, or at what date, they might be able to send American troops to relieve the British forces. Such an assurance would be regarded by the Senate as prejudging their ultimate decision on the question of Mandates, and would be deeply resented. Mr. Davis was, however, instructed by the United States Government to make an official appeal to His Majesty's Government not to withdraw the British forces in the Caucasus at the present moment, as such a [illegible] although the United States Government fully realised the difficulties of His Majesty's Government in the matter, the latter would be held responsible in the eyes of the civilised world.

Sir R. Graham said that this reply meant, in effect, that the United States intended to do nothing, but required His Majesty's Government to continue to bear the

whole burden in spite of the warning which had been given seven months ago that they would not be in a position to do [illegible] with his Excellency, explained the whole situation, and explained [illegible] His Majesty's Government, so fully to him that there was no [illegible] what had passed. No Government were more anxious, or indeed so anxious, to avoid the state of affairs which was foreshadowed as the result of British [illegible] Majesty's Government would no doubt do everything that was possible to prevent such a catastrophe arising, but their powers in this respect were strictly limited, and they were placed in a most unfair and unenviable position.

Mr. Davis replied that he realised this perfectly well and could only express his sympathy.

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

Enclosure in No. 91.

Earl Curzon to the American Ambassador.

My dear Ambassador, *Foreign Office, August 19, 1919.*

[illegible] Armenian question and the Caucasus, I expressed some surprise that, if American opinion was as deeply stirred as I was led to believe on the subject, no official representations had reached me from the American Government, and I was left to gather [illegible] sentiment from the reports and appeals and protests of private individuals. I [illegible] ther said that, anxious as we were to do everything in our power to satisfy American opinion and to protect the Armenians, it was difficult to modify our announced and already inaugurated policy of evacuation, unless we knew for certain for how long a period we were requested or expected to remain, and what part the American Government were prepared to play at its close.

Later in the evening Mr. Bonar Law, speaking on the same subject in the House of Commons, used the following words:—

[illegible] as he suggests, we would only too gladly welcome it. Indeed, I think I might say more, with the consent of my right honourable friend. It is, if I may be permitted to say so, an American problem rather than a British. They are in a better position to deal with it. They have interests as great as ours—I think, greater. I can assure the House that if the President of the United States were officially to say to the British Government, 'We wish you to hold the fort for a little until we can make arrangements,' we would certainly do our best to meet him.

[illegible] Law meant to add, what I may here be permitted to add on behalf of [illegible] Majesty's Government, that, in the event of the American Government addressing us in the sense indicated, it would seem only reasonable that the financial burden of [illegible] borne by Great Britain, but should be assumed by the State which expects to be, or is likely to become, the mandatory for the Armenian people. Our own financial [illegible] regions have already been so overwhelming that we should not [illegible] justified in continuing them for a further period.

[illegible] Excellency that you should telegraph in this sense to your [illegible] matter is one that calls for very early decision.

I have, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

1226 0 No. 92

Rear Admiral Webb to Earl Curzon.—(Received August 30.)

(No. 1745. Urgent.) R.
(Telegraphic.) *Constantinople, August 29, 1919.*

GRAND VIZIER has addressed to my colleagues and myself note [illegible] telegram which he wishes us to send to President of Peace Conference pointing that delay in making peace is stopping working of the whole machinery of Government.

ment finances, justice, public safety owing to impossibility of reorganising gendarmerie, commercial industries are all suffering alike from prolonged uncertainty. Crowds of people of Moslems and Christians have been [illegible] and are [illegible] without resources, and winter is fast approaching. His Highness begs, therefore, [illegible] peace may be re-established at earliest possible moment.

After consultation with my colleagues it was decided that French High Commissioner should forward telegram to President of Conference, whilst Italian High Commissioner and myself should inform our Governments, recommending request to their [illegible] attention.

[illegible] of message has been sent to Foreign Office and Paris in [illegible] telegram No. 1525 of 25th August.

(Repeated to Peace Conference, No. 179.)

[117353] **No. 93**

Earl Curzon to M. Cambon.

Foreign Office, September 1, 1919.

Your Excellency,

I HAVE now received the necessary report to enable me to reply to the note which your Excellency was so good as to address to me under date of the 27th May on the subject of the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway.

I would point out in the first place that any claim preferred by the French Company in respect of the period prior to British occupation must be a claim against the Turkish Government and not against His Majesty's Government. From this point of view I presume [illegible] company's claim will be dealt with by the appropriate [illegible] commission when [illegible] and, it is proposed to establish, so soon as the [illegible]

As regards the period of British occupation, [illegible] seem to rest on the assumption that the railway has deteriorated during that period. In point of fact, the effect of British occupation has been the exact contrary, very extensive restorations having been carried out by the British military authorities. This is evidenced by the report which I have the honour to append.

Even had the company been in a position to prove that the [illegible] under British occupation, their remedy would, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government and in [illegible] 3 of the annex to The Hague Convention of 1907 on the Laws and Customs [illegible] have lain against the future Government of Palestine, which might clearly have been required to restore the line to [illegible] position in which it was when the British military authorities took it over.

I trust therefore that in the light of the facts set out above, your Excellency [illegible] His Majesty's Government can admit no claim whatever [illegible] connection, whether based on the above-mentioned Article [illegible]

I have, &c.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[illegible] No. 93.

Report on Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway.

Pre-War Position.—The line was 1·00 metre gauge. Workshops were situated at [illegible] port by which fuel, rolling-stock, &c., was imported.

The main stations were—

	K. h.
Jaffa	0[illegible]
Ludd	1910
Jerusalem	86[illegible]

In addition there were four smaller stations.

In July 1907, the French company possessed—

6 locomotives,
15 passenger carriages,
45 goods wagons.

The annual goods traffic was 45,000 tons.

During the war the sequence of events on this railway was as follows:—

Jaffa-Ludd Section.—This was removed bodily by the Turks and relaid elsewhere. The rolling-stock was also removed. During the subsequent British occupation of this territory a 60 cm. line was constructed from Jaffa to Ludd along the same alignment that the old French line had followed. This 60 cm. line is still in existence as a military line (August 1919).

Ludd-Jerusalem Section.—The Turks altered the gauge of the original line [illegible] of the military railway which they had built through Tul Keram and Ludd to Beersheba.

On their retreat the Turks seriously damaged this 1·05 metre gauge line and rolling-stock.

On occupation by British troops the Ludd-Jerusalem section was at first repaired [illegible] 3 ft. 6 ins. gauge rolling-stock was provided from the [illegible] was converted to 4 ft. 8½ ins. gauge so as to give through communication from Egypt without change of gauge. This entailed considerable work, including the widening of rock cuttings. The line still exists in 4 ft. 8½ ins. gauge (August 1919).

Summary of Damage done by Turks during the War.

The Jaffa-Ludd-Jerusalem railway was originally 1·00 metre gauge. [illegible] stations were all badly damaged and the original 1·00 metre gauge rolling-stock [illegible]

August 15, 1919.

[124460] **No. 94**

Rear-Admiral Webb to Earl Curzon.—(Received September 3.)

(No. 1525.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, August 25, 1919.

THE Grand Vizier has several times lately spoken with great bitterness and [illegible] of the prolonged duration of the armistice, pointing out that every [illegible] of the administration was equally fettered and rendered incapable of action. [illegible] has been quite willing to admit that all naval and military activities were rightly and properly checked and suppressed, but he complained of the paralysis entailed [illegible] of the Interior and Finance in particular and also [illegible] organisation of the gendarmerie.

3. I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship herewith copy [illegible] I have just received from his Highness enclosing copy of a telegram which he desires [illegible]

4. I shall at once consult my colleagues on the matter, but am forwarding to [illegible] a messenger who starts almost at once.

I am sending a copy of this despatch to Mr. Balfour in Paris.

I have, &c.

RICHARD WEBB,
Acting High Commissioner.

Enclosure 1 in No. 94.

Grand Vizier to Vice-Admiral Calthorpe.

Excellence,

Constantinople, le 24 août 1919.

HISTOIRE [illegible] entre la suspension des hostilités et le retour définitif à la paix, état normal des sociétés humaines.

Les événements tragiques de Smyrne troublèrent toute l'Asie Mineure, bouleversée [illegible] par une guerre néfaste. Partout dans l'Empire, le peuple [illegible], délogé de ses foyers, suivit en masse un mouvement d'émigration et de [illegible] sans pouvoir se fixer nulle part sur les terres dévastées. L'approche de l'hiver augmente actuellement les soucis de leur triste existence. Jamais [illegible] humain, même dans l'antiquité chaldéen[illegible]

Le Gouvernement Impérial n'attache pas plus d'importance qu'il n'en convient aux troubles signalés en Asie Mineure. Ils sont provoqués par quelques jeunes exaltés, ambitieux ou mécontents, qui trouvent un terrain facile à exploiter dans le sentiment national exaspéré par la question de Smyrne. Ce n'est aujourd'hui qu'un mouvement superficiel et restreint, mais qui, à la longue, pourrait n'être pas sans danger. Le Gouvernement Impérial déploie, pour le réprimer, la même énergie dont il fit preuve dès le commencement de la crise, mais, sûrement, il convient d'en supprimer la cause pour en prévenir les effets. En butte à des difficultés continuelles, inhérentes à l'état actuel du pays, préoccupé à déjouer d'incessantes intrigues, le Gouvernement Impérial perd un temps considérable à remédier à cette situation, alors qu'il aurait pu le consacrer entièrement aux intérêts généraux de l'État et à la prospérité de [illegible] aucun progrès moral aucune amélioration du sort du peuple n'est possible tant que [illegible] cette incertitude. Ce n'est ni la guerre, ni la paix; et, cependant, tous les [illegible] de l'une continuent à sévir dans le pays, sans que celui-ci puisse profiter des [illegible] de l'autre.

Aux considérations ci-dessus exposées, il y a lieu d'ajouter les difficultés de toute nature qui entravent l'action gouvernementale, et les mouvements d'indiscipline qui n'ont pu se dessiner que parce que les conditions de l'armistice ont considérablement réduit les moyens militaires dont les autorités impériales peuvent disposer. D'autre part, la situation actuelle du pays prive, comme de juste, le Gouvernement Impérial des ressources normales du budget qui n'est point en mesure de subvenir efficacement aux dépenses qu'entraîne la réorganisation de la gendarmerie et de la police, nécessaires au maintien de l'ordre public.

Par toutes ces raisons, je viens prier [illegible] à la Conférence de Paris la vraie situation [illegible]

[illegible]

A cet effet, j'ai l'honneur de transmettre ci-après à votre Excellence une dépêche adressée à son Excellence M. le Président du Conseil suprême de la Paix, avec prière de vouloir bien la faire parvenir à sa haute destination.

Veuillez agréer, &c.

AHMAD FERID

Enclosure 2 in No. 94

Grand Vizier to M. Clemenceau.

Constantinople, le 24 [illegible]

L'ARMISTICE dure depuis dix mois. Le retard apporté à la [illegible] aux pendant si longtemps arrête le fonctionnement régulier de tout le rouage de l'État. Le Gouvernement, privé des ressources normales de son budget, éprouve des difficultés pour faire face aux dépenses qu'entraîne la réorganisation de la police et de la gendarmerie d'ailleurs limitées par l'armistice bien au-dessous des chiffres nécessaires.

Les finances, la justice, enfin toutes les branches de l'administration, ainsi que l'industrie et le commerce souffrent de cette incertitude prolongée, et les efforts incessables du Gouvernement tendant à une réforme générale restent stériles. Il s'ensuit un malaise général et une complication dans les affaires de l'État, [illegible] manifestent à Smyrne et dans d'autres provinces de l'Empire.

Une foule de peuple musulman et non musulman, délogés de leurs foyers, pendant le cataclysme des cinq dernières années suit un mouvement d'émigration et de migration sans pouvoir se fixer sur leurs terres dévastées. L'approche de l'hiver aug[illegible] soucis de leur triste existence. Exaspérée de leur misère, ils peuvent devenir un élément de danger pour l'ordre et la sécurité en Orient.

Comme votre Excellence avait reconnu elle-même par sa note du 27 juin l'inconvénient qu'il y aurait à remettre les négociations à une époque ultérieure, je viens la

prier de bien vouloir autoriser de nouveau la Délégation ottomane à se rendre à Paris dans le délai le plus rapproché pour le rétablissement définitif de la paix, état normal des nations.

DAMAD FERID

[127161] No. 95

Note communicated by French Embassy, September 10, 1919.

A DIVERSES reprises et en dernier lieu le 14 janvier 1918, les phares situés dans la mer Rouge et appartenant à la Société des Phares de l'Empire ottoman ont fait l'objet d'un échange de correspondance entre le Foreign Office et l'Ambassade de France à Londres.

Des renseignements parvenus récemment à Paris, il résulte que les autorités [illegible] (mer Rouge) avec un nommé Cocaldi, agent dans cette ville de la Société des Phares.

Or, c'est cette dernière compagnie qui, seule, a qualité pour traiter de ces questions.

Ainsi le Gouvernement franç[illegible] France d'attirer l'attention du [illegible] phare de Moka [illegible] tration de la Société des Phares de l'Empire ottoman, conformément aux [illegible]

M. de Fleuriau saluat, &c.

Ambassade de France, Londres
septembre 1919

[127757] No. 96

Rear-Admiral Webb to Earl Curzon.—(Received September 11.)

(No. 1535.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, August 27, 1919.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 1668 of the 17th August, relative to the [illegible] Minister of War, and Tewfik Pasha, Minister without [illegible] in the Turkish Cabinet, it may be of interest to summarise the development of the internal political situation in Constantinople since the reconstruction of the Cabinet after Ferid Pasha's return from Paris.

[illegible] existence Ferid Pasha's new Government [illegible] The [illegible] but the [illegible] stick wit[illegible] agreeing on their attitude towards the [illegible] in the interior, Izzet Pasha resigned his [illegible] as Minister without portfolio rather than agree to drastic action. The struggle [illegible] leaders in the movement, viz.: Mustafa Kamal Pasha and Reouf Bey, who are working the Erzeroum district, and two less notorious individuals who are playing a leading rôle in Southern Anatolia. The Government had, of course, no means of executing these [illegible] increased by the publication of eloquent circulars, and by a redistribution of posts in the Ministry of War on lines rather unfavourable to Chauvinists. I enclose a French [illegible] of the principal circulars issued by the Minister of the Interior.

[illegible] High

Commissioners on the 3rd August, announcing the decision to delimit the sphere of Greek military occupation in Southern Asia Minor, contributed to produce a temporary improvement in the *façade* of the Government. Unfortunately, however, no real goods have so far been delivered inside the shop. The Chauvinist movement in the interior has indeed not swept the country, but its organisers can be relied on to work steadily to increase its range. The political agitators and the brigands of every hue, from misguided patriots to simple robbers, who now infest the country, show the most painful indifference to the best circulars of the Minister of the Interior. The civil provincial authorities are still for the most part more amenable to local influences than to that of the Government. Even when they wish to obey the latter they are [illegible] by the military commandants, who stand in with the Chauvinists, and who therein reflect the policy of everyone of influence at the Ministry of War, or at any rate of everyone who held influence there until the recent change of Minister.

5. The subterranean power of the Chauvinists even in Constantinople is shown by such incidents as the escape of Halil Pasha, reported in my telegram No. 1670 of the 18th August, and the sense of instability which prevails is increased by rumours from the interior, *e.g.*, the report that the "National Defence" forces are about to establish themselves at Eskishehr and cut communications with Eastern Asia Minor.

6. Notwithstanding all this, Ferid Pasha's Government now appears to be [illegible] gaining ground. The various "congresses" at Erzeroum and other places, which [illegible] one time looked like the prelude to an attempt to set up a separate Government in the [illegible] themselves, it is true, but, as has been hinted above, the attempts at a national [illegible] negative source of strength. Unless Ferid Pasha is swept away by some sort of coup d'*Etat* in Constantinople, by some sudden new development of the movement in the interior, or by a financial crash, he may succeed after all in weathering his difficulties. The Grand Vizier displays in his own person one of the most remarkable characteristics [illegible] Turkey as a whole, namely, a wonderful faculty of hanging on. It is [illegible] general tendency of his internal policy at present appears to be in the direction of a mild form of Hamidian despotism. It is possible that he and his Imperial master realise dimly that this is the only system on which it is at all possible to govern [illegible] Grand Vizier and the Minister of the Interior to get [illegible] hand. Suleiman Sheik Pasha, the new Minister, is [illegible] drastic changes than [illegible] so far to justify suspicion of [illegible] would naturally prefer to [illegible] whose ideals no patriotic Turk can fail to have sympathy, howe[illegible] differ from them as to methods. The next development in the situation [illegible] compromise, which would mean that if Erzeroum submitted to [illegible] Constantinople would have moved a little closer to Erzeroum.

8. Should Ferid Pasha throw up the sponge or be driven from office, the candidates most in view for the unenviable succession are Tewfik Pasha, Izzet Pasha, Ahmed Riza Bey, and Rechid Bey.

9. Tewfik Pasha appeals to a larger number of the diverse elements in Turkish political life than any other candidate. He has the [illegible] He is in reality worn out [illegible] People of genuine [illegible] head of the Govern[illegible] be served by a less subservien[illegible] reputation of a soldier-diplomat. He is believed to be by personal sentiment heart and soul with the Chauvinist movement, but he appeals to many who are apprehensive [illegible] movement, he would direct it and hold in check its wilder exponents. Izzet Pasha

could not, any more than any Turkish Grand Vizier, hope to defy the *Entente* Powers [illegible] at any rate satisfy the hotheads in the provinces by offering passive resistance here, while tolerating the growth of the [illegible] but to eventual resistance to the practicable imposition of unfavourable peace terms.

[illegible] Mat[illegible] Pasha and Rechid Akif Pasha, may be regarded as variants on Izzet Pasha. Each of them is favoured for particular reasons by his supporters, but if any of them came into power it would be at the head of the Government more or less in sympathy with the national defence movement.

12. The candidature of Rechid Bey derives its principal importance from the fact that the French authorities here appear to favour it and that, according to some accounts, the French Government have actually engineered his return from Switzerland [illegible] definite object of placing him in power. I cannot believe that he [illegible] large body of support in this country, or that he would have [illegible] Pasha, unless, of course, his sponsors were prepared to [illegible] *Entente* have done for no Turkish Government since the Armistice, namely, to give him positive support by holding out some definite prospect of the maintenance of the integrity of a reduced Turkish Empire, and by helping to replenish the now almost empty exchequer.

13. Turkish public opinion is much exercised over the question of future mandates. The papers are full of controversies as to what, if any, mandate would best suit the country, and what powers should be vested in the mandatory. These discussions react [illegible] might be expected on the internal political situation for the simple reason that [illegible], including myself, is baffled as to the intentions of the Conference, and nearly [illegible] one is at sea as to the real convictions of his neighbours. The mass of the people are apathetic on all political questions. The majority of the thinking classes would prefer no mandate at all.

14. Many of those who, while thinking this, consider a mandate inevitable, and most of those who consider a mandate desirable, would like to see it conferred on Great Britain, but are discouraged by the sphinx-like attitude of His Majesty's Government and their representatives.

15. French pretensions are very much less in evidence than they were two [illegible] ago, but the possibility of an American mandate is widely canvassed. It is generally [illegible] regarded with apprehension because its advocacy is associated in the public mind with [illegible] elements, and because the Americans are [illegible] governance of dependencies or the conditions of [illegible] be the hood on which the barber learns his trade." [illegible] and it admirably suits the Turkish attitude in this [illegible]

I have, &c.
RICHARD WEBB,
Acting High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 96.

Extract from the "Entente" of August 10, 1919.

Circulaire télégraphique du Ministère de l'Intérieur aux Vilayets et Livas indépendants ou non indépendants.

(Traduction.)

COMME suite aux démarches diplomatiques que le Gouvernement n'a jamais cessé de faire, la Conférence avait décidé, ainsi que je vous en donnais connaissance dernièrement, l'envoi d'une commission mixte à Smyrne. Cette commission, dont la mission consiste à fixer et restreindre la zone provisoirement occupée par les Hellènes, et à faire une enquête équitable sur place au sujet des atrocités sans nombre commises par ces derniers, est arrivée à Smyrne. Le Général Milne qui la préside, ayant manifesté l'intention d'envoyer de suite le Général et les officiers qui l'accompagnent sur les lieux où leur présence est nécessaire, a exigé avec insistance que des communications soient transmises sans retard aux fonctionnaires ottomans, afin de faciliter la tâche de ces derniers; que les bandes qui se trouvent dans les localités hors de la zone d'occupation hellénique soient dispersées, et que défense soit faite aux habitants de participer à [illegible]

l'œuvre de ces bandes. Ces exigences du Général Milne démontrent l'urgente nécessité [illegible] nationales," dispersion que visent les instructions répétées du Gouvernement à ce sujet; [illegible] au pays tout retard dans l'application des instructions gouvernementales. Le Gouvernement [illegible] que les exigences politiques qui en découlent et y conformer notre politique intérieure [illegible] ceux à qui sont confiés les fonctions les plus importantes, ne sont pas au courant de ces réalités, et ne peuvent, malgré la capacité et l'intelligence dont ils peuvent être doués, saisir et estimer les nécessités de notre politique intérieure et extérieure au [illegible] que le Cabinet, qui détient le pouvoir, est le seul responsable des destinées [illegible] nationale qui doit se réunir prochainement, il est par conséquent logique que les opin[illegible] patriotique, ne sauraient être conformes aux exigences politiques et à l'intérêt gé[illegible] les formations nationales et le "Congrès" sont là pour démontrer la justesse [illegible] présente déclaration. Voilà pourquoi il incombe comme devoir principal à tous les fonctionnaires civils et militaires de prendre en due considération les instructions relatives à la dispersion des bandes réunies çà et là quel que soit [illegible] et de poursuivre l'exécution de ces instructions avec la plus grande activité et la plus grande célérité.

Pour ce qui est de la garantie de l'existence et des droits de la population, la prise [illegible] Ministère de la Guerre a transmis à qui de droit des ordres sévères. C'est pourquoi [illegible] considérations d'après lesquelles le Techkilati-Milli et les groupements form[illegible] d'autres noms seraient basés sur la défense du territoire ne sauraient être admis. Procédant à la prompte divulgation de la chose au moyen des journaux, de proclamations imprimées et autres textes conçus dans un langage compréhensible pour tous, il est nécessaire d'initier à la réalité des faits ceux qui n'en ont pas connaissance, de [illegible] prendre à ces incitations et excitations essentiellement pernicieuses au point de vue des intérêts du pays et de la nation. Il convient de faire comprendre parti[illegible] ceux qui, sans intention mauvaise, et croyant que ces initiatives pernicieuses [illegible] l'avantage du pays, se livrent à des incitations, qu'ils seront aussi, de par leur patriotisme mortifiés par les conséquences déplorables qui résulteront pour le pays de ces mouvements [illegible] patriotiquement, les déclarations écrites faites par le Général Milne au nom des États de l'Entente.

S'il s'en trouvait qui, à l'encontre des indications circonstanciées [illegible] persistaient dans les incitations et excitations, comme ils auront prouvé ainsi [illegible] seront entêtés de parti pris et mus par de mauvaises intentions, dans un mouvement contraire à la loi et éminemment pernicieux pour le salut du pays, il est de toute [illegible] à Constantinople à l'effet d'y être soumis aux prescriptions légales qui les concernent.

Le Ministère de la Guerre a fait des notifications dans ce sens aux autorités militaires.

[illegible] commandé à tous les fonctionnaires civils de se concerter avec les fonctionnaires militaires pour la mise à exécution intégrale de cette communication.

[124999] No. 97

Earl Curzon to Mr. Balfour.

(No. 5984.)

Sir, *Foreign Office, September 11, 1919*

RECENT developments in the situation in the Caucasus arising out of the decision to withdraw the British troops from that region lead me to think that it would be well briefly to retrace the course of events, more especially in so far as the Armenians are concerned.

I need not recall to you the circumstances in which we found ourselves forced to occupy Transcaucasia, nor remind you that our original intention was merely to expel

the Turks and the Germans, to secure control of the Caspian Sea so as to prevent an enemy invasion of Transcaspia, and to hold the railway from Baku to Batoum. As time went on, however, it became clear that the peoples of the several small States which, though formerly subject to Russia, had asserted their independence upon the collapse of that Power, were unfit to stand alone, and would lapse into fratricidal warfare if left to their own devices. They were further threatened with the danger of extinction at the hands of General Denikin's forces to the north of the Caucasus, that officer making no pretence of friendship for the newly-found liberties of Georgia, Daghestan, and Azerbaijan. Owing to our efforts these calamities have been averted and a measure of law and order has been successfully maintained in the occupied regions.

In the early days of the British occupation our presence was regarded with various feelings by the local States and populations, being welcomed by some, but regarded with suspicion by others, notably by the Georgians and the Tartars, on account of our relations with General Denikin, whose supposed ambitions they regarded with genuine alarm. No sooner, however, had our intention to evacuate become generally known than the benefits of our occupation were swiftly and universally realised, and passionate appeals were addressed to us from every quarter to stay.

[illegible] for War, and was finally decided upon, with your approval, on the 9th April, on which date you informed me that the Supreme Council at Paris had decided that our forces were to be replaced by Italian troops.

The news of our intended evacuation, and still more the proposed substitution of Italian troops, who had no experience of and no connection with those parts of the East, created a profound and unpleasant impression in the Caucasus. They were received by General Milne, Admiral Calthorpe, Mr. Stevens (His Majesty's consul at Batoum) with unconcealed dismay. They represented that this policy would be a betrayal of the Caucasian peoples, with whose aspirations towards independence we had shown no small sympathy; that the new States, if left unprotected in the early stages of their struggle for independence, would probably lapse into Bolshevism; that there would be much internecine strife, and probably massacres of Christians on a large scale; and finally, that our reputation in the Middle East would suffer a damaging if not a fatal blow. I confess that to a large extent I shared these apprehensions, all the more that I was quite unable to believe in the practicability or likelihood of the substitute of an Italian occupation.

In May rumours began to arrive that the Italians were disposed to reconsider [illegible] ask you to endeavour to hasten a decision on their part. Meanwhile it was decided on military grounds to postpone our withdrawal, originally fixed for the 15th June, until the 15th July, and subsequently again until the 15th August.

On the 20th July I was informed by the Director of Military Intelligence that he learned from the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, then in Paris, that the Italians had abandoned their intention to go to the Caucasus, and in your telegram No. [illegible] of the 6th July you informed me that you too understood this to be the case. It was not, however, until the 1st August that the Italian Ambassador was able to confirm it. No change was, however, made in our decision to withdraw.

[illegible] informed me that the Supreme Council had appointed [illegible] United States army, to be High Commissioner for Armenia on [illegible] Governments. No provision, however, was made for any material force for his support.

About the middle of July the reports from the military authorities began to show that the fears entertained as to the helpless position of the Armenian Christians were not unlikely to be fulfilled, and that fighting had already [illegible] Nakhitchevan district. Appeals for help from many and various sources reached me in large numbers, uniformly arguing that if our decision to withdraw were adhered to and no one were to take our place massacres might be expected to occur on an unprecedented scale.

[illegible] in a measure averted by the drawing of a dividing line between them, which [illegible] well acquainted with the country and the people, on a political mission [illegible] instructions to use his influence to prevent friction between General Denikin and the Georgian and the Azerbaijan Governments, to appoint subordinate officers as his representatives in the more important towns, and to endeavour by every means at his disposal to avert the anticipated massacre of the Armenians.

On the 9th August I received your suggestion that while our troops were being withdrawn an attempt should be made to interest the United States Government, as the possible future mandatory for Armenia, in the subject of the Caucasus, and that we might even delay the concluding stages of our withdrawal if we could induce them to send military forces to take the place of our troops. An enquiry from the War Office showed that any delay in the evacuation, which had indeed already begun, would present almost insuperable difficulties, owing in the main to the fact that the British troops were overdue for demobilisation and could not be pressed to remain in the Caucasus. I then saw the American Ambassador, and placed the whole matter before him (see my despatch No. 459 of the 11th August). Mr Davis did not, however, hold out much hope that his Government would intervene. On the 18th August I saw Mr Davis again and told him that the Powers in France, and we in London, were waiting for the Americans to decide upon the question of accepting a mandate. His Excellency again, however, expressed the opinion that it was improbable that his [illegible] On the 19th August I wrote to the American Ambassador on [illegible] statement made by Mr. Bonar Law in the House of Commons, to the effect that [illegible] Armenian problem was an American rather than a British one, that any [illegible] assistance from the United States Government would [illegible] that if President Wilson were officially to say to His M[illegible] wish you to hold the fort for a little until we can make arrange[illegible] Government would certainly do their best to meet him. I asked Mr Davis to find out [illegible] graph whether his Government would either send troops themselves or would be willing to bear the financial burden of the continued retention of ours in the Caucasus.

Mr Davis replied on the 29th August that for various technical reasons concerned with the sanction of the Congress the American Government could do neither of these things. His Excellency went on to say that his Government made an official appeal to His Majesty's Government not to withdraw the British forces in the Caucasus on the [illegible] and that massacres would inevitably result, and that the United States Government, while realising our difficulties in the matter, considered that we should be held responsible in the eyes of the civilised world.

All hope of practical assistance from America was therefore at an end.

[illegible] 20th August, I had, through the medium of the War Office [illegible] consulted General Milne by telegram as to the possibility of mitigating the consequences [illegible] evacuation by all or any of the following steps:—

1. Postponement of the withdrawal of the Indian native tr[illegible]
2. The supply of fresh British troops, if these were imperatively required, fro[illegible] Constantinople.
3. [illegible] supply of military escorts to the political officers appointed to the principal [illegible] in the Caucasus.
4. The leaving behind of tanks, armoured cars, and aeroplanes.

On the 21st August General Milne replied that a force of one Indian briga[illegible] British battalion, and an Indian machine-gun company might be earmarked for this purpose. He was, however, adverse from employing white troops, but it would be possible to arrange that armoured cars and aeroplanes should be left.

About this time a request was received from the Armenian National Delegation that their national forces in the Erivan Republic should be furnished [illegible] equipment by His Majesty's Government. I recommended this proposal to the War Office, but it was rejected on the ground that such action would aggravate an already dangerous situation.

On the 31st August I received a visit from Colonel Rawlinson, who stated that he had been sent by General Milne to lay the full facts before His Majesty's Government. He represented that the Moslem neighbours of the Armenian Republic were only [illegible] for the moment when the last of our troops should have left to invade that State and exterminate the entire Christian population, and that the Armenians were not in a position to offer any resistance. Colonel Rawlinson expressed the opinion that it was our moral duty not to abandon them to their fate, an opinion which, he stated, was shared by General Milne and the troops under his command.

On the same date I received your telegram No. 1309, in the third paragraph of which you stated that at a meeting of the Supreme Council a telegram from Colonel Haskell had been read to the effect that it was absolutely necessary to send troops to

Armenia in place of the British force in order to save the population from destruction, and [illegible] to send 12,000 French troops which, it subsequently transpired, would be landed at Alexandretta and Mersina.

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

130392 No. 98

Colonel French to Earl Curzon.—(Received September 17.)

General Headquarters, Egyptian Expeditionary Force,
August 30, 1919.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith a summary of the situation in Syria and Cilicia as it appears to me at present.

The visit of the American Commission came to a conclusion on the 24th of July when the Commissioners embarked at Mersina for Constantinople. While it is impossible to tell what may have been the conclusions they reached, there is good reason to believe that their report will be a document of considerable interest and material assistance, in that it was drawn up by men with keen and unprejudiced minds [illegible] opportunities of discussing the political situation and future of Syria with representative and intelligent men of every section of the community. They were accompanied by Colonel J. K. Watson, C.M.G., C.V.O., D.S.O., who was specially selected by the Commander-in-Chief on account of his linguistic qualifications and also because he had [illegible] in Syria, and was therefore entirely without bias. His duties with the Commission were to make all the necessary arrangements as regards transport, &c. He had no political duties.

There is no doubt that a considerable proportion of the population hope and believe that the report of the Commissioners may avert the granting of a [illegible] of mes[illegible] [illegible] attitude of classes is hardening as time goes on. The aversion to the French has been strengthened by the ill-timed and injudicious action of some of their officers, which gave the impression that they were anxious to prevent any Francophobe natives from meeting the American Commissioners. I do not believe that any such actions were encouraged by heads of the administration; they were for the [illegible] exhibitions of misplaced zeal on the part of indiscreet subor[illegible] [illegible] ately been encouraged by a propaganda campaign countenanced [illegible] n officials and which has been almost as harmful to French [illegible] and popularity as these indiscreet [illegible] lar instances of political pressure and propaganda in O.E.T. (East), [illegible] tors are Arabs, but from the evidence available they were not as numerous as in O.E.T. (West).

The whole country is now quiet from a political [illegible] view, but it is the quiet result partly from exhaustion which followed the political orgy during the visit of [illegible] and partly from the tension caused by the belief that the decision of [illegible] be known shortly.

The Emir [illegible] the visit of the [illegible] Commander-in-Chief and to inform him that in his opinion the political pers[illegible] practised by the French was with the deliberate intention of creating an [illegible] which would compel armed intervention. The Commander-in-Chief pointed out that it was almost impossible to prevent propaganda, that it usually recoiled on the heads of those who carried it out and that the French had made somewhat similar accusations against the Arabs, and satisfied the Emir by promising to make enquiries [illegible]

The situation is exceedingly difficult for the Emir Feisal whom I believe to [illegible] made honest attempts to hold the balance between the moderate and extrem[illegible] of the Arabs and who desires to fulfil his promises both to His Majesty's Government and to the Zionists; and this very honesty has to a certain extent undermined his influence which for the moment is probably decreasing rather than increasing.

On the other hand, if there were a crisis and he took the lead, as I believe he would it is probable not only that the Arabs would join him in large numbers, but [illegible] he might be joined by considerable numbers of Turks and Kurds who would [illegible]

prepared to serve with him as a leader not only of prestige, but of great ide[illegible] whom it might be possible to win the independence of large areas of the [illegible] Empire.

A long-standing feud between the Ansariah and Ismailien in the neighbourhood of Khadinus led to the despatch of a small French column which appears to have been ambushed and suffered a certain number of casualties. A joint Anglo-French political mission is now visiting the chiefs of the disturbed area and the latest information is that the tribe concerned has accepted the conditions imposed by the Commander-in-Chief, and made submission.

The situation in Palestine has not changed. A report on the visit of Mr. Justice Brandeis has been sent to you vide my despatch of the 11th August. This visit has undoubtedly done a certain amount of good, especially among the more extreme Zionists, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Brandeis will be able to impress on the Zionist leaders in Europe the need for caution and moderation both in deed and in word in [illegible] of the genuine and deep-seated dislike of the non-Jewish population of Palestine not only for Zionists but to a certain extent for all Jews.

The relations between the administration and the Zionist Commission have not [illegible] entirely satisfactory, mainly in consequence of the fact that the personnel of the [illegible] has not been strengthened by the presence of men of outstanding ability [illegible] its original formation. These relations must to a large extent depend on good personal relations and perfect frankness on the part of both parties. Recently there [illegible] been instances where questions have either been referred direct to the Zionist Organisation in Europe without previous discussion with the administration, or where the organisation has approached your Lordship on information received from Jewish sources other than the Zionist Commission. Either procedure is likely to lead to inexact [illegible] and friction on the spot between the administration [illegible]

There are other signs that the Zionists in Europe are not kept fully informed regarding the situation in Palest[illegible]

[illegible] Weizmann in a letter to Sir L. M[illegible]

[illegible] Weizmann invariably refers in his [illegible] non-Jewish inhabi[illegible] He no doubt realises that these "Arabs" consider themselves [illegible] Syrians and form the greater part of the population, and that it is [illegible] the Moslem and Christian Syrians that the idea of nationalism is strongest.

The proposed acquisition by the Zionists of the Kaiserin Victoria Augusta Hospice as a university presents certain practical difficulties which no doubt might be overcome, but it should be pointed out that ever since its construction it has been regarded as a Christian institution with a Christian chapel, wh[illegible] has always been used as a headquarters. To re[illegible] and to hand it over as a Zionist university would, in my opinion, earn for the Mandatory [illegible] minority, none of whom even now quite [illegible], and I think it will be admitted that the prestige of [illegible] Power is worthy of some consideration, most of all perhaps by the Zionists.

Finally, I will venture to suggest that there would a[illegible] the leading Zionists to complain of what the administration have not [illegible] and the future. These difficulties are going to be very great, and will demand sympathy, tact, caution and absolute fairness to all sections of the population on the part of both administration and Zionists. Great ideals and enthusiasm are not enough to ensure success, and any ill-considered haste is likely to delay rather than expedite the realisation of a Jewish National Home.

I have, &c.

C. FRENCH, *Colonel*,

Acting Chief Political Officer, Egyptian Expeditionary Force.

[130700 No. 99

Rear-Admiral Webb to Earl Curzon.—(Received September 18.)

(No. 1601.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September 3, 1919*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of a letter which I have received from Captain Perring, the relief officer detached from this High Commission for duty at Samsoun, reporting a conversation which he had with Hamid Bey, the Mutessarif of [illegible], on the 24th August.

2. I would point out that Hamid Bey is rather a remarkable personality amongst Turkish Governors. Before the war he was associated with Colonel Graves and Brigadier-General Deedes in the organisation of the civil Inspectorate of the Turkish Ministry of the Interior, and both these officers speak highly of his ability, energy, and honesty of purpose. In the autumn of 1914 he was appointed Vali of Diarbekir, where, on the outbreak of war, he did everything in his power to facilitate the journey of His Majesty's vice-consul and staff to the coast, in spite of instructions to the contrary from Constantinople.

In consequence of his opposition to the policy of deportation and massacre of Armenians, he was dismissed from the post of Vali of Diarbekir early in 1915, and returned to his post in the Inspectorate of the Ministry of the Interior. About three months ago at the urgent request of the Minister of the Interior, he accepted the inferior post of Mutessarif of Samsoun, as it was felt that the situation there required the presence of an exceptionally capable Governor.

3. His recent declarations to Captain Perring are, in my opinion, quite sincere and of great interest as symptomatic of the effect produced upon Turkish provincial administration by the Greek occupation of Smyrna, and the consequent development of [illegible] Defence movement, which now embraces all classes of Moslems.

[illegible] growing agitation amongst the Turkish population makes it difficult, if [illegible] possible, for local Governors to carry out some of the requests of our officers for the restitution of Christian property, or the arrest of notorious offenders, who are now figuring as Turkish patriots, and, in the absence of any power to enforce compliance it may, to my great regret, become necessary to restrict our activities in this direction.

4. As regards Hamid Bey's remarks on the effect which would be produced by [illegible] he and those for whom he professes to speak are at heart opposed to the control of any Christian power, still they would now welcome such a mandate as a lesser evil than the alternative, which they all so greatly fear, namely, the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire under several foreign flags.

I have, &c.

RICHARD WEBB,

Acting High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 99.

Captain Perring to Rear-Admiral Webb.

(No. 231.)

Sir, *Samsoun, August 24, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to report that Hamid Bey, the Mutessarif of Samsoun, came to see me this morning.

2. He requested me not to push so hard for the restitution of certain properties the return of which I have insisted on; he explained that owing to my insistence the Turks were getting very agitated. I promised to leave these for several days, but insisted on his giving me a written guarantee for their not being tampered with, &c. This he gave me.

3. He then requested me to write to you about Emin Bey and to request you not to insist further on his arrest. This, I explained, was an impossibility for me to do; he, however, offered me a guarantee for this man's behaviour, and stated that he would personally see that for the future he would not take part in any political or committee propaganda.

4. He then spoke of the future of his country, and stated that it was obvious [illegible] Turkey [illegible] Great Britain was the only country that they would accept; also that if they had the choice they were unanimous that Great Britain should take over control at once.

5. He complained bitterly of the way the French treated him, but this, of course, I refused to discuss.

6. He informed me that he was in communication with Mustapha Kemal Pasha and explained his motives, saying he would be most glad for me to meet Kemal. [illegible] assured me that the whole movement would cease the very day we took over control of Turkey.

7. I promised to forward his expressions to Constantinople, and he stated that both General Deedes and Colonel Graves knew his honesty of purpose.

8. He also requested my help in removing two or three desperate characters who are in prison here, and requested me to put them on board [illegible] Constantinople; knowing the records of these men, I promised that this should be done.

I have, &c.,
J. S. PERRING, *Captain.*

[130723] No. 100.

Rear-Admiral Webb to Earl Curzon.—(Received September 18.)

(No. 1624.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, September [illegible]*

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith for your Lordship's information [illegible] of a report by the Military Control Officer at Afion Kara Hissar, entitled "[illegible] Events in Afion Kara Hissar since the occupation of Smyrna by the Greek Troops," and a second report from the Control Office at Eski Shehir on the subject of the [illegible] movement in that town, which have been sent to me by the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Army of the Black Sea.

2. The first report, I consider, contains a very impartial and straightforward review of the different phases of the situation which has arisen in Anatolia since the landing of the Greek army at Smyrna, and, with reference to certain matters therein referred to, I have the honour to submit the following observations for your Lordship's consideration.

Up to the time of the Smyrna landing the situation was not only generally satisfactory but was, moreover, steadily improving, and armed conflicts between Christians and Moslems did not commence until the decision was taken by the Peace Conference to send Greek troops to Smyrna; the authority of the Central Government was, in fact, fairly well established.

4. Following on the events at Smyrna [illegible] season, during which the [illegible] y general change taking place in the attitude [illegible] population, except in the areas into which Greek troops had penetrated. Towards the end of June began the organisation and gradual extension of the National Defence Movement, due to the efforts of the corps of officers and the partisans of the Committee of Union and Progress and strong Nationalist groups, working on the feelings of a population which, if not actively in sympathy with its objects, passively approved the organisation of measures to ward off the threatened danger of [illegible] and the partition of the country.

5. A later development, which tends to become more pronounced as time [illegible] is the antagonism to the present Government of the leaders of the movement. The present Cabinet is looked upon as weak, unable to uphold Turkish rights, unrepresentative of Turkish sentiment, and under the influence of the Allies. Although no open and general disavowal of the authority of the Cabinet now in power [illegible] (limited in the eastern vilayets from Mustafa Kemal's activities) has yet been [illegible] the central and western provinces of Anatolia, still the opposition to the Central Government has, nevertheless, shown itself by the expulsion or suppression of the civil authorities at provincial centres such as Ushak and Alashehr, and by certain other acts on the part of local military commanders clearly indicating that they look upon the Valis and Mutesarrifs as in a position of merely nominal authority.

6. The present policy of the National Organisation appears to be to wait on events [illegible] which is believed to have taken place as a consequence of Greek actions in the Aidin [illegible]nce. It is noteworthy that, except at two or three places within or in close proximity to the zone of operations in the Aidin vilayet, where Christians were

massacred by irregular and uncontrolled bands in retaliation for Greek atrocities, there have been nowhere any instances of massacre of the Christian inhabitants by the Moslems.

7. Thus, the rumour of a massacre at Ushak (the subject of my telegram No. [illegible] of the 4th August and your Lordship's telegram No. 1327 of the 9th August) proves to have been without foundation, and though the town was occupied by troops belonging to the National Army, measures were taken that the Christian population should not be molested.

8. Though the situation in Anatolia is at present outwardly quiet, I foresee the probability of grave troubles arising should terms of peace be imposed upon this country which will comprise the establishment of Greek authority over any part of Asia Minor, or the division of Anatolia into spheres to be administered by different Powers.

9. I am of opinion that any such decision would be followed by the repudiation by the provinces of the authority of Constantinople, and the setting up of one or a number of Nationalist and largely military congresses to control the country. In such a situation arises the Allies will be faced with a far more serious problem than that which exists already in the Eastern vilayets, and the execution of such terms as may be imposed upon Turkey will necessitate the undertaking of military measures on a very considerable scale.

10. I feel most strongly that the establishment in the future of normal peaceful [illegible] being given, [illegible] terms of [illegible] reasonable claims of the Turks that they should not be subjected to the rule of an alien and hostile race like the Greeks, and that that part of the Empire which the Peace Conference decides to leave to them should not be divided up amongst various [illegible] the sentiment against any such conditions is universal and very strong [illegible] peace and security it is, to my mind essential that the general Turkish population should not be left with the conviction that it has been harshly and unjustly treated by the Allies in respect of these two points.

11. It has become more and more clear to me that the only solution of the problem of future status of Anatolia which will provide an acceptable and stable settlement [illegible] a Power whose control will be welcomed by the great mass of the Turkish population. There is no arrangement except that of a mandate under Great Britain or, failing her, the United States which the Turks will willingly accept [illegible] although in putting [illegible] consideration, I am aware of the many and great difficulties which are [illegible] not appear to be feasible or desirable to close one's eyes to the real facts of the situation.

12. In connection with this subject, I would refer your Lordship to my despatch No. 1601 of the 3rd September, on the subject of the Mutesarrif of Samsoun.

I have, &c.
RICHARD WEBB,
Acting High Commissioner.

Enclosure 1 in No. 100.

Summary of Events in Afion Kara Hissar since the occupation of Smyrna by the Greek Troops.

(Issued by the General Staff "Intelligence" Army of the Black Sea, Constantinople.)

1. *Before Occupation.*—Previous to the occupation of Smyrna, the situation in Afion Kara Hissar was practically all that could be desired. There were, of course, a number of officials still in the sanjak who had taken an active part in the Committee of Union and Progress programme. [illegible] Astas [illegible] nationality was the cause of a certain amount of unrest. Owing to representations made by the people to the Minister of the Interior, he was sent away on the 9th June 1919, his place being taken by a Turk named Mahmoud Mahir.

3. *Djemal Pasha.*—On the 12th June General Kutchuk Djemal Pasha arrived in Afion Kara Hissar ostensibly to inspect the 23rd Division. It was discovered later however, that during his visit he had made a tour through many neighbouring villages and had asked the population to offer themselves to fight for Turkey when called upon

to do so. He also interviewed the Committee of Union and Progress Members in the towns. After his visits a great deal of unrest was noticeable in each place; the local Christians became alarmed; and vague rumours were about of movements being started [illegible] the Turks to raise volunteers. An intercepted wire, of same date about the middle [illegible] July, disclosed the fact that Djemal Pasha and other officers in the [illegible] implicated in a movement to call for deputies and set up [illegible] situation became so disturbed that the Vali [illegible] British Control Officer, and, at the same time, informed the Minister [illegible] to the state of affairs. This led to the recall of Djemal Pasha to [illegible] his being dismissed from the post of Inspector General of the Yilderim Army group.

4. *Popular feeling until July 1919.*—The popular feeling up to about the beginning of July had been that, if the Allies were to give the Turks definite instructions that the Paris Conference had ordered Greek troops to occupy Smyrna, and if they gave the exact limits of that occupation there would be nothing for the Turks to do but evacuate the area to be occupied and wait quietly for a just decision.

5. *Arif Bey.*—On the 4th July the [illegible] Hissar, and became actively [illegible] National Army. He openly confessed to writing violent and inflammatory articles in the local press with a view to arousing the people, and stated that he would not rest until there was no Greek soldier left in Smyrna, or he himself was dead.

6. *Change in character of National Movement.*—At the end of July the character of the National movement became more apparent, and the programme changed. Ouchak was surrounded by irregular cavalry, said to be mostly Albanians, the kaimakam was imprisoned, and a commission of eight persons was set up to collect money and food for the National Army. Tahsin Bey, commanding the National troops in that area, practically became Governor, and it was reported that all [illegible] Constantinople were cut. Two notices were posted up, one exhorting the local Christian population to remain calm, as they were in no danger; the other ordering all brigands and outlaws to give themselves up with their firearms and horses [illegible] they would be pardoned and enrolled in the National Army. The kaimakam was ordered to leave for Afion by road, probably to be killed on the way [illegible] agent accosted him and the chief of the municipality to leave by train for Afion on about the 10th August.

7. *Break between Civil and Military.*—After about the 25th July the Officer Commanding 23rd Division practically ceased all co-operation with the civil authorities, and refused to communicate with the Go[illegible]

8. *Kutahia occupied.*—It was reported that Kutahia was similarly seized by the National Army about the 9th August.

9. *The Commission and its Effects.*—On the 3rd A[illegible] composed of two members, Ferik Suleiman Pasha and Mehmed [illegible] civilian, arrived at Afion. The Governor informed the British Control O[illegible] they were appointed to bring about better relations between the military and civil authorities. The Officer Commanding 23rd Division, on the other hand, informed him that their duty was to investigate the National [illegible] Committee of Union and Progress element. The Commission went away apparently convinced that the movement was nothing to do with the Committee of Union and Progress. During their stay they interviewed the worst elements in the town, and insulted the Mutessarif by taking very little notice of him. Their visit certainly encouraged the leaders of the National movement, and discouraged the more moderate Turks.

10. *Anglophile K*[illegible] of Gawar, Van, arrived from Angora, and appeared to be very anxious to assist the British Control Officer. According to the opinion of Nazim the National mov[illegible] ganised by the Military Party as much against the G[illegible] against the Greeks. Later information led the British Control Officer t[illegible] this view.

11. *Threats against Civil Authorities.*—On the 6th August the chief of the [illegible]ality at Afion received a wire signed by Tahsin Bey, commander of the National troops at Ouchak, saying that unless he urged the people of Afion to take part in the movement, or forwarded the names of those who were preventing him from doing so, he would be sentenced to death by the National Army. The Mutessarif dictated a reply to the effect that the people of Afion were loyal to the Government of Constantinople. On about the 8th August the Mutessarif [illegible]

[illegible] National [illegible] at Afion saying that he was condemned to death by the National Army for "chloroforming [illegible] his sanjak.

2. *The new Movement in Afion.*—On the 9th August the new movement was [illegible] Officer Commanding [illegible] Arif Bey [illegible] from a tour round Ouchak, Alaschehr, Denizly, Dinair, and Sparta the day before. Every man who had been enrolled by Arif Bey was ordered to hold himself in readiness to move off. These volunteers began walking about the town, carrying rifles and bandoliers of ammunition, and the collection of money began.

[illegible] raised, every man is forced to pay a proportion of his money in five instalments. In Afion [illegible] £T 50,000 is to be paid in three instalments. In other words the town of Afion Kara Hissar is now in the hands of the National Army, though the civil authorities have not yet been interfered with, nor has the [illegible] been cut.

3. [illegible] *nding 23rd Turkish Division.*—On the 10th August the British [illegible] Officer Commanding 23rd Division, who told him that he had hurried back from inspection of his troops because he had heard of the events in Ouchak and Kutahia. The Officer Commanding said that, since his departure, over 1,[illegible]3 soldiers had deserted; that his battalions in Afion only numbered 30 men each; that [illegible] only about 1,000 remained; and that the men at present walking about armed in Afion were rearrested deserters, or soldiers looking for deserters. He felt sure that, if the Greeks were forced by the Allies to evacuate Smyrna, every man of the National Army would hand in his rifle and am[illegible] return to his home, but that, if the whole world ordered the Greeks to retain an inch [illegible] inland of Asia Minor, the National Army would continue fighting until the Greeks were cleared out, or the Turks were completely overcome by superior forces [illegible] Sultan from the National Congress now sitting in Erzerum, saying "that the people of Turkey hav[illegible] allowed His Majesty to give the Greeks Smyrna, but that, since the atrocities committed [illegible] Majesty on a like fate." This was answered by a notice in the papers that [illegible] such movement; but as the Divisional Commander said [illegible] in the Sultan, but from the Government in Constantinople which we no longer recognise."

15. *Payment of Volunteers.*—Men who have volunteered have informed [illegible] Denizli where they receive £T 10 [illegible] to Denizly, where they receive £T 25 each, a rifle and ammunition; and thence are sent to the front. Recently a number of men have deserted, owing to not having received sufficient pay. This has probably given the impetus to the requisitioning of [illegible] back towns. In fact it appears evident that the number of men the Turks can [illegible] the Volunteers and especially their families.

16. *Rations.*—A large quantity of rations are said to be supplied to the [illegible] by the 23rd Division; but no proofs of this report have as yet been obtained.

17. *Anglophile Turks.*—Certain influential and trustworthy Turks, who are said to be Anglophile, have shown that they recognise the uselessness of the National move[illegible] that it may eventually cause to Turkish interests. It is reported [illegible] in spite of their not being in favour of the Nationalist movement, fear that they might be forced to join it. There is, however, a feeling that the British having taken the matter in hand will have a salutary effect in the district.

18. *The French Commander.*—The Commander of the French Senegalese battalion [illegible] Afion, Major Labonne, is taking a very active part in the political situation of the [illegible] He has agents everywhere from whom he receives daily reports, and has also apparently, unlimited money. For instance, on the 4th June he gave £T [illegible] He is unfortunate in his choice [illegible] ds, two of whom are the Officer Commanding 23rd Division, and Tourkouljay [illegible], a civil leader of the National movement. He recently made a tour [illegible] zly, Sparta, Nazily through Afion to Smyrna. He was given [illegible] Turks at Dinair, and met by a Turkish band. On the 8th August [illegible] the editor of the local paper "Ikaz" which was published next [illegible] al of harm. He practically said that the Allies sympathised [illegible] t, and permitted it. The next day he complained to the Governor that the editor had so mistranslated his statements as to make the article

entirely incorrect, but he would certainly [illegible] given the interview innocently. He must have known that [illegible] of the Extremist Party.

3. The conclusions of the British Control Officer stationed at Aidin are as follows:—

(a.) The present movement is showing itself to be as much the Committee of Union and Progress as military; and is directed as much against the present Government as against the Greeks. Ever is have now gone too far for the Turks to listen to the Allies with regard to the Greek o[illegible] nothing will satisfy them but the entire removal of Greek [illegible] Turks will no more accept a mandate of the Italians than [illegible] 23rd Divisional Commander has stated that if the Allies left the Italians any part of Asia Minor the Turks would not do so; and that the people of Buldur, Sparta, &c., were only allowing the Italians to remain owing to *force majeure*, i.e., their greater hatred of the Greeks.

(b.) The more intelligent Turks are also decidedly opposed to a dividing up of Asia M[illegible] h of which a different P wer will have a mandate. As they point out when the mandates are withdrawn, each zone will be found to have different laws and methods of administration, which would be fatal to the country as a whole. Neither do they want the French in the country, as French customs are so opposed to Moslem religi[illegible]

(c.) What the Turks would willingly accept is America or Great Britain as the mandatory Power for the whole of Asia Minor; the Power that accepts the [illegible] place technical advisers, such as experts in administration, [illegible] health, education &c. in each sanjak. "The simple Turkish [illegible] been forced anxious for one of the two above Powers to [illegible] try and save him from his own corrupt officials."

(d.) [illegible] day's delay in settling the future of Asia Minor encourages the Turk in his movement against the [illegible] They seem now to be quite convinced that all the Allies except the Greeks side with the Turks, [illegible] proof the fact that the British have never put British troops to guard the Aidin railway, thus tactfully allowing the Turks to use it as well as the Greeks.

(e.) The Turkish military leaders seem to wish to show that areas taken over by the National Army, such as Ouchak are far more tranquil than they were [illegible] before. They are thought to be succeeding in this, and are quite [illegible] for British or French officers to visit such areas to judge for [illegible]

August 25, 1919

Enclosure 2 in No. 160

Report on the National Movement in Eski Shehir

THE local situation has reached a climax which can best be described in the words of a pro-British Turkish officer, when he said "We *must* do one thing or the other." There are two strong parties here:—

1. Those who are content to passively wait and see what the future has in store for them, who place their confidence in the British, and who are endeavouring to restore the welfare of their country along industrial lines. This party comprises the majority of the rich Turkish merchants, their employees, the [illegible], in fact, a large percentage of the lower classes.

2. The [illegible] party are those who call themselves the National Army. The [illegible] these are the troops lately arrived from Angoro, headed by Atif Bey. They were immediately joined by all the local Committee of Union and Progress and many of their old followers, who had declared themselves "Pacifists" until an armed force appeared on the scene. The attached translation of a declaration, published in the local newspaper, will help to show to what a state of independence this National Army has reached. The former party, the Pacifists, although in the majority, are the weaker party, and are terrorised by the National Army, whom they call brigands.

Atif Bey literally rules Eski Shehir. The Mutessarif flits from one party to the [illegible] toasts that he does not recognise the British. He refuses to give information, but at the same time is in no way openly hostile, except that it is a generally discussed topic that, if the British attempted to take over further control of the interior, or to send more troops than they have there at present, the National Army would destroy the railway line, thus cutting off all communication. The spot selected for this is between Bilerik and Vezirhan [illegible] miles outside Eski Shehir. There are thirty-five tents in all, but I do not estimate that there are more than 100 men there. However, there are another 100 men (possibly more) in Eski Shehir. Atif Bey with his staff lives in the town.

Extracts from the "Imad" of August 14, 1919

What the National Army claims.—The blood shed by the murdering Greek army has brought about the formation of a group of national brigands who will always defend themselves honourably. "National Army" means an army that will never die miserably before the Greek arms; an army which punishes the wild Greek, who dishonoured our mothers and sisters, and killed the helpless fathers and grandfathers; an army which breaks the destroying hands of the vagabond Greek who has burnt our houses and villages; an army which, after protesting to the world, will drive out the Greek troops; an army which announces to the world that on Turkish lands only Turks may live. Knowing of the formation of such a divine army, you ought to give up all [illegible] to respect it.

After the signing of the armistice for the destruction of our country, a to[illegible] propaganda started. Greeks and Armenians, helping each other, wrote and publi[illegible] against us. By their own wish the Turkish mouths, which wished to defend themselves, were shut. The Greeks occupied Smyrna undefended, murdered its population [illegible]

[illegible] protest [illegible] in our press and by meetings, but the rights of the Turks were not heard. The Turks have claimed in a proper way the rights of [illegible] humanitarian nation from their victors but received no answer. They received instead [illegible] illegal actions, and protested against a Government, too weak to protect its right[illegible] Turkish National Army can never be defeated, but will always work in the Aidin vilayet. As they worked, Europe and America were obliged to take into consideration the action of the Turks, and to declare that the occupation of Aidin should [illegible]

[illegible] vernment announce that the occupation of Smyrna is to be prevented [illegible] National Army must not defend our country. If in this good [illegible] something patriotic, something towards the delivery of our nation then [illegible] will be forced to obey. But such prevention means that the Greeks will sti[illegible] s of the Aidin vilayet.

[illegible] of the National Army is to drive the Greeks from Smyrna and not to hoist their occupation.

Our rights were made known to the Greeks, and still they stay in our country. If the following claims of the National Army are performed, then we are satisfied:—

1. The Turks must rule over the Aidin vilayet. The Greeks themselves are witnesses of the anarchy which has driven people from their business.

2. Prevention of the spread of the occupied area will not satisfy us. Not a si[illegible] Greek must remain in Smyrna. They must pay indemnity for the damage they [illegible] Otherwise in Anatolia bloody battles will take pla[illegible]

4. The Government is pleased to prevent the spread of the occupation, but [illegible] should be pleased to see all Greeks driven out. Also they must not give the national soldier such titles as homeless vagabond, or brigand.

August 19, 1919. N.B.—The translation of the document referred to in the following report* has already been forwarded to the High Commissioner in a letter from the Commander-in-chief.

* Not printed.

The attached is the translation of a document handed to me this afternoon (19th), bearing the signatures of the 37 leading Turks of Eski Shehir * (The Director of the Municipality, the chief religious head, a lawyer, 16 leading merchants, 3 hodjas, 16 heads of quarters in the town and villages.) I have retained the original. It is unaddressed; is dated the 12th August, 1919, and was handed to me with some secrecy and fear I stated it would not leave British hands.

I have also just received information that the Director of the Post Office, Eski Shehir, has received orders from the Minister of War that he is not to allow Atif Bey to communicate with Afion Kara Hissar, Angora, or Kutahia. Atif Bey has met the situation by force, and had obliged the Post Office to forward his telegrams.

Information also just received, but not confirmed, states that Kutaya has been held up by a band from the National Army and forced to pay the sum of 80,000 liras under threat

, Lieutenant,
Control Officer, Eski Shehir.

(130728) No. 101

Rear-Admiral Webb to Earl Curzon.—(Received September 18.

(No. 1629.)

M[illegible] *Constantinople, September 8, 191[illegible]*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 1412 of the 9th August, relative to atrocities committed by the Greek troops in the Aidin Vilayet, I have the honour to forward herewith for your Lordship's consideration copy of a report dated the 30th August which I have received from my representative at Smyrna, enclosing an account of the proceedings of the trial by court martial of Lieutenant-Colonel Alex Selina, who [illegible]ded the garrison of Aidin at the time of its capture by the Turks

2. M. Athinovenis, the Greek lawyer who wrote the account of the court-martial, was the leading Pan-Hellenist propagandist and intriguer in Smyrna before the Gr[illegible] landing. His statements, therefore, are far from impartial

I have, &c.
RICHARD WEBB
Acting High Commissioner.

F[illegible]

Representative of British High Commissioner, Smyrna and Aidin Vilayet, to British High Commissioner, Constantinople

(No. 158.) *August 30, 1919*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 104 of the 30th July concerning events at Aidin, I have the honour to enclose herewith an account of the proceedings of the trial by court-martial in Smyrna of Lieutenant-Colonel Alex Selina, who commanded the garrison of Aidin at the time of its capture by Turks

This account has been supplied by M. Athinovenis, a Greek lawyer, retained [illegible] the defence. It will be seen that the point of view set forth in the proceedings [illegible] entirely Greek one

JAMES MORGAN

Enclosure 2 in No. 101

Report of the Trial of Lieutenant-Colonel Selina, Commander of the Greek Garrison of Aidin, accused of having deserted his Post in presence of the Enemy

THE trial began on the 18th July, 1919, and lasted three days; twenty-two witnesses were heard. The following facts were brought out in the course of the [illegible]

1. The strength of the garrison at the time of the attack against the town (15th, 16th, and 17th June) consisted of 1,200 men There were also eight machine guns and two mountain guns.

2. At the time of the occupation defendant had posted guns for the safety of his

small garrison by the Meander passes and bridges to prevent invasion from Tchina Subsequently, however, he was ordered from Paris, through the chief of the army of occupation, to recall these guards; he was also prevented from sending out patrolling detachments and guarding the railway line between the Meander and Aidin, which was absolutely necessary for his communications, it being signified to him that the line would be guarded by diplomatic mea[illegible]

Many restrictions had been imposed by him as regards the disarming of the population, whereas it was known that the Mussulman population of the town disposed of 6,000 Mauser rifles, 4,000,000 cartridges, and many machine guns

W[illegible]le such restrictions were imposed on him a local rising was being prepared [illegible] of the Turkish army had transferred its headquarters from Aidin to Tchina, was mobilising four classes in the districts of Nazli, Tchina, Bagtarassi and [illegible] whole strength of the division [illegible] of machine guns, no infantry guns [illegible] ced by irregular volunteer bodies in the districts of T[illegible] Italian occupation

4. The attack on the garrison of the town commenced on the 15th (28th) June (Saturday). Both the regular and irregular army crossed the Meander easily, and with their heavy and other guns began the atta[illegible]

The next day, the 16th (29th) June, the guns began to fire into the town when [illegible] revolution broke out. Big red flags were hoisted on the mosques, and [illegible] posted on them attracted the Greek soldiers from Inonu. Strong Turkish forces, on the other hand, arriving from Tchina attacked the town from the south, while over 4,000 fighting Turkish inhabitants organised centres of resistance in the [illegible] and harassed the fighting garrison from behind

On Sunday another Turkish force was noticed coming up from the east, while the inhabitants of about forty Turkish villages north of Aidin came up to attack from the [illegible]le. Thus the attack came from four directions. The attacking force [illegible] d to be 15,000 The garrison struggled until late in the night, occupying the [illegible] posts in the town and expecting the reinforcement repeatedly asked for, espec[illegible] which had begun to run short

Meanwhile a fire broke out which assumed serious dimensions. In consequence [illegible] defendant concentrated his men on Sunday night on the heights [illegible] of the Greek army on the heights of [illegible] the army, and the use of it had been prohibited to the civil population, who were fi[illegible] to leave the town by ot[illegible]

This incident gave rise to a misunderstanding in consequence of which part the population remained in the town against their wish, while many others remained [illegible] thinking that owing to the protective attitude of the Greek army towards the Turkish population of the town there was no reason for fear in the event of the Turkish [illegible]

Unfortunately the provisions of the civilians who remained behind did not come [illegible] for after the occupation of the town by the Turks the whole body of young men [illegible] 1,500 of the population were slain, among whom, I Gomaris, representative of the Bishop of Heliopolis (Aidin), while 800 more have been carried away to Denizli [illegible] where they are still detained. Such a catastrophe of the civil population weighed [illegible] the conscience of the judges of the court martial, and seriously compromised [illegible] of Lieut[illegible] [illegible] 17th (30th) June commenced [illegible] prisoner had received orders "On [illegible] are being sent but will not arr[illegible] however that even on Monday the reinforcements [illegible] d that the encircling of the town was being completed, the [illegible] communications with Smyrna had been interrupted, and half an hour previous to [illegible] [illegible] demands, he thought [illegible] and commence the [illegible] ter[illegible]

The sortie had been carried out in order, the sick, wounded, and even the [illegible] them On the 17th June [illegible]

[illegible] the counter attack from Erbeli entered Aidin the Turks [illegible] [illegible]chinas. During the thr[illegible] [illegible] of the population a[illegible] [illegible]struction of the Christian [illegible]arter. The survivors assert that at [illegible] invading Turkish army and [illegible]dars was the commandant of the [illegible]

[illegible] ire Itsonas."

[illegible] nominated since three days after the same forces, [illegible] [illegible]urned to their posts, and asked for the acquittal of A. Schana. The [illegible] that the desertion had been denounced, but admitted [illegible] extenuating circumstances, and, instead of sentence of death, delivered sentence [illegible] servitude for life.

130729* No. 102

[illegible]ral Webb to Earl Curzon.—(*Received September* 18.)

[illegible]

[illegible], &c.
RICHARD WEBB,
[illegible] *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure in No. 102.

The Truth about Aidin.

ON [illegible]

[illegible] the Greeks and who now commands both the [illegible] and irregular troops of that District, sent an ultimatum to the [illegible] the town of Aidin by the 2nd July. [illegible] 26th June, a detachment of 150 men up to the bridge of the Menderes, four or five miles [illegible] them. On the morning of the 28th another detachment was sent, but fared likewise. In the afternoon of the same day shots were heard close to the town, and the Greek troops, who had occupied an elevated position, we[illegible] firing with rifles and machine guns from three different sides on the Turkish qua[illegible] tending that some shots had [illegible] ter having plundered and [illegible]

[illegible] not quite close to the town. All [illegible] shot with machine guns and rifles by the Greek soldiers and cavibans to [illegible] [illegible] decreased a great deal, still it continued right through the night [illegible] [illegible] proportions and had spread on one side towards the Bazaar, and [illegible] towards the Greek quarter of Nazli Keupru. The firing, the screams, and the [illegible] were unable to hold out any longer and were preparing to retreat. Whereupon the [illegible] [illegible] sensible, the more so as he was at the head of a well equipped f[illegible] with guns and ammunition. The excuse Colonel Skinas gave was that he was short of ammunition. It cannot be said for sure to what extent this was true, but the fact is that such waste in that line has rarely been seen, for the result of all the firing [illegible] forty-seven Turks in all, between killed and wounded.

As soon as the shameful retreat of the army was realised, and the consequences clearly foreseen, several hundred of the inhabitants took refuge in the convent. The Superior, Sister Marie Kuedis, as well as all the other sisters [illegible] manner, and did all they possibly could for the people. Seeing that the Turks were advancing, a delegation was sent from the convent to tell them that it was under French [illegible]

church close by. Fifteen or twenty were allowed to pass, but after that the rest were prevented from doing so, except for only bringing goods for the Mussulman women and children. Unfortunately a small door in the convent yard was broken in by several Turkish irregulars, and six or eight persons killed by them before the Turkish governor was able to interfere. Eventually the remainder of those who had taken refuge in the convent were allowed to escape, but not before they handed over as many possessed in the shape of money and jewellery, &c. Whilst the last refugees were leaving the convent, eight or ten were killed by the irregulars before it was [illegible] the Turkish Colonel Cherkat Bey. On Monday the 1st July, Mr. Holder, a British [illegible]

[illegible]

Guerilla fighting is still going on, and will continue so long as there is Turkish or Greek soldier left. The Turks openly say they will welcome any [illegible] gladly accept its administration, but on no account will they remain under Greek control.

Some days ago, forty Turks [illegible] troops. They were summoned four times to surrender, but they fought like lions until everyone of them was killed. Wounded Greek soldiers are being daily brought down to Smyrna.

One cannot help remarking that the Greeks are doing their level best to make [illegible] the Turks. Their continual [illegible]

under the very nose of the Turks, cannot but create ill-feeling, and a wider breach between these two races.

A few days ago fresh Greek troops just landed, whilst marching through the [illegible] of Smyrna were singing as follows: "Now [illegible] the foustanella (Greek kilt) has [illegible] to Smyrna, the fez will disappear, and the blood of the Turk will flow. Now [illegible] we have taken Smyrna let us [illegible] the ground, and [illegible] behaviour the Greeks [illegible]

130732

[illegible] Webb to Earl C[illegible]

(No. 1633. Very Confidential.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, September 8.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 1525 of the 25th August, I have th[illegible] to inform your Lordship that the Grand Vizier has [illegible] explained of t[illegible] difficulties which were being created for the Turkish Government by the [illegible] [illegible] matters, and said the only way by which it seemed to him it might [illegible] [illegible] it would be [illegible] understanding with Gr[illegible] [illegible] such an alliance was quite out of the question. [illegible] except in conjunction with our Allies, and [illegible] if they found that H[illegible] indulged in any conversa[illegible] with the Turks [illegible]

2. His Highness [illegible] somewhat different. Great divergences of opinion had come to the sur[illegible] treaty with Germany, where the negotiations were fairly plain sailing, and [illegible] international crises were not brought into question. I must admit, ho[illegible] from the moment of his assuming office he had never once sought to play off one Power against another according to the traditional policy of the Porte (and this is certainly [illegible]), but it was Great Britain that had fought with and had conquered Turkey and it was Great Britain that had the greatest interest in Turkey. Had not the P[illegible] Minister just said so, stating in his speech of [illegible] 18th August that vital British [illegible] the Turkish settlement with which Great Britain was intimately concerned? That expression of opinion had appealed to him most strongly for in his opinion, Turkish interests were absolutely dependent upon Great Britain and upon no other Power.

[illegible] he had made on the 30th March last [illegible] and said incidentally that, so far [illegible] tion, so why should they of any others; to which I replied that he must [illegible] that no [illegible]

4. He repeated the [illegible] was referred [illegible] hesitation or distrust [illegible] anything that could lead to [illegible] results could only be all the worse for Turkey. His object was to clear the air and to arrive at an understanding [illegible] Britain, so that when the Turkish [illegible] for discussion a large part of the [illegible] already removed beforehand, and the Turkish delegates would know approximately what ground they had to stand on. He instanced the conclusion of the treaty with Persia, which could not but redound to [illegible] happiness and prosperity of that land.

[illegible] be a note Turkey and Great Br[illegible] [illegible]

5. I refrained from expressing to Ferid Pasha my convicti[illegible] this would be nothing less than a matter of dictation, even if the [illegible] difficulty in arriving at the exact wording which they will dictate [illegible] [illegible] with pointing out that Persia during the war had [illegible] that [illegible] friendly neutrality; that the conclusion of so harmless and reasonable a treaty had provoked much criticism in Western Europe, and that the suggestion, even [illegible] separate negotiation, could not possibly fail to create exactly that [illegible] [illegible] of mistrust and rivalry which his Highness so clearly and wisely understood it was imperative to avoid. Therefore, whilst appreciated the advantages that were

[illegible] outweighed by the disadvantages on the other that I could only advise him [illegible] draw the suggestion.

I have, [illegible]

RICHARD WEBB

Acting High Comm[illegible]

[130943 A] No. 104

Aide-memoire in regard to the Occupation of Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia pending the decision in regard to Mandates.—(Communicated to Foreign Office September 18.)

[illegible] steps will be taken immediately to prepare [illegible] army of Syria and Cilicia, including the Taurus tunne[illegible]

2. [illegible] on, both to the French Government and to the Emir Feisal of [illegible] intentions to commence the evacuation of Syria and Cilicia on the 1st November 1919.

[illegible]

[illegible] British and French Governments, not only as between themselves [illegible] them and t[illegible]

[illegible] policy the garrison in Syria west of the Sykes-Picot line [illegible] will be replaced by a French force and [illegible] of Aleppo will be replaced by an Arab force [illegible]

[illegible] had shall have any responsibility within the zones from which [illegible]

[illegible] by British troops will then be Palestine detached [illegible] Dan to Beersheba and M[illegible]

[illegible] 1918 between M. Clemenceau and Mr. Lloyd George.

The British Government are prepared at any time to discuss the boundar[illegible] Palestine and Syria, and between Mesopotamia and Syria. In the event of [illegible] boundaries, the British Government are prepared [illegible] of a referee appointed by President Wilson.

[illegible] Sykes-Picot agreement, the French [illegible] the British Government [illegible] survey anywhere as far north [illegible] as well as the railway line. The British Government shall, a[illegible] perpetual right at all times to improve the facilities of these railway [illegible] port troops along the railway, and these rights shall a[illegible] without infringement of the neutrality of the French [illegible] Arab State. In the event of disagreement as to the lines of the [illegible] and oil pipe lines, the British Government are prepared to submit the [illegible] to the arbitration of a referee appointed by President W[illegible]

[illegible] immediately to carry out a survey with the object of finding, if pos[illegible] the railway line and pipe lines entirely within the British [illegible] them to avoid the necessity of exercising the rights of constructi[illegible]

[illegible] boundaries of Palestine and Mesopotamia are determined, the British commander-in-chief shall have the right to occupy outposts, in accordance with the [illegible] claimed by the British Government.

11. The French Government having accepted responsibility for the protection of [illegible] Armenian people, the British Government will consent to the immediate despatch of French troops via Alexandretta and Mersina for this purpose.

Paris, September 13, 191[illegible]

[132278] **No. 105.**

Rear-Admiral Webb to Earl Curzon.—(Rece[illegible])

(No. 1645.)

My Lord, *Constantinople* [illegible]

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lord[illegible] relative to the condition of Turkish prisons [illegible] the Allied Hig[illegible]

Proposition au sujet des prisons turques de Constantin[illegible]
Note from the Armistice Commission [illegible]
Note from the Sublime Porte to [illegible] Commission

2. As your Lordship is aware, the unsatisf[illegible] have, since the beginning of the Armistice, seriously occupied the attention of [illegible] High Commission, and attempts have repeatedly been made to induce the [illegible] prison administration and to improve the lot of the prisoners. Much of what had been done previous to June last is [illegible] in "Reports on Conditions in Turkish Prisons" (Miscellaneous, No. 6 [illegible] since that date further strong representations have been made to the [illegible] Government on the subject, which the Allied Sanitary Commission has carried [illegible] inspections and reported on conditions. Improvements effected by these measures have, however, been only temporary, and the continued insanitary and overcrowded state of the prisons has been a matter of grave concern to myself and my French and [illegible]

3. The security of the prisons is also highly unsatisfactory, and the Turkish [illegible] is apparently incapable, on account of the prevalence of corruption [illegible] the prison officials and warders, of preventing continued escap[illegible] [illegible]pearance of Hadi Pasha and Talaat Bey is the most glaring [illegible] the six weeks previous to their escape over forty of the worst [illegible] escaped in a single night from the central prisons by tunnelling [illegible] wall.

4. On account of this unsatisfactory state of affairs both as regards sanitary [illegible] and security, the Allied High Commissioners instructed the Armistice Commission (consisting of the three military attachés) to investigate and report what measures it was desirable to take in order to effect an improvement. The report of the Commission ("Proposition au sujet des prisons turques de Constantinople"), and the recommendations therein made were approved, and the Inter Allied Commission [illegible] prisons has now bee[illegible].

5. It is hoped that the activities of this Commission will effect a general improve[illegible] conditions, but the chief obstacle to any real reforms being carried out [illegible] as I have already had the h[illegible] [illegible]ng out to your Lordship with reference to the present inefficient state of the gendarmerie, the inability of the Turkish Government to provide [illegible]

I have, &c.

RICHARD WEBB,
Acting Ra[illegible]

[illegible] No. 105.

Proposal respecting Turkish Prisons in Constantinople.

[illegible] Délibération, les membres alliés de la Commission de l'Armistice ont été à [illegible]

Qu'il fallait laisser au Gouvernement turc l'entière responsa[illegible] et de l'hygiène de toutes les pr[illegible]

Qu'en ce qui concerne les détenus politiques, il était indispensable de n'intervenir que dans la mesure où les intérêts [illegible]

[illegible]

Ils ont l'honneur de soumettre à la réunion des Hauts-Commissaires :

Détenus de d[illegible]

Désigner une Commission des Prisons comprenant un officier de chaque [illegible] Puissances alliées qui sera chargé de l'inspection de toutes les [illegible] propres à améliorer la situation actuelle ; elle sera accréditée, d'une part [illegible] de l'Armistice, qui [illegible] serait représentée à [illegible]

La [illegible] des Prisons aura p[illegible]

[illegible]ner une prison spéciale susceptible d'être facilement gardée et d'être [illegible] dans des conditions hygiéniques acceptables ; dans cette prison seraient [illegible] les plus dangereux, les gardiens devraient être choisis parmi les meilleurs les plus consciencieux, et la Commission tiendrait à [illegible] qu'ils soient payés régulièrement par le Gouvernement ottoman.

(b.) Cette prison ainsi que toutes les autres, serait fréquemment inspectée par la [illegible] qu'elle soit visitée par des rondes et patro[illegible] serait de[illegible]

(c.) Les améliorations de toute nature seraient demandé[illegible] ottoman et leur exécution suivra de très près, mais en observant un [illegible] diligence strict et en ne faisant que des réalisations progressives, ab[illegible] qu'à chaque instant la tâche ne dépasse pas les moyens limités dont l[illegible]

[illegible] Commission des Prisons fournira chaque semaine un compte rendu détaillé [illegible] aux membres alliés de la Commission de l'Armistice, qui tiendront au courant la réunion des Hauts Commissaires.

[illegible] politiques.

[illegible] Commission des Prisons tiendra la Commission de l'Armistice au courant [illegible] détenus politiques incarcérés, tous ceux d'entre eux auxquels les Alliés peuvent repr[illegible] [illegible] comme à l'égard de leurs nationaux ou de leurs prisonniers seront immédiatement proposés pour la déportation, soit à M[illegible], soit à Malte.

BARTHELEMY
VITALI
J. M. SMITH.

[illegible]ure 2 in No. 105.

Note from the Armistice Commission to the Sublime [illegible]

DANS leur réunion de jeudi, 21 août 1919, les Hauts-C[illegible] alliées ont [illegible] Armist[illegible] Délégués m[illegible] [illegible] désignés ci-dessous

Capitaine M[illegible]
[illegible]

Ils demandent à la Sublime Porte de vouloir bien les accréditer, ainsi que [illegible] adjoints, auprès de la Direction de la Police turque de Constantinople et adresser à qui de droit des ordres pour que toutes les autorités turques leur donnent toutes facilités [illegible] tous renseignements et accèdent à toutes les demandes ; en particulier, des cartes personnelles leurs permettant d'entrer dans toutes les prisons à toutes heures et de les visiter, devront être remises.

Il y aurait tout avantage à ce que la Sublime P[illegible] veuille bien mettre à leur disposition un officier ou fonctionnaire turc bien au courant des prisons de Constantin[illegible] et de [illegible]

BARTHELEMY
VITALI.
J. M. SMITH.

Enclosure 3 in No. 105.

[illegible] the Letter [illegible]

[illegible] Princesses [illegible]

(Signature.)

Ministère des Affaires Etrangères,
le 4 septembre 1919.

132187] No. 106

Mr. Balfour to Earl Curzon.—(Received September 22.)

(No. [illegible])

Mr. BALFOUR presents his compliments to Lord Curzon, and transmits herewith copies of a memorandum dated the 11th August, 1919, on the subject of Syria, Palestine [illegible]

Enclosure in No. 106.

Memorandum by Mr. Balfour respecting Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia dated August 11, 1919.

THE effect which the Syrian question is producing on Anglo-French relations [illegible] causing me [illegible] ble anxiety, an anxiety not diminished by the fact that very [illegible] openly said about it, though much is hinted. The silence which the French [illegible] maintains about the Prime Minister's declaration that under no circumstances will Britain accept a Syrian mandate, is itself ominous. All know it, none refer to it [illegible] d it has done little or nothing to modify [illegible] of the French [illegible] ernment and the French Colonial Party that British offi[illegible] t Syria and [illegible] make a French mandate in the [illegible] doubt in part due to the same cause as most [illegible] a very clear comprehension by each party of the strength of his own case, combined with a very imperfect knowledge of or sympathy with, the case of his opponent. In this particular instance, for example, I have never been able to understand on what historic basis the French claim to Syria really rests. Frenchmen's share in the Crusades of the Middle Ages, Mazarin's arrangements with the Turk in the seventeenth century, and the blustering expedition of 1861 lend in my opinion very little support to their far-reaching aims [illegible] a case for Great Britain by recalling the repulse inflicted by Sir Sydney Smith [illegible] Napoleon at Acre, and a much better case by asking where French claims to Syria or any other part of the Turkish Empire would be [illegible] at the cost of British lives and British treasure.

If, however, we start from the French assumption, that they have ancient cl[illegible] Syria and the Middle East admitted as it has been in all the [illegible] that as the [illegible] fairness concede that they have someth[illegible] it themselves, and it is well to understand exactly what that [illegible]

Suppose, then, we w[illegible] M. Clemenceau to speak his full mind in defence of attitude of resentful suspicion adopted almost universally by his countrym[illegible] think he would reply [illegible] what in this fashion:—

In Downing Street last December I tried to arrive at an [illegible] with England about Syria. I was deeply conscious of the need of friendly relations between the two countries, and was most anxious to prevent any collision of interests in the Middle E[illegible] M[illegible] what modification in the Sykes-Picot [illegible] 'Mosul.' I said, 'You shall have it.' Anything else? He replied, 'P[illegible] Again, I said, 'You shall have it.' I left London somewhat doubtful as [illegible] rangement would have in France, but well assured that to Great [illegible] would prove satisfactory.

[illegible] was my surprise when I found that what I had given with generous a hand was made the occasion for demanding more. Mosul, it was useless unless Palmyra was given also. Palestine was no sufficient home for [illegible] northward into Syria. And as if this [illegible] it was discovered that Mesopotamia required a direct all British [illegible] Mediterranean, that this involved or was supposed to involve, the [illegible] land of Palmyra, so that Palmyra must follow Mosul and be transferred from the French sphere to the British.

All this was bad, but worse remains to be told. In the early days of the [illegible] Conference it was agreed that, spe[illegible] Europe should be held by the conque[illegible]

[illegible] could only be finally settled when other Turkish problems were dealt [illegible] But who was not to be mandatory could be settled, so far as England was [illegible] ed, at once. Accordingly, the Prime Minister took occasion formally to announce that under no circumstances would England either demand the mandate [illegible] take it; she valued too highly the friendship of France. Nothing could be more explicit. Yet at the very moment when the declaration was made, and ever since, officers of the British army were occupied in carrying on an act of propaganda [illegible] favour of England. Rumours were spread broadcast regarding [illegible] unpopularity with the Arabs, and though the rumours were false everything was done to make them true. There could be but one object in these manœuvres, namely, to make the British mandate, which had been so solemnly, and doubtl[illegible] repudiated in Paris, a practical necessity in the East. England's [illegible] would be broken, because England had so contrived matters that it [illegible] in fact be fulfilled. Syria would thus go the way of Egypt, and an [illegible] injury would be inflicted on Anglo-French relations.

This, or something very like it, represents, I am convinced, the present frame of mind of M. Clemenceau. The French Foreign Office, the French Colonial Party, th[illegible] shipping interests of Marseilles, the silk interests of Lyons, the Jesuits and the French clericals, combine to embitter the controversy by playing on French historical aspirations with the aid of mendacious reports from French officials in Syria. Relations between the two countries on this subject are getting more and more strained [illegible] it does most seriously behove us to consider the method by which this cloud of suspicion can best be dissipated, and an arrangement reached which shall be fair to both countries and of benefit to the Eastern world.

It must be admitted, in the first place, that we have not "staged" our plan [illegible] far as we have a plan, with any notable success. We have made a dramatic renunciation, but it has fallen flat. We have made a *beau geste*, and none have applauded. This is, of course, in part due to the fact that we are not proposing to give the French anything which they do not believe to be already theirs, and that what it is proposed to give them now is less than what they would have obtained under the Sykes-Picot Agreement. But it is also due in part to the fact that, if I am rightly informed, the British officers in Syria have not always played up to the British Ministers in [illegible] This is vehemently and most sincerely denied by General Clayton. But friends of [illegible] personally of one case in which a British [illegible] acquainted with the Prime Minister's pledge, thought himself [illegible] debarred by his instructions from giving an Arab deputation, which came to ask [illegible] British protection, the clear and decisive answer which, by destroying all hopes, would have effectually removed all misunderstandings. It is easy to guess what interpretation the French would put on an incident which must certainly have [illegible] is doubtless only one of many.

How came such things to happen? In the main, I hav[illegible] loudly-advertised policy of self-determination preceded by a [illegible] sion that began by being international [illegible] commission, by the very term of its reference [illegible] Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia desired, and to advise the Powers accordingly. We

gave it our blessing, and di[illegible] to supply it with every assistance. But this obviously involved, as an inevitable corollary, that the whole future of these regions was still in the balance, and that their destiny depended chiefly on the wishes of their inhabitants. No British officer could possibly think otherwise; yet, if he thus spoke and acted, there is not a Frenchman in Syria—or elsewhere—who would not regard him as anti-French in feeling, and as an intriguer against France in practice.

II.

This brings into clear relief what I [illegible] namely, that France, England, and America have got themse[illegible] Syrian problem so inextricably confused that no really [illegible] satisfactory issue is now possible for any of them.

The situation is affected by five documents, beginning with our promise to the Sheriff of the Hedjaz in 1915 going on to the Sykes-Picot Agreement with France of September 1916; followed by the Anglo-French declaration of November 1918 and [illegible] to the Commission sent out to examine the Arab problem on the spot—directions which, it must be observed, were accepted by France, Britain, and America, though the Commission itself was, in the end, purely American in composition. Those d[illegible] not consistent with each other; they represent no clear-cut policy, the policy which they confusedly adumbrate is not really the policy of the Allied and Associated Powers, and yet, so far as I can [illegible] them have wholly lost their validity or can be [illegible] in all respects as of merely historic interest. Each can be quoted by Fr[illegible] Britain, Americans, and Arabs when it happens to suit their purposes [illegible] each will be so quoted but [illegible] one is thus arrangement about the Middle East.

These difficulties are well illustrated by the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 1916. What its authors aimed at was the creation of two clearly defined areas, one carved out of [illegible] Arab territory, the first which should be F[illegible] French, the other English, as Egypt is English. Between them w[illegible] were occupied in part by nomad Bedouins, in part by a sedentary [illegible] population, urban and agricultural, who should be independent in the [illegible] in their own way, but who [illegible] and for certain purposes under the control, either of F[illegible] they belonged to what in the agreement was [illegible]

[illegible] supervising Powers it might really have proved [illegible] and history, such an overlordship is not a [illegible] to the immemorial customs and [illegible] portion of the [illegible]

[illegible] and pro[illegible] proceed on the assumption that, if we supply an aggregat[illegible] less homogeneous in language and religion, with a little assistan[illegible] good deal of advice, if we protect them from [illegible] violence they will speedily and [illegible] themselves into a democrat[illegible] state on modern lines. They will, in language borrowed from the declaration, establish "a national government, as I em[illegible] administration deriving its authority from the [illegible] nation."

[illegible] is meant, as I think it is, that when the Turkish tyranny is wholly past [illegible] will [illegible] found freedom to set up representative [illegible]

[illegible] the longitu[illegible] Damascus it will probably get us into trouble, unless, indeed, we can agree to treat [illegible] with a very wide latitude of interpretation.

How, indeed, when dealing with this series of documents, is latitude of interpretation to be avoided? Consider the following analysis:—

In 1915 we promised the Arabs independence, and the promise was unqualified, except in respect of certain territorial reservations. In 1918 the promise was by implication repeated [illegible] interpretation can, I think, be placed [illegible] unanswerable on the phrases in the declaration about a "National Government [illegible]

Administration der[illegible] its authority from the initiative and free c[illegible] native population.

[illegible] 1916 (Sykes-Picot) [illegible] Arab State (i.e., areas A and B) was qualified [illegible] powers, as, indeed, it is under the mandatory sy[illegible] these documents undoubtedly mean [illegible] adviser whose advice must be followed; and assuredly [illegible] really independent which has habitually and normally [illegible] supported, if the worst comes to the worst, by troops, aeroplanes, and tanks.

In our promises with regard to the frontiers of the new Arab States w[illegible] seem to have been more fortunate than in our promises about their independe[illegible] 1915 it was the Sheriff of Mecca to whom the task of delimitation was to have been [illegible] pounded, nor were any restrictions placed upon his discretion in this matter [illegible] certain reservations intended to protect French interests in Western Syria and Cilicia.

[illegible] seems to have been forgotten. The Sykes-Picot Agreement [illegible] the Sheriff of Mecca, and so far as our five documents are [illegible] been heard of since. A wholly new method was adopted by [illegible] and England, who made with each other in the Sykes-Picot Agreement the [illegible] ready territorial arrangements already described—arrangements which the Allied and Associated Powers have so far neither explicitly accepted nor explicitly rejected.

[illegible] implication, indeed, they have rejected them. The language of the [illegible] assumes or asserts that in the regions we are discussing, as in other portions [illegible] sufficiently "developed" to demand "provisional recognition," each of which is to be supplied by the Powers with a mandatory till it is able to stand alone. Where [illegible] what are these "independent nations"? Are they by chance identical with Syria, Mesopotamia and Palestine? If so, the coincidence with the Sykes-Picot arrangement is truly amazing, for no such idea was present to the minds of those who framed it. They started from the view that France had ancient interests and aspirations in [illegible] that Britain had obvious claims [illegible] Southern [illegible] that Palestine had a unique historic position; and that if these three areas were to be separately controlled, it was obviously expedient that none of the vast and vague territory lying between them, which had no national organisation should be under any other foreign influence. In other words, when they [illegible] to arrangement they never supposed themselves to be dealing with three nations already in existence, ready for "provisional recognition," only requiring the removal of the Turk, the advice of a mandatory, and a little time to enable them to "stand alone." It never occurred to them that they had to deal at all with nations in the modern and Western sense of the term. With the Arab race, Arab culture, and Arab social and religious organisation (to say nothing of Jews, Maronites, Druses, and Kurds) they knew they had to deal. But this is a very different thing [illegible]

[illegible] of 1919 is in contradiction with the Agreement of 1916 [illegible] which must be held to represent our policy. We [illegible] that the whole area we are concerned [illegible] having got rid of the Turk, is [illegible] more than one suitable mandatory [illegible] further considering w[illegible] drawn by the [illegible] is with anything to be [illegible] let us ask [illegible] proving to these mandatories are [illegible]

On this point the Covenant speaks [illegible]

'The wishes of these communities (i.e., the independent nations) must be principal consideration in the [illegible]tion of a mandatory [illegible]

[illegible] is unimpeachable; but how is it to be carried into effect? To [illegible] the argument, let us assume that two of the "independent nations" for which mandatories have to be provided are Syria and Palestine. Take Syria first. Do we [illegible] us, in the case of Syria, to consult principally the wishes of the inhabitants? We mean nothing of the kind. According to the universally accepted view there are only [illegible] ones—England, America, and France. Are we going "chiefly [illegible] of the inhabitants" in deciding which of these is to be [illegible] going to do nothing of the kind. England has refused. America will refuse. So that, whatever the inhabitants may wish, it is France they will certainly have. They [illegible] but it is [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] hat prof[illegible]

[illegible] nhabit that ancie[illegible]

[illegible] opinion that is right. What I hav[illegible]

[illegible] harmonised with the declarat[illegible] to Covenant, or the instructions to the [illegible] f Emp[illegible]

[illegible] nk that Zionism will hurt the Arabs but the[illegible] want it. Whatever be the future of Palestine it is not now a [illegible] r as it yet on the way to become one. Wintower deference [illegible] views of those who live there, the [illegible]

[illegible] ul no declaration of policy which, at least in the letter, they have [illegible] to violate.

III

[illegible] ince the liberal interpretation of [illegible] are incompatible with each other [illegible] patible with [illegible] ought, I presume, to do the next best thing. And the next best thing may, perhaps, be attained if we can frame a scheme which shall, as far as possible, further not merely [illegible] material interests but the [illegible]s and habits of the native population, which shall [illegible] account the legitimate aspirations of other peoples and races, in particular of the French, the British, and the Jews, and wh[illegible] [illegible] rt of the various international pronouncements, whose literal provisions it seems impossible in all cases [illegible]

[illegible] I venture to lay down the following propositions [illegible]

[illegible] g the Sykes-Picot Agreement should be [illegible] [illegible] which covers centring [illegible] d Syria, a Britis[illegible] [illegible] Euphrates and the Tigris, and a home for the [illegible]ews in the valley of the Jordan.

[illegible] Sykes-Pic[illegible] at should, however, be brought into closer h[illegible] with the [illegible]ant by the abandonment of the special privi[illegible] in the [illegible] not easily distinguishable from complete sovereignty. These should be absorbed in the general body of areas A and B, as ultimately defined [illegible] Agreement to [illegible]nce and Britain respectively shall be abandoned. Fra[illegible] and Brita[illegible] [illegible] and the fundamental principles laid down by the [illegible] r the Government under mandate of territories out[illegible] [illegible]h Empire shall as far as possible, be maintained.

[illegible] French zone of Syria shall extend in the direction of An[illegible] [illegible]ficiently far to include Alexandretta and its hinterland [illegible] [illegible] more of Cilicia than this must depend on the [illegible] of Armenian population and the claims of Italy under the Treaty of [illegible]

[illegible] The British zone in M[illegible] not as far as Mosul. Even if this general scheme be provisionally [illegible] evidently remains a large number of difficult questions of demarcation which still await solution. In solving them I [illegible] be borne in mind [illegible]

[illegible] the first place, I would lay it down that fr[illegible]ld be determined by ethnographic considerations rather than st[illegible] [illegible]ber things are equal, by all means choose a good military frontier rather than a bad one. But do not let us further impede the already [illegible] difficult movement of [illegible] [illegible] y never take place; if it does take place, it will prob[illegible] character and are we cannot foresee, in any case it will [illegible]

[illegible] Palestine, and Mesopotamia. Their frontiers may be doubtful, but the great central core of each is disputed by no [illegible] with the adjacent coast and plains. Mesopotamia [illegible] the Tigris an[illegible] [illegible] not to be impossible, but it will require to be worked at by experts who have far [illegible] I possess or co[illegible] What I know a[illegible]

Palestine

[illegible] s to influence the Jewish pre[illegible]on throughout the world Palestine [illegible]fe available for the larg[illegible] number of Jewish immigrants. It is [illegible]ble that it should [illegible] the command of the water-power which naturally belongs to it, whether by extending its borders to the north or to [illegible] f Syria, to whom the southward flowing waters of Hame[illegible] could not an[illegible]

For the same reason Palestine should extend into the lands lying east of the Jordan. It should not, however, be allowed to include the Hedjaz Railway, which is too distinctly bound up with exclusively Arab inte[illegible]

[illegible] far as I kn[illegible] needs of Mesopotamia which are likely to cause trouble with [illegible] are rights of water and rights of [illegible] On both subjects I am ignorant, and on neither is there much exp[illegible] available in Paris. Nevertheless, I venture the following observations [illegible] n to irrigation. If, therefore, fo[illegible] e taken as a frontier elaborate provisions will have [illegible] the water between the cultivators on its two banks [illegible] suppositions) are under different legislatures. Such a scheme might be [illegible]lt to devise and yet more difficult to enforce. It would therefore be best, where possible, to avoid using rivers as [illegible]

[illegible] question of access to Mesopotamia is a more complicated affair. By [illegible] ceans are, (1) the distance from European markets, (2) the unhealth[illegible] [illegible] are not likely to modify greatly the second and [illegible] preoccupied with schemes for [illegible] s by pipe and railways to a Mediterranean port [illegible] s I can learn, the subject as a whole has so far been very imperf[illegible] I am not sure that, as regards pipe lines, it has been studied at all. A g[illegible] is known and [illegible] has been done with the Bagdad Railw[illegible] [illegible] f it were connected with Alexandretta, and the port of Alexandre[illegible] [illegible]d and modernised—would provide the natural outlet to the [illegible]

But, it will be objected, Alexandretta is going to be French, and we know the [illegible] of French methods [illegible] how successfully the most "open door" can be half closed by the ingenious zeal of local officials.

I do not deny that this is an argument of some substance; and if the sea route [illegible] tly to protect us from this species of blackmail, we must consider the possibility [illegible] wholly within our own control. On this point I [illegible] something in a [illegible]

In th[illegible] [illegible] ce of this certainty is easily [illegible] [illegible]ls is felt not in the case of through traffic [illegible] most in such cases as Morocco, where the local off[illegible] control the whole machinery [illegible] railway distribution. French [illegible] [illegible] nd their malpractices, aided by official methods, are difficult to check.

[illegible] se is quite otherwise when we are dealing with through traffic and with

[illegible] dretta, must largely depend on thro[illegible] of those who own the port and railways [illegible] and exporters u[illegible]ry which they serve. There is no opening [illegible]ential treatment; and, if the familiar expedients by which through traffic to [illegible] places as Switzerland and [illegible] is protected in transit are insufficient in the [illegible] of Mesopo[illegible]

I think the people who shrink from the idea of allowing a British protecto[illegible] [illegible] railway are in the main mov[illegible] either sentimental or military. With [illegible] I would not let it control our policy. [illegible] allow it drive us into w[illegible] ventures on unprofitable projects, nor into an interminable series of petty squabbles [illegible] our neighbours. But this does not mean that we shall refuse to consider alternative methods of connecting Mesopotamia with the Mediterra[illegible] by rail and pipe-line [illegible] rough all-British protectorates. On the contrary, it is of the first importance that [illegible] should know without delay whether any such prospects are physically possible and economically sound. The mere fact that we were considering them woul[illegible] appetites of French concessionnaires at Alexandretta within reason[illegible] some time, such conversation as I have had with exper[illegible] The route by Palmyra is circuitous. It could be [illegible] French line to Tripoli. Palmyra itself belongs naturally to the [illegible], if it belongs anywhere, and the French will take more tr[illegible] it our having it than it will ever be worth, either to them or to us [illegible], at least, are my first impressions.

On the other hand, a direct line south of Palmyra and wholly in the Brit[illegible] (B) would have a longer continuous stretch of desert to cross before reachin[illegible] [illegible], and in Palestine itself the succession of mount[illegible] ridges running p[illegible] the coast render the construction of a transverse railway line difficult and costly.

On these subjects, however, I speak without any sort of authority. I doubt whether they have ever been adequately examined.

132930] No. 107

His Highness Emir Feisal to the Prime Minister of Great Britain.—Communicated to Foreign Office September [illegible]

Your Excellency, *London, September 21, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to submit to your Excellen[illegible] of which you kindly gave me a copy on Fr[illegible] 19th September, 1919, and of which you said a copy was given to M. Clemenc[illegible] on the 13th instant and another to Mr. Polk on the 15th.

1. [illegible] proposed arrangement is detrimental to the rights of the Arabs and [illegible] direct opposition to what they expected from the British and French Governments in [illegible] period. After having taken part in this war [illegible] Caliphate itself, and after exposing the Holy Land to the ravages of war in [illegible]pport of the principles avowed by the Allies more than once in speeches and [illegible]nations, the Arabs at least expect that their rights should be taken [illegible]tention.

2. The Arabs, at whose expense the agre[illegible]t had been concluded without their knowledge, can never recognise such an engagement or tak[illegible] responsibility of [illegible]ting what would be detrimental to their rights, and what would l[illegible] dismemberment of their country for no fault or crime on their part.

3. The 1916 Treaty, which has been made the basis of this [illegible] [illegible]wn to the Arabs. It could never be the basis [illegible] and Associated Powers had decided to cancel all [illegible] Northern [illegible] [illegible] that time from the Paris A[illegible] Al Mostakbal" [illegible]cret treaty which was divulged b[illegible] Damascus for [illegible]da purposes, he protested vehemently to H[illegible] Majesty's Government. He received the following reply:—

Bolsheviks found in Petrograd Foreign Office record of old conversations and [illegible] understanding (not formal treaty) between Britain, France, and Russia [illegible] vent difficulties between Powers in prosecuting war with

Turkey. Jamal, either from ignorance or malice, has distorted its original purpose, has omitted its stipulations regarding consent of native populations and safeguarding their interest, and has ignored fact that subsequent outbreak and success of Arab revolt and withdrawal of Russia had for long time past created wholly different [illegible]

[illegible] the joint proclamation of Great Britain and France of November 1916, also [illegible] Covenant of the League of Nations, of which the ink is not yet dry, and by [illegible]

[illegible] Allies and to the Peace Conference through the British War Office. This fact wa[illegible] Damascus on Tuesday, the 9th September, 1919, in the presence of the French High Commissioner M. L. Gaucoste. The occupation has existed for the past year, and there [illegible] you say will now only change until the Peace Treaty with Turkey is signed [illegible]

[illegible] responsible to the Commander-in-chief of the Allied forces [illegible]

[illegible] that this new agreement is also temporary "pending the d[illegible] What is the meaning, then, of exchanging a temporary arra[illegible] temporary character, and what is the difference between the two that one should [illegible] *in statu quo* unchanged until the final decision? I should like to give a [illegible] responsible statesmen who manage the affairs of nations that th[illegible] [illegible] actually led to untoward events in the Arab provin[illegible] and this must be a great responsibility on those who have concluded this unjust [illegible]lated agreement.

7. The third clause of the attached *aide-memoire* says:

> In deciding to whom to hand over responsibility for gar[illegible] districts in the evacuated area, regard will be had to the [illegible] declarations of the British and French Governments, [illegible] but as between them and the Arabs [illegible]

As I have no copies of these engagements and declarations, particularly between [illegible] country, I should be greatly obliged if you would kindly furnish me with authentic copies. I am only aware of engagements between Great Britain and the Arabs wh[illegible] are not, however, in exact harmony with this last agreement, and of declarations b[illegible]

8. Although this agreement is said to be of a temporary nature, I strongly protes[illegible] what the *aide memoire* says with reference to the boundaries and then [illegible] mention of the boundaries, and the fact that Great Britain is prepared to discuss their limitations, is an absolute proof of the intention to dismember the Arab provinces, and is an unjustified interference to thus determine the future the country before the final decision by the Peace Conference.

9. I would like to ask His Britannic Majesty's Government, who have decl[illegible] [illegible] will not accept a mandate over Syria, what would Great Britain [illegible] to her previous engagements to the Arabs and her promise "to recognise and suppor[illegible] the independence of the Arabs"? Would Great Britain say to the Arabs that she [illegible] nothing to do with them now, and that her interests are not the same as they were [illegible] Would Great Britain, who has always declared that she would defend the rights of [illegible] nations, and who has often fought in defending weak nations leave the Arabs at the [illegible] mercy of greedy imperialistic ideas? I leave the decision in this question to your Excellency's [illegible] appeal to the noble spirit of the generous British nation.

10. Should it be found necessary to withdraw the British forces from Syria, why not withdraw all European troops and leave the responsibility to the Arab Government,

[illegible] urity of the country in t[illegible]

[illegible] will not fail [illegible]

may be said in defence of this cha[illegible]

that this arrangem[illegible]

They will not accept any argument or excuse. I cannot understand [illegible]

the country be liberated to internal disorder. It would surely be much more advisable to leave the *status quo* as it is, or withdraw all European troops [illegible]

I have submitted these observations to your Excellency [illegible]

132731

[illegible] *ember* 24, 191[illegible]

[illegible] on Lord Harding[illegible] allied to Syria [illegible] British officers in the [illegible]

[illegible] towards the French Government in regard to Syria than we [illegible] every complaint which had been shown to have any [illegible] not right, but that nevertheless in spite of the [illegible] of calumny had be[illegible] in the French press, and app[illegible], was making a very [illegible] and His Majesty's Government [illegible] towards France by which we considered ourselves bound, and [illegible] not in conflict with our engagements with King Hussein. For [illegible] the disinterestedness of [illegible]

M. [illegible] might take on to [illegible] such papers as t[illegible] two very [illegible] ff.

[illegible] justified, and he related certain facts, such as the taking [illegible] conducted by French a[illegible] the abomination of all Fren[illegible] now repairs to be carried out on these lines. Another instan[illegible] customs sheds at B[illegible] had put an end to al[illegible] admitted that this had now be[illegible] pointed out [illegible] that this was a [illegible] what he, Lord Harding[illegible] on the spot, and that being the case [illegible] British policy in Syria in [illegible] no arrangement being practically settled [illegible] Hardinge added, this was not the [illegible] in which a campaign of hostile propaganda was being carri[illegible]

in progress, headed by the French and American Ministers, against the Anglo-I[illegible] ment. Lord Hardinge reminded M. Cambon that on two occasions his Excellency had declared to me the complete political disinterestedness of the French Government in Persia, and that I had taken note of these declarations. Consequently it was all the more astonishing to me that the French Minister should be assuming a hostile [illegible] towards His Majesty's Government in the Persian capital at this moment. Lord Hardinge added that he trusted that M. Cambon would bring these facts to [illegible] of his Government, and that M. Bonin would receive a severe reprimand.

M. Cambon admitted that my statement, that he had twice de[illegible] disinterestedness of France in Persia was absolutely correct and that th[illegible]

[illegible] was in prospect, and that the absence [illegible] warning to an Army had been wounding to their susceptibilities, but th[illegible] believe that there was any serious opposition in the French press to the [illegible] or what he was doing, but he would [illegible] attention to the notice of his Government in the hope that a stop might immediately be put to them. He added that he had been pron[illegible] Consular Service and was apparently suffering from *Morbus consularis*.

I am, &c.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[133506] No. 109

His Highness Sherif Feisal to the Prime Minister of Great Britain.—(Communicated to Foreign Office.)

Your Excellency, *London, September 23, 1*[illegible]

I HAVE the honour to submit to your Excellency the following additional [illegible] to my reply submitted yesterday and dated the 21st September, 191[illegible]

His Excellency the Commander-in-chief of the Allied armies in Syria asked me yesterday to discuss with him the question of carrying out the evacuation of the country by the British forces. I brought to the notice of his Excellency that I would decline to discuss the subject, and gave my reasons for it.

I beg now to remind your Excellency that when the British General [illegible] at Beirout obliged the Arab troops to evacuate the sea-coast, he wrote [illegible] Pasha, the Arab General, that this change was simply of a military and [illegible] character until the future of the country was settled at the P[illegible]

It was the British forces that lowered the Arab fl[illegible] honour of the British Army, and the statement of his Excell[illegible] chief in a telegram he sent to me in which he assured me of the nature of the arrangement, and the fact that it was understood that the whole country was to remain under the Commander-in-chief until the final settlement induced [illegible] [illegible]tion of the sea coast by our troops, and the removal of th[illegible] on Government buildings and elsewhere by the inhabitants [illegible] we thought either the return of the Arab [illegible] on the sea coast, in which case I take the [illegible] public security and peace until the final decision, or [illegible] the *status quo* until the final settlement.

I have &c.

135253 No. 110

[illegible] Admiral Webb to Earl Curzon.—(Received September 30.)

Constantinople, September 11, 1919.

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship herewith copy of an interesting report from one of the relief officers, Lieutenant Soole, R.N.V.R., who has recently [illegible] tour along the south coast of the Black Sea.

This report touches on many important points [illegible]

[illegible] complet[illegible]
s supposed to be maintained by gendarmes w[illegible]
ne profession of brigandage. Favour appears [illegible]
and in the second to Moslem [illegible]
treated to the full re[illegible]

Christian popula[illegible]
December last tha[illegible]
[illegible] whether the Arm[illegible]
the new Ar[illegible]
[illegible] for peace [illegible]
[illegible] as best they [illegible]
[illegible] at the [illegible]

6. American assistance has done some good, but it must be remembered that the [illegible] inadequacy at most grave [illegible]
[illegible] that even this act [illegible]
[illegible] nor has it penetrated far into the inter[illegible]
[illegible] standing village [illegible]

[illegible] is still as vague an expression as ever, and there [illegible]
possible in the way of contentment among Armenians in their new country.

8. With regard to the Greeks, I think [illegible]
of the Armenians. They appear bett[illegible]
[illegible] vored by the fact that they mostly live [illegible]
profit by the away sol[illegible] state of the Hellen[illegible]
the [illegible] quot to [illegible] Smyrna, the choice of sud[illegible]
[illegible] Ar[illegible]

9. The th[illegible] po[illegible]
[illegible] to [illegible]
[illegible] of the w[illegible]

and the co[illegible]
exposed.

10. It frequently happens that Islamised women and children are, as a matter of [illegible] al well-being, better off in their present condition than if they were, by [illegible] n or compulsion, restored to the care of their communities, for in the maj[illegible] their families no longer exist.

[illegible] such cases and especially when Islamised women have borne children [illegible] husbands and declare themselves contented with their lots, I am driven to th[illegible] I hesitate as that act from that of rel[illegible]

[illegible] attentive to the slightest call for assistance or relie[illegible]

12. The fourth point is the restitution of pr[illegible] few days ago I called [illegible] ner the officials at this High Commission who are best fitted by their experience [illegible] give an opinion on this question, together with several of the relief officers who happened at the moment to be in Constantinople.

13. Your Lordship is aware that the action of the relief officers in obtaining restitution of Armenian and Greek property is based on a verbal understanding with the Turkish Government, who undertook to pass a law which should regularize these decisions, but unfortunately this law has not yet been passed.

14. The restitution is effected by the decision of small Mixed Commissions formed locally under the direction of the British re[illegible] Turkish Minister of the Interior who [illegible] tour. These are com[illegible] of one Moslem and one Christian member, with a substitute for each [illegible]

15. The members of the commissions are appointed by the local authorities fr[illegible] ng the Moslem and the Christian notables of the locality, and the role of the re[illegible] officer and his Turkish coadjutor is confined to starting the work on proper lines and supervising its progress during their periodical visits.

16. It has been noticeable throughout that the measure of success attained by such commission depended directly upon the personality and experience of the relief officer. But whereas at first there was quite a ready acquiescence on the part of the

[illegible] now even the most competent of the relief [illegible] I attribute this to two causes [illegible]
[illegible] the Turks imagined that they were coming under a British [illegible] nply with the orders of a relief officer, and perhaps [illegible]
at the outset they had slight pricks of conscience that they were occupying propert[illegible] to which they had no real right, and they believed also that there was some law which cancelled the provisions enacted by the iniquitous "Emvali Metruke," (Abandoned Property Law) and which had the full sanction of the Turkish Constitution and Parliament. They are now coming to perceive that neither of these are, in fact, the case.

18. The second cause is the movement headed by Mustafa Kemal, which is generally known as the "Milliyeh Hareket Boukouk i Milliyeh" [illegible] be stated that th[illegible] [illegible] tion of Smyrna and to the singu[illegible] already reported in sufficient fullness on this party [illegible] our action in Anatolia as inter-ence [illegible] in and thus as an anti-M[illegible] [illegible] the methods of a hot-street [illegible] movement is consequently to be seen in the sere[illegible] among the unrepentant Moslems of Anatolia, and in a [illegible] all our efforts on behalf of suffering Christ[illegible]

[illegible] the meeting I have referred to in paragraph 12 [illegible] I was imprudent to press, in present circumstances [illegible] ded, therefore, that henceforth, until the [illegible] inspection should be observed [illegible] that the relief officers should remove themselves to reporting as the facts come to their knowledge. Lieutenant Slade's remarks furnish fresh proofs of the wisdom of this decision.

[illegible] my power to hasten the passage of this law, but [illegible] the punishment of Turkish offenders. I have [illegible] months ago, and I can only adhere to the [illegible]

[illegible] Moslems in this country who deserve to be treated with the most extreme penalties of the law, but to my everlasting regret, it appears impossible to do this; Tur[illegible] [illegible] cat criminals, those who [illegible]
deportations, which, as a matter of practical politics, it is possible and desirable to punish in their persons. At the same time I feel the keenest sympathy with the disgust and indignation of Lieutenant Slade that so infamous a creature as for example [illegible] [illegible] Trebizond [illegible] escape the penalty of his crimes unscathed. But once one departs from the pr[illegible] I have enunciated it becomes immediately impossible to draw the line [illegible] undoubtedly, many [illegible] do quite as guilty as this boatman, if not [illegible]

[illegible] On prisons I have had the occasion to report [illegible] I shall endeavour to obtain some remedy for the state of the Ot[illegible] [illegible] be inadequate and purely temporary. No proper amelioration is to be [illegible] single mandatory Government is appointed with the full and comp[illegible] proval of the League of Nations and backed by the fullest and most comp[illegible]
[illegible] ty of the manifestly in his int[illegible]
Moslem also with an administration beneficent, firm, but, above all, jus[illegible]

I have, &c.

RICHARD WEIGH

Acting High Commis[illegible]

Enclosure in No. 110

Lieutenant Slade to Rear-Admiral Webb

Sir, *Constantinople, September 5, 1919*

I HAVE the honour to report that, in accordance with your instructions, I left Constantinople on the 10th August in H.M.S. "Gardenia" for tour along the south [illegible] of the Black Sea.

very bad east of Guerz Nearly a

but as permanent (assoc

per

I found that something will ha

population had alre ly

The population

It

ntee or with the winter ahead and who live in

return from exile. To distribute a

80 kil metres from ea or sea it be

lation (Armenian) coal

I predicted by

I have ar 80 Armen

another 40 or 60 in Kersasunde, Ordu, I

ore, which would, or could, hold near 1000

if they ar

vayet can supply 100,000 cubic metres of pine per annum

, and would make a sp and Armenian camp

in the h e that a better one will be made

is to be p pted with Armenians, something w

l an oil fave are to b

Islamised Women

known to be in the vilayet

of Sa sun, and more in the vilayet of Trebizond This latter vilayet

being in such a ba I think it better to make no attempt to rescue

pt and drastic measures be taken against those who will not surrender

them

It is quite useless to employ the police or gendarmerie as they are naturally in

the hands

They escorted and massacred the Armenians on their way to exile

Situation of

pied except in Samsoun, where there is a

to clear up a few big cases, but only by losing a great deal of temper

has not been restored east of Cania the reason being that the

sters in his telegram of the 21st June 1919 to the Va

property

I consider that nothing more can be done

Agriculture and Notes on Trade

6. *Statistics*

Turkish Offenders

the need of small fry

The boatman who drowned the n children in Trebizond but

there

farmers, murderers, robbers &

just see they

8. *Prisons*

at it was unfit for cattl

w alla

My impression was that Kere d Kers

pathy These towns re full

I

I corrals to pun

I suppose the

e extraordinary quantity of Turks

y that many of these officers a

k zeroom. I personal w the Vali

and civilians who had, to say the

thirty two which were in Trebizond have gone to Erzerum

I personally we

It is the Russian

and magnetos or carburettors, but this appeared to me to be a " blind,

the Turks have all the

if con men were at work on the forces

nd nothing can be done in

until the Not

137378

BALFOUR presents his compliments to Lord Curzon, and trans

n the subject of th

Branch I Wiener

Paris, October 3 1919

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n No. 111

Wiener Bankverein au Contrôle financier interalliés, Constantinople

Messieurs,

Pera le 11 octobre 1919

Nous avons examiné, avec la plus grande attention les rapports de

ons informant des mesures prises par le Contrôle financier allié du

le dans de janvier au sujet [illegible] Constantinople, et ven[illegible] par la
présente attirer votre atten[illegible]

Les mesures prises par l[illegible] rd de notre succursale
se reposent [illegible] nique édictées par
les Puissances [illegible] ni sur aucune des stipulat[illegible]
Convention d'Arm[illegible]
ries ne peuvent pas [illegible]

ne prévoit [illegible]

[illegible] du fait indéniable [illegible]
ni ordonnance, ni sur [illegible] prévue [illegible]
[illegible] de notre succursale ne p[illegible] s, avoir que le caract[illegible]
[illegible] ordre [illegible] et
[illegible] par [illegible] les Puissances
[illegible] n'a exp[illegible]
procéder à [illegible] pourquoi il lo[illegible]
activité [illegible] sur la fin définitive [illegible]

Nous avons l'honneur d'attirer l[illegible]
[illegible] La conclu[illegible] de la paix [illegible]
[illegible] nées alliées par l'entremise de l[illegible] [illegible] de Syrie, pe[illegible] par le Contrôle
[illegible] ntérale. A l'égard [illegible] [illegible] ne base légale [illegible] en Turquie [illegible]

[illegible] nous avec regret qu[illegible]
[illegible] l'égard de notre [illegible]

[illegible] que pouvait [illegible] par l[illegible]
[illegible] par [illegible] tion des Puissances
[illegible] et en présence du dommage irréparable que nous ont déjà
[illegible] et que peuvent surtout causer à l'avenir [illegible] par le Contrôle
financier international, nous nous voyons, à notre regret [illegible]
[illegible] attachement à toute [illegible]
[illegible] ent contre toutes les erreurs [illegible]
[illegible] ent non seulement à sauvegarder
[illegible] notre [illegible] cette dernière
continuer le [illegible] régime [illegible] les préparatifs
pour sa prochaine liquidation défi[illegible] pour la sauve-
garde de nos intérêts, d'abréger l[illegible] l'intérêt que p[illegible]
[illegible] demandée, devant [illegible] constitu[illegible]
[illegible] tion [illegible]
ce extrêmement sensible que nous ont causé, pa[illegible]
[illegible] nous ont nous nous réservons
[illegible] gines. Nous tenons à constater [illegible]
[illegible] ce serait [illegible]
[illegible] les droits des Puissances
[illegible] tion et à forto[illegible]

[illegible] nous accuser réc[illegible]
[illegible]

Wiener Bankverein
ADLE[illegible]

132930

[illegible]

Your Highn[illegible]

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of the preliminary o[illegible]
which you have been so good as to offer on the *aide-memoire* presented by
M[illegible]ster to M. Clemenceau and yourself on the subject of the military occupation
Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, pending the decision of the Peace Conference
regard to mandates, copies of which have also been communicated to [illegible]

[illegible]

As your Highness would appear to be under a mistaken impression as to the character
of the *aide-[illegible]* [illegible] make it clear that th[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] Fre[illegible] d British Governments. It
contains proposals put forward by the British [illegible]
[illegible] pending a final settlement as to their
future by the Peace Conference. These proposals—to which they add[illegible]
worked out by the British Government as soon as they had decided that it [illegible]
impossible for them to continue the occupation of Sy[illegible] by British troops. T[illegible]
[illegible] Government or the Conference [illegible]
[illegible] t [illegible] hostile you arrive[illegible]
[illegible] the proposed ar[illegible] [illegible] way contrary to the
[illegible] ngagements entered into by His Majesty's Government with your illustrious father, [illegible]
Highness Sherif Hussein, King of the Hedjaz. In order that there may be n[illegible]
[illegible] nce between your Highness [illegible]
[illegible] no sooner at Cairo, wh[illegible]
[illegible] s entered the war against Turkey. T[illegible]
[illegible] n the subject in the possession of His
Majesty's Gover[illegible] [illegible] which your Highness handed to the Prime
[illegible] ere is only a summary of conditions at the time
King Hussein had never al[illegible]
It has therefore no bearing on the question under discu[illegible]

From the annexed correspondence [illegible] will be apparent to your Highness that His
Majesty's Government made it clear from the outset that, in their opinion, "the
districts of Marsina and Alexandretta and portions of Syria lying to the west of the
districts of Damascus, Hama, Homs, and Aleppo cannot be [illegible] purely Arab
and should be excluded from the proposed limits and boundaries within which they
prepared to recognise the independence of the Arabs, and in which Great Brita[illegible]
free to act without detriment to the interests of her Ally, France." The
quotations are from a letter dated the 25th October, 1915, from Sir Henry McMah[illegible]
to his Highness Sherif Hussein. On the 5th November his Highness Sherif Hussein
[illegible] this letter stating that he renounced his insistence on the inclusion of the
[illegible] ts of Mer[illegible] [illegible] Alawia in the Arab kingdom, but declared that the prov[illegible]
[illegible] Beyrout [illegible] at sea coasts were purely Arab provinces. To this letter
[illegible] gh Commissioner in Cairo replied on the 14th December with [illegible]
[illegible] t to exclude the vilayets of Mersina and Alawia from [illegible]
[illegible] of the Arab territories. He went on, however, to say that

[illegible] with regard to [illegible] as of Aleppo and [illegible] vinces, the
[illegible] of Great Britain have taken careful note of your observations
[illegible] terests of our Ally, France, are involved [illegible] question will require careful
consideration and a further communication on the subject will be addressed to you

The necessity for this further communication, however, was obviated by a reply
from his Highness Sherif Hussein, dated the 1st January [illegible]

[illegible] ly stated in our
[illegible] Hussein's letter what were the o[illegible] [illegible] It was on
[illegible] done so as to fulfil the [illegible] rations whose attainment was desired by the wi[illegible]
blessed and supreme God. It was this same feeling and desire which inspi[illegible]

to avoid what might possibly injure the Alliance between Great Britain and France and the agreement made between them during the pres[illegible]
[illegible] we find it our duty that the eminent Minister should [illegible] opportunity after this war is finished [illegible] from to-day for what we now le[illegible]

His Highness went on to express the opinion that :—

"The people of Beyrut would decidedly never accept a [illegible] they may oblige us to undertake new measures wh[illegible] certainly not less than our present troubles, because of our belief and uncertainty in the reciprocity of our interests, which was the only cause that caused us never [illegible] ate with any other Power but you. Conseq[illegible] allow any derogation which gives France or any other Power a span of land in these regions."

On the 25th of January, His Majesty's High Commissioner at Cairo replied that :—

"... as regards the northern parts, we note with satisfaction your desire to avoid anything which might possibly injure the Alliance of Great Britain and France. It is, as you know, our fixed determination that nothing shall be [illegible] war to a victorious conclusion. Moreover, when the victory has been won, the friendship of Great Britain and France will become yet m[illegible] cemented by the blood of heroes [illegible] who had fled to be [illegible] fighting for the cause of right."

This was the last communication which passed on this subject before the combined operations began, which terminated in November 1918 in the total defeat of the Turkish forces.

From this correspondence two things are clear. First, that the British Government are bound by their undertakings to King Hussein to recognise the establishment of an independent Arab State comprising within its borders the [illegible] Damascus, Hama, Homs, and Aleppo; and second, that they made it a[illegible] to your illustrious father before the entry of the Arabs into the war that it [illegible] France as having special rights in the area west of these four towns. His Majesty's Government would further point out that in 1916 when, for the purposes of the common campaign, it became necessary to arrive at an agreement with France and Russia as to the occupation of Turkish territories in the event of the downfall of Turkey, His Majesty's Government insisted on reserving the independence of the Arabs in the districts which they had promised to reserve to them in their correspon[illegible] with King Hussein. They did not communicate this agreement to King Hussein because it was in complete conformity with the undertak[illegible] they had already en[illegible] into with him.

The attitude of His Majesty's Government, therefore, throughout these negotiations has been entirely consistent and clear. They have entered into obligations to both their Allies, to the French and to the Arabs. These obligations do not conflict but are complementary to one another. His Majesty's Government attach the gre[illegible] importance to the friendship and co-operation of both their Allies, and it is their intention to live up to their undertakings to each.

I come now to your Highness's query as to why it is necessary for the British occupation of Syria to [illegible] it to an end immediately instead [illegible] till the conclusion of peace with Turkey. The reas[illegible] to be [illegible] efforts put forward by the British Empire in the war a[illegible] Turkey and [illegible] gave gladly and fully the indispensable assistance rendered by King Hussein and yourself, and by the valiant Arab tro[illegible] under your command. The courage and activity of your Highness's troops were an essential element in the campaign which led to the overthrow of Turkish [illegible] Majesty's Government cannot forget that infinitely the larger [illegible] the defeat of Turkey was carried by the British Empire. From first to last they sent to the Eastern theatre of war a total of over 1,000,000 troops, at a cost exceeding [illegible]0,000,000. These burdens were additional to the far greater sacrifices which they were compelled to make in Europe in order to secure the overthrow of the German [illegible]er which lay behind the Turkish Empire. The peoples of the British Empire [illegible] lost over 950,000 lives, and they have incurred a debt of 9,000,000,000, in

[illegible] Europe and of the peoples w[illegible] formerly [illegible] the Arab peoples, and the oppressed nationalities of Europe, to throw off that yoke of the oppressor and to make a start on the highroad to prosperity, independence, and influence in the world.

In addition, however, to its efforts made during the war the British Empire [illegible] maintained garrisons throughout the occupied territories for a year from the signature of the Armistice. It has sustained the onerous and expensive burden of [illegible] the hopes that the Peace Conference would come to a rapid and peaceful solution of the [illegible] problems connected with the future of the Middle East. But it is unfair to the British taxpayer to ask him to bear any longer the burden of occupying p[illegible] for which [illegible] permanent responsibility. As not long ago as [illegible]

[illegible] of the Middle East, no prospect of any final peace being made with Turkey until well on into next year. In these circumstances His Majesty's Government have decided that it is impossible for them to maintain their troops any longer in Syria [illegible] they have notified the Conference accordingly that they propose to withdraw them [illegible] the 1st November, 1919.

In an additional note dated the 23rd September, your Highness raises the question of the conditions upon which the coast towns were evacuated by the Arab [illegible] advance. His Majesty's Government is loth to think that your Highness [illegible] consulted with the orders of the [illegible]

[illegible] your Highness understood that the British occupation [illegible] conclusion of peace I can readily understand, since that view w[illegible] Government at that time. His Majesty's Government have p[illegible] tion far longer than they or anyone else ever contemplated [illegible] le, but in view of the overwhelming burden which rests upon them it is [illegible] ly within their rights to insist that that occupation must be brought to an end [illegible] Peace Conference of their [illegible] Government also submitted the proposal for the interim occupation of the ex-Turkish territories contained in the *aide-memoire*. They do not see that any other proposal is practicable for the interim period. There is no authority of weight who believes that the people of Syria can [illegible] T[illegible] which you suggest, would [illegible] first-class European Power should hold the territory to the satisfaction of [illegible] the *aide-memoire*. His Majesty's [illegible] have scrupulously regarded the obligations they have incurred to both [illegible] were made clear to King Hussein before ever he entered the war. They have, not without difficulty, secured to your Highness the establishment of an independent Arab State in that part of Syria including Damascus, Hama, Homs, and Aleppo, promised to [illegible] in the correspondence with King Hussein.

[illegible] the occupation by France of the rest of Syria is concerned, they would ask your Highness to remember that the Arabs owe their freedom in a large measure to the supreme sacrifices made by the French people in the late war. It is true that the French contribution in Syria itself was not great, for France was [illegible] battlefields of Europe they lost 1,400,000 in dead, and incurred a debt not far short of that incurred by Great Britain in overthrowing the power which sustained the Turkish tyranny and without whose support the Turkish military power could not have continued the war more than a few weeks.

His Majesty's Government therefore earnestly trust that you will agree to the proposals for the occupation of Syria made in the *aide-memoire* for the interim period [illegible] conclusion of peace with Turkey. The considerations you raise as to the [illegible] the Syrian and Arab people will properly be urged at the Peace Conference itself, of which you are yourself a distinguished member, and which will have complete power to deal with the whole Arab question, and which will have to take into account

[illegible]

[illegible] declarations of the Great [illegible]

Arab people is to accept the temporary [illegible] arrangements for its ex[illegible]

As previously suggested, th[illegible] arrangements at once with the [illegible] at will [illegible] only too glad to do all in the [illegible] standing between their two A[illegible] during the interim period. They would, however, [illegible] Arab Allies if they did [illegible]

[illegible] no policy more fatal to Ara[illegible]

[illegible] to accept the arrangement proposed. I further trust that [illegible] letter will help to render profitable the further conversations with your Highness to which I look forward [illegible] in which I trust a means will be found to effect a complete re[illegible] relations between this country and its French and Arab Allies.

I beg your Highness to believe that the British Government are actuated by the [illegible] sympathy with and admiration for the Arab [illegible] which prompted them to support his Highness Sharif Hussein in his revolt against the Turks, and which [illegible] their relations with your Highness [illegible] which, with the co-operation of your Highness [illegible] being been engaged.

I have &c.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON

139326/

No. 1[illegible]

His Highness Sherif Feisal to the Prime Minister of Great Brita[illegible] to Foreign Office, October 10.)

Your Excellency,

London, October 9, 1919.

YOU were kind enough to tell me when I saw you at the Guildhall two days [illegible] day in replying to my note of the 21st September 1919, had been due [illegible] to send your answer [illegible] to my [illegible] Arab crisis is upon us I venture to anticipate your letter a[illegible] proposals.

I have already explained my views about th[illegible] recently in Paris, and I do [illegible] than repeat that they [illegible]

Whatever the merits or the demerits of the arrangement, the fact remains that it is regarded by the bulk of the inhabitants with the utmost dismay, and the withdrawal of British troops from Syria is likely to [illegible] to a catastrophe to the whole Arab world and to the common cause which the Al[illegible]

I am extremely anxious to avoid the creation of any serious situation that may [illegible] strain in the friendly relations existing between the Allies and the Arabs, and perhaps render a permanent settlement on a friendly basis impossible, and I wish to do all in my power to maintain that bond which was written with the blood shed by all for the attainment of right and justice.

In order to prevent any unfortunate event which may but aggravate th[illegible] I beg to submit to your Excellency the following proposals:—

1. That the arrangement arrived at in Paris should be cancelled, or at least its execution suspended.
2. That the whole question be placed before the Peace Conference for [illegible] settlement without delay and be considered by the Peace [illegible] itself, or by a Confe[illegible] British, French and Arab representatives under the presidency of an [illegible] chairman), which will discuss the serious question at issue, and re[illegible] its report to the Peace Conference.

139473

No. 1[illegible]

Sir M. Cheetham to Earl Curzon.—(Received October 10.)

(No. 457.)

Ramleh, September 29, 1919.

My Lord,

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship a report by Major H. Garland, M.B.E., M.C., acting director of the Arab Bureau, dealing with the capture at Bajil of Lieutenant-Colonel H. F. Jacob's mission to the Imam Y[illegible]

I have &c.

M. CHEETHAM

Enclosure in No. 112*

Note on the Seizure of Colonel Jacob's Mission at Baja

(Compiled from Reports from Hodeidah and Aden by Arab Bureau.)

IN August last Lieutenant-Colonel Jacob was sent by His Majesty's Government [illegible] mission to the Imam [illegible] 150 miles by road north-east of the Red Sea port of Hodeidah. The first part of the route passes through the coastal lowlands known as the Tihamah, a region inhabited by tribes who have always had strong religious and political differences with the Imam and who, since the departure of the Turkish troops from the Yemen, have resented the [illegible] Imam because he h[illegible] his paramountcy, and that for religious reasons they are inclined to turn for a [illegible] rather than to the [illegible] Yahya.

The particular tribe through whose territory Colone[illegible] had first to travel on leaving Hodeidah is the Qubrah, a turbulent [illegible] highway [illegible] strongly fanned by the active propaganda of Mahmud Nadim, the ex-T[illegible] of the Yemen province who remained in the employment of the Imam after the evacuation of the [illegible] with the Qubrah with [illegible] taken place and, in spite of their hatred of the Imam, the tribesmen appear to have been at [illegible] forced to have been patched up in May last. Some [illegible] with in the Arab Bulletin (see p. 95 of Volume 1919). [illegible] place reported (15th August, 1919) as follows:

> The Qubrah do not appear to have finally sided with the Imam [illegible] refused to proceed to Ubal to meet Mohammed Ahmed Mashur, of Hujeilah, who had been to Sanaa to discuss their relations with the Imam and had returned with the latter's reply. The Qubrah have protested against the coll[illegible] the Imamic agent at Hujeilah.

The political officer, Hodeidah, further reported that on the 15th August a conference was held at Baji (a Qubrah town on the Sanaa route) between Sheikh Al [illegible] the Imam's lieutenant, who had arrived from Sanaa, and the Qubrah chiefs. The conference was presumably convened by Ali Salami in order to arrange for the passage of the British mission. A temporary settlement of the dispute was said to have [illegible]

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th September from Bajil as follow

Qubrah States seem strongly object to

kept us prisoners since the 21st August and deprived the twenty-five Aden troops, who are my escort, of their arms on the 31st Au[illegible]

[illegible] Mahmud Nadim are treating [illegible] of May last relating [illegible]

Return to Hodeidah stopped by majority [illegible] attacks [?] by Abus on Hodeidah.

" Abdul Hadi, head Sheikh of Qubrah, is friendly and has taken charge of our rifles and money. He and Abdul Kadir, of Marawa, now in Bajil, are working for our release.

Qubrah are supposed to be collaborating with Abus to form a Shafai *Moc* opposed to Imam.

Their terms to me will probably include (1) our raising of blockade already [illegible] (2) evacuation of Hodeidah, (3) guarantee against Zeidi encroachment, [illegible] stipends.

[illegible] sent attitude of Qubrah is prompted by earlier manifesto of Imam and Mahmud Nadim with special reference to the necessity of deputations from all Allied Powers."

Arab Bureau Note.

It will be seen from the foregoing that the [illegible] of the mission was due to purely local causes, which may be enumerated as the follo[illegible]

[illegible] or that we intend to place them under the Imam against their [illegible]

[illegible] the results [illegible] tion of Hodeidah.

4. Anti-British propaganda carried on by Mahmud Nadim.

The principal cause is almost certainly the tribe's objection to Imamic domination. Under their personal dislike of the Imam they have ha[illegible] excesses of his Zeidi troops in their villages. They also fear the impos[illegible] which, owing to the present conditions, they would be quite unable to pay.

The reports received from Bajil afford ample testimony to the effectiveness of [illegible] and it will come as a surprise to some officials that a blockade of the *fait* not Yemen could be so successful. On the other hand, since the departure of the Turks, the Qubrah have probably been support[illegible] blockade by the Imam and thus prevented from obtaining supplies from th[illegible]

[illegible] to secure his release, and [illegible] little doubt that premature operations would endanger the lives of the mission. [illegible] indications, however, that the Imam is preparing troops to attack the Qubrah, although he has been advised to delay all military action until Colonel Jacob and party have safely returned to Hodeidah.

It is thought that negotiations by the political officer of Hodeidah with the Qubrah sheikhs, wh[illegible] least risky, and quickest means of securing the release of the party.

(GARLAND) *Major*
Director, Arab Bureau.

Romieh, September 18, 1919.

I consider the cancellatio[illegible] the Paris arrangement as a vital preliminary to a successful solu[illegible] Unless this is done the crisis in Syria may be precipitated an[illegible] open which will render friendly discussion most difficult. I [illegible] demands, which are essential to the inte[illegible] but I may rely on the help of the Brit[illegible]

[illegible] kind enough to let me have your reply at th[illegible]

I have, &c.
(D. LLOYD GEORGE)

139326

The Prime Minister [illegible]

[illegible] not think it is necessary for me to discuss [illegible] Majesty's Government in putting forward the proposals contained in th[illegible] by the Foreign Secretary. For the reasons therein set forth [illegible] me that the proposal you now make is practicable. His Majesty's Gov[illegible] [illegible] for them to continue the occupation of Syria [illegible] stances we and they accept a mandat[illegible] which involves them in a heavy burden of [illegible] far beyond their own expectation, in the hope that the [illegible] with the question without delay. There is now no [illegible] to undertake the discussion of the Turkish peace [illegible] able illness of President Wilson, without whose participat[illegible] final decisions can be arrived at, is likely [illegible] than to [illegible] [illegible]. It is therefore impos[illegible] the proposals which they have made [illegible] [illegible] until the Peace Confere[illegible]

They would, however, be very glad to arrange an informal [illegible] between yourself, a French, an American, and a British representative to adjust, in a most [illegible] easible and satisfactory manner to all concerned [illegible] problems involved in the impending withdrawal of British troops from Syria [illegible] at November [illegible] [illegible] uncil. I am looking forward to hearing your Hig[illegible] [illegible] interview on this question on Monday next at 4 o[illegible]k, at [illegible]

I have, &c.
(D. LLOYD GEORGE)

140423 [illegible]

Reply to English Memorandum of September 13, 1919, respecting Syria (communicated by M. Clemenceau October 10, 1919).—(Received October 15.)

[illegible] les Français et les Anglais en Asie Mineure la seule base d[illegible] [illegible] application des déclarations de Sir Edouard Grey de 191[illegible] [illegible] 918 entre M. Lloyd George et M. Clemenceau seul [illegible] pourrait être fait état de concessions éventuelles sur Mossoul et [illegible] autres parties étaient accordées, au lieu des nouvelles concessions

La situation de la France en Syrie et ses rap[illegible] peuvent qu'être identiques à la situation de l'Angleterre en Mésopotamie et à ses rapports av[illegible] le l'accord sur [illegible] Le fait que l'Angleterre a occupé [illegible] zone française constitue une situation de fait qui ne peut pas pl[illegible] le droit en Asie que cela ne serait possible en Europe.

[illegible] les Alliés, les questions de Syrie et de M[illegible] ne seront réglées définitivement en même temps que le sort des territoires de l'E[illegible]re ottoman, de Constantinople, de l'Asie Mineure [illegible] l'Arménie. Les droits traditionnels et les intérêts de l'Angleterre et de la F[illegible] dans leurs zones respectives ne sauraient recevoir aucune atteinte.

La décision du Conseil suprême du 15 septembre 1919 n'a sanctionné que l'acceptation par le Président du Conseil français des propositions du Premier Ministre anglais quant à la relève des troupes britanniques par des troupes françaises à la date du 1er novembre en Cilicie et dans la S[illegible].

Il a été expressément spécifié que cette décision ne comportait aucun engagement français sur [illegible] dans l'aide-mémoire anglais, cela sans préjuger de la solution définitive des ainsi dits ou des [illegible] françaises, qui seront examinés comme parties du pr[illegible].

4. La position de la F[illegible] et aux régions arabes est l'objet [illegible] de 1916 [illegible] sont disposées à reconnaître et à *protéger* un [illegible] Confédération d'Etats ara[illegible] dans les zones A et B.

(2.) Par la nécessité reconnue par la Conférence de confier à une [illegible] européenne "un mandat sur les Arabes," jugés encore incapables [illegible] eux-mêmes aussi bien en Syrie qu'en Mésopot[illegible].

Les accords spéciaux entre Anglais et Arabes ne lient pas la France, à laq[illegible] textes des accords de Sir Henry Mc Mahon avec le Roi H[illegible] en juillet et octobre [illegible] comme moyens qu'en février 1919, ainsi qu'il résulte des extraits des procès-verbaux aux termes d[illegible] [illegible] communiqués par M. [illegible]. Ces accords ne mentionnent d[illegible] termes exploités de l'ar[illegible] et ceux de [illegible].

5. Les dispositions du Gouvernement français, décidé à appliquer d'une manière libérale les engagements d'assistance à l'égard de l'Etat arabe inclus dans son mandat, lui permettraient de s'entendre directement avec l'Emir Feysal, si celui-ci [illegible] à bénéficier de la protection anglaise par suite d'une conception qu[illegible] [illegible]. Il appartient à la France de s'entendre directement avec les Arabes [illegible] comme à l'Angleterre dans la mesure [illegible] l'une des Puissances intervenantes dans le mandat [illegible].

6. La relève des troupes anglaises par des troupes franç[illegible] peut s'opérer sans risques et sans désordre lorsque, si elle n[illegible].

L'occupation de la zone intérieure syrienne et des villes d'Alep et Damas par troupes françaises serait aussi contraire aux accords de 1916 que si l'on exigeait que les troupes arabes occupent les villes de la zone B à l'exclusion des Anglais. Comment la France pourrait-elle substituer sa responsabilité à celle du commandement anglais et avoir même une possibilité d'exercer son contrôle, si elle n'avait pas la faculté d'intervenir [illegible] Anglais qui en font leur chef et se posent vis-à-vis de lui [illegible] de nous intéresse la zone intérieure? C'est à nous qui appartient de nous entendre avec Feysal en acceptant de limiter notre occupation s'il s'engage et réussit à maintenir l'ordre dans les villes de Damas, Homs, Hama et Alep. La protection assurée par l'Angleterre à l'indépendance de Feysal dans la zone française est une sit[illegible] incompatible avec nos accords dans notre mandat syrien.

7. Les frontières entre la Palestine et la Syrie ont été fixées par l'accord de 1916 après une étude minutieuse tenant compte des intérêts des deux régions. Les frontières remontent au-dessus de la latitude de Tyr et presque jusqu'à la bouche de Dhamas priverait la Syrie d'un certain nombre de ses régions les plus fertiles et de ses populations les plus courageuses, dans des conditions que n'acceptent ni les chrétiens ni [illegible].

Cependant, quelques rectifications pourraient être consenties après un examen sur

place par une Commission mixte de Délimitation tenant compte des raisons géographiques et ethniques.

Les autres limites entre le mandat anglais et le mandat français sont aisées à fixer car elles sont imposées par la nature. Dans le cas où la concession sur Mossoul serait consentie, la France conserverait au sud et au nord les limites de 1916 à l'est le bassin du Kabour et de ses affluents.

8. Le tracé du chemin de fer de Caïffa à la zone B n'oblige nullement à modifier les [illegible]es de l'article 7 de l'accord de 1916. Celui-ci répond à la préoccupation anglaise et a prévu que, dans le cas de difficultés techniques de construction, la ligne pourrait traverser un périmètre déterminé de la zone A fr[illegible].

Si l'on avait la faculté [illegible] le de Deir es-Zor, on pourrait à volonté ôter toute valeur au chemin de fer d'Alexandrette et l'on perdrait de vue le [illegible] unique de l'entente faite sur ce point, qui était de relier par une ligne, sous la souveraineté anglaise, Caïffa à Bagdad—le passage sur un point de la zone française n'étant prévu [illegible] pour éviter [illegible] possibilité [illegible] que [illegible] la partie de zone du mandat français traversée éventuellement ne passerait pas sous le contrôle anglais, toutes facultés de constructions, exploitations et améliorations restant données au Gouvernement anglais, et le Gouvernement français étant décidé à remplir dans un esprit large les engagements pris en 1916.

9. La question des pétroles et des pipe-lines pour leur transport est liée à la très importante concession de Mossoul. Le Gouvernement français a indiqué et confirme que la contrepartie essentielle réclamée par l'industrie et le Parlement français est la stricte égalité dans l'exploitation des pétroles de Mésopotamie et du Kurdistan. Ce point a une importance capitale en raison de la pénurie absolue et des besoins de la France en pétroles.

Sous cette réserve, l'accord sur l'abandon éventuel de Mossoul et [illegible] les facilités pour la construction de pipe-lines traversant le mandat français pourraient être acquis

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140/55 No. 116

Notes by Colonel Corneille. (Communicated to Foreign Office October 13.)

COLONEL DE MERU and Colonel Fagalde called on the Emir Feisal this [illegible]ing and spent about an hour with him.

Colonel de Meru opened the conversation by saying that his visit was entir[illegible]tal and that he had come to pay his personal respects, and if his Highn[illegible] wished, to have a friendly discussion on the present sit[illegible]. [illegible] the greatest respect and liking for his Highness, and were only too anxious to come [illegible] brought about if his Highness visited Paris where he would be sure of a cordial welcome.

The Emir said that he was equally anxious to arrive at an amicable settlement. He had hoped much from the conversations which had taken place between himself and M. Clemenceau during his last visit to Paris, but unfortunately the pledges [illegible] received had not been fulfilled, and a series of incidents, which to [illegible] length in Syria itself, had tended to widen the breach between the [illegible]. The Paris press, too, had shown itself singularly hostile, and he felt [illegible] estrangement was not due to any action on the part of the Arabs, but rather to the attitude taken up by the French themselves. He did not, however, wish to lay particular stress on this, since doubtless there existed on both sides misunder[illegible].

[illegible] as much more impor[illegible] arrived at in Paris. He recapitulated most [illegible]ents which he had already brought before His Majesty's Government [illegible]ned bitterly of an arrangement which had been made without his being [illegible] and which in effect partitioned the country contrary to the wishes of the [illegible]jority of its inhabitants.

Colonel de Meru emphasised the military and provisional nature of the [illegible]ment, but, when pressed, agreed that the mention of the Sykes Picot [illegible] been unfortunate and likely to lead to misconception. He asked the Emir whether [illegible]ded to fall in with the arrangement, and whether the appointment of General [illegible]d in place of M. Picot, who was generally recognised to be unsuitable, would [illegible]ptable.

The Emir replied that he had a personal respect for General Gouraud, who had presented him with the Légion d'honneur, but that the question as a whole was one which affected him not in his private capacity but as the representative of his people. He felt that the arrangement would be fatal to Arab interests, and, as he had already pointed out to the British Government, he could not accept it nor could he proceed to the discussion of the final solution until it was cancelled or suspended.

Unless this was done, he must return to Syria at once, and the future alone would show the effect of so high-handed a decision.

As matters had now reached somewhat of an impasse, I intervened unofficially and pointed out that if it could be arranged for the interested parties to meet without delay and discuss the whole question with a view to arriving at a settlement which would be submitted to the Peace Conference for ratification, the question of the relief of troops would lose its political importance and assume a purely military character. As such, it ought to be accepted by the people of Syria, who would keep quiet when they knew that a conference would immediately take place in [illegible]

The Emir admitted that there was some truth in this. He [illegible] that he was not being treated as an Ally, and insisted that the discussion of the Paris arrangement must precede that of the final settlement.

To this Colonel de Meru saw no insuperable objection, and said that he would lay the whole matter before his Government. He earnestly hoped that a solution could be found, and assured the Emir that the French Government was actuated by motives of sympathy and friendship.

The Emir thanked him, and said that he too was only too anxious to approach this question in a spirit of friendliness.

The interview was, I think, a success. It was, of course, entirely unofficial, but the French officers came away considerably impressed with the Emir, and will doubtless pass their impressions on to their Government. Colonel de Meru remarked that [illegible] had a considerable amount of right on his side, and that the only way [illegible] was to meet him half way. His opinion was that the Emir should be consulted about military measures which affected his own [illegible]

If this can be done, a peaceable solution may be possible.

I would suggest a meeting, preferably in London, between British and French military representatives and Feisal to discuss the question of the withdrawal and relief of troops.

This would not alter the existing policy as regards the withdrawal, but it would mollify Feisal and make him feel that he was being treated with consideration. If a renewed assurance could at the same time be given by both Governments that the change was dictated by military considerations and a promise made that the future of the country would be discussed without delay in conference as already proposed, I hope that Feisal would not only agree to the arrangement but would help to ensure that it was carried out without opposition.

The meeting of military experts would in a sense be chiefly useful as a sop to Feisal's *amour propre*, but it would also facilitate the carrying out of the withdrawal in detail and would materially increase the possibility of discussing the final settlement in a spirit of friend[illegible]

The two French officers certainly showed themselves fully alive to the dangers of the situation and to the necessity of pacifying Feisal and of acting in a manner which will avert the immediate crisis. But for their tact and good sense, to-night's meeting might have been a failure.

K. CORNWALLIS, *Colonel*.

London, October 11, 1919.

140172] No. 1 [illegible]

Earl Curzon to the Earl of Derby.

No. (160.) D. [illegible]
(Telegraphic.)

Foreign Office, October 11, 1919.

FOLLOWING from Prime Minister for M. Clemenceau:—

"Now that the strike is over, I have been able to resume negotiations with the Emir Feisal. We are most anxious that the arrangements for the occupation of Syria after the withdrawal of British troops should work smoothly. This is not likely unless [illegible] Marshal Lord Allenby are in London, but both are leaving for the Near East in two or three days. I would therefore strongly urge you to send General Gouraud to [illegible] discuss with me the military arrangements [illegible] occupation of Syria from 1st November on the lines laid down in the *aide-mémoire* I gave you when I was last in Paris.

[illegible] Emir Feisal is very anxious that an A[illegible]n representative should be [illegible] British Ambassador, if the French Government [illegible] P[illegible]k on this subject.

14113.

Foreign Office, October 11, 1919.

No. 197, at the request of Lord Hardinge of [illegible] on the 7th October. Lord Hardinge [illegible] 25th August Sir R. Graham had pointed out [illegible] he could not understand the Italian attitude in regard to Egypt, nor why the [illegible] Government was the only one of the Allied and Associated Powers who had not [illegible] the British protectorate over Egypt. Lord Hardinge told the Marquis [illegible] that by a [illegible] Allenby had telegraphed on the [illegible] general had informed him that [illegible] King of Italy to assist the British authorities in every [illegible] that Italy would shortly recognise the protectorate [illegible] on his return journey to Cairo, and it was a [illegible] His Majesty's Government that the recognition of [illegible] by Italy should no longer be delayed, in order to [illegible] by the Allies as regards the affairs of Egypt. Lord Hardinge [illegible] instructed by me to ask his Excellency why his Government were [illegible] which France and the United States had already given, especially [illegible] what was the object of the Italian Government in delaying [illegible] Italian Government [illegible] action of those Italians in Egypt who had given support to the [illegible] nt, and wondered therefore that the Italian Government do not [illegible] of recognising the protectorate and thus show their disapproval [illegible]

[illegible] is Excellency that Great Britain and France had by [illegible] equitable compensation to Italy in Africa in the event of these two [illegible] their possessions in that continent. Lord Hardinge wished, however, [illegible] out to him that Italy was just as much bound to carry [illegible] as we were to make good our offer of Jubaland [illegible] pure miles, and that if the Italian Government [illegible] inexcusable delay in recognising our Egyptian protectorate, we could [illegible] to be in any hurry to hand over to her so large a slice of British [illegible] were not analogous. He said that [illegible] obligation on our part to grant compensation in Africa, but there [illegible] Italian protectorate [illegible]

To that Lord Hardinge replied that, in view of the fact that the Italian [illegible] so Powers to recognise the British protectorate over Egypt [illegible] ogation that the Powers had made this a condition of the Peace shou[illegible] do what they were forcing Germany and Austria to perform. T[illegible] Ambassador admitted that this was [illegible] argument to meet, and he said that he w[illegible]

I am, &c.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

141637] No. 119

M. Clemenceau to the Earl of Derby.—(Communicated to Foreign Office, October 15.

Mon cher Ambassadeur, *Paris, le 14 octobre 1919.*

VOUS avez bien voulu me communiquer deux telegrammes de Mr Lloyd George [illegible] Conférence sur la Syrie qui se tient aujourd'hui, en présence [illegible] [illegible]ntérant également y voir assister un représentant américain.

En fait, le Général Gouraud est à Strasbourg, et ne pourrait ininterrompu [illegible] rentrer à Londres en [illegible]

Je n'aurais pu, d'ailleurs, l'autoriser à participer à cette réunion [illegible] Gouvernement français qu'il appartient de négocier avec le Gouvernement anglais, et [illegible] Général Gouraud n'aurait eu à délibérer que sur les modalités d'exécution de décisions [illegible]es par le Gouvernement français relatives à la décision prise le 15 septembre [illegible] [illegible] décisions [illegible] à la relève des troupes britanniques par les trou[illegible]nes en Cilicie et Syrie (zone bleue).

Quant à la demande de l'Emir Feyssal de voir participer un délégué américain à ses conversations avec le Gouvernement anglais, je ne lui reconnais aucun droit [illegible] parole initiative. Si le Gouvernement américain exprimait de lui-m[illegible] [illegible]tte part, je n'y ferais pas opposition. Toutefois, il ne pourrait être question de [illegible] Syrie et même dans des réunions officieuses de ce genre [illegible] [illegible] il appartient de prendre une décision définitive sur la question [illegible] [illegible] pas sur le sort de l'empire ottoman [illegible] de continuer à regretter que l'Emir Feyssal ait été appelé par le Gouvernement [illegible]ais sans consultation préalable avec le Gouvernement français, car cela [illegible] contrairement [illegible] [illegible] plus [illegible] que les forces arabes recrutées [illegible] par les Anglais de fusiliers [illegible] [illegible] nécessité à occuper la Syrie en deux zones impériales [illegible] [illegible] bien sûr. Je comprends fort bien l'embarras [illegible] [illegible] prodigués et qui ne peuvent servir que contre nous.

Il n'y a, en réalité, qu'une issue digne du grand pays loyal et all[illegible] [illegible] l'esprit de nos accords (dont l'article 1er dit que les deux [illegible] zones A et B") et il pourra abandonner sans crainte la responsabilité de [illegible] à la France qui saura bien s'entendre avec l'Emir arabe et sortir de [illegible]

C'est sur ces données que je serais prêt à m'entretenir avec l'Emir Fe[illegible] [illegible] à Paris, s'il exprime le désir de me voir et d'arriver à un arrangement [illegible]

G. CLEMENCEAU

142983 No. 120

Earl Curzon to the Earl of Derby

Foreign Office, Octob[illegible]

PLEASE [illegible] M. Clemenceau that Emir Feisal accepts his invitation [illegible] Paris and [illegible] France on M[illegible]

142627

Emir Feisal [illegible] the Prime Minister of Great Britain.—(Received October 18.)

[illegible] *Jeddah, October 11, 1919.*

[illegible] honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 19th [illegible]

I have also received a communication from the Foreign Office, to which I [illegible]ly in detail [illegible] to submit a formal protest in the name of the Arab [illegible] against any [illegible] may be deemed to introduce into the present form of government u[illegible]

As I have alre[illegible] consider that no change should be allowed before the final decision of the Peace Conference as to the future [illegible]

My p[illegible] [illegible] the coast, and at the [illegible] [illegible] to the Syrian [illegible] [illegible]g these provinces by our troops and forming a provisio[illegible] [illegible]ing directly on him acting on behalf of the Allies, which allow[illegible] [illegible] until a final decision is given by the Peace Conference [illegible] [illegible]ountry. This pledge must not be thrown aside [illegible] [illegible] and knowledge, and for which we are not responsible [illegible] [illegible] has delayed its final decision it is not the fault of [illegible] which they deserve the punishment of repudiating [illegible] If it is absolutely necessary that the British troops [illegible] [illegible] naturally expect that the French troops will be [illegible] and the coast handed over to the Arabs as it was before [illegible] of the Peace Conference. This [illegible] [illegible]t Britain to the Syrian Committee [illegible] [illegible] Government in withdrawing their troops, have [illegible] obligations they have incurred to both their Allies the French and the [illegible]

In addition to the engagement referred to in the preceding paragraph, I [illegible] [illegible]sent all attention to the telegram addressed by the High Commissioner in [illegible] the King at Mecca, which runs as follows:—

[illegible] and in Petrograd Foreign Office record of all conversations and [illegible] (not formal treaty) between Britain, France, and Russia [illegible] [illegible]ne to prevent difficulties between Powers in prosecuting war will [illegible] Jamal, either from ignorance or malice, has distorted its original purpose [illegible] its stimulation [illegible] [illegible] of native populations and safeguar[illegible] [illegible] interest and has ignored fact that subsequent outbreak and success of Ara[illegible] [illegible]lt and withdrawal of Russia had for long time past created wholly different [illegible]ation."

[illegible] telegram was sent to the King in reply to his protest against the secret treaty [illegible]een Great Britain and France which Jamal Pasha divulged in Damascus for [illegible] It was quoted in my letter to you dated the 21st September, [illegible] unanswered [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and referred to [illegible]egram, been since modified in a [illegible] of the people [illegible]ned as to the new proposed occupation.

The stipulation regarding the consent of the [illegible] was confirmed to November 1919 by the formal declaration made conjointly by Great Britain and France, whether the occupation is temporary or otherwise.

[illegible] The over-excited feeling now prevailing in the Arab provinces, as well as all Muslim provinces of the Ottoman Empire in Asia, and caused by unwise [illegible] interference, is no longer a secret. Any person having the slightest knowledge [illegible] been going on in the Syrian provinces is unfortunately convinced that the [illegible] In different quarters, if the status [illegible]

I therefore beg you, in the name of humanity [illegible] Arab nation, in the multitudinous interests of Great Brita[illegible] world, as I have already asked previously, that no new [illegible] sened for further troubles and to leave the pres[illegible]

I beg also that hasty measures be taken to ass[illegible] amination of t[illegible] Powers and brethren in arms to consider the interests of each nation, acc[illegible] requirements of justice, for the aim of which wi[illegible]

If, however, the British Government remains unch[illegible] reason to with[illegible] after due consideration of this exposé of my case, I shall be glad to accept [illegible] kind offer for me to meet representatives from Great Britain, America, and France [illegible] the problem involved in the impending withdrawal of British troops from [illegible] to give a final decision regarding the same so that those problems may be [illegible] in a way which will keep up the peace and safeguard the interests of all [illegible] ting that this conference may be assembled with the least possible d[illegible]

143008 No. 1

The Earl of Derby to Earl Curzon.—(Received October 19.)

No. 1. (Telegraphic.) *Paris, October 19, 19[illegible]*

I AM asked to inform Emir Feisal that M. Clemenceau will [illegible] pleased to re[illegible] him at 10 o'clock Tuesday, 21st October, at Ministry of War.

143923 No. 12

His Highness Emir Feisal to the Prime Minister of Great Britain.—(Received October 21.)

Your Excellency, *Carlton Hotel, London, October 19, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to submit to your Excellency that, while I was awaiting the arrival of representatives of the French and United States Governments [illegible] with Field-Marshal Allenby and myself the question of the advisability [illegible] of the withdrawal of British troops from Syria until such [illegible] have taken a final decision on the Syrian question, I was invited [illegible] ing Minister of Foreign Affairs, Earl Curzon of Kedleston, who informe[illegible] French Premier wished to see me before any decision was taken. I accep[illegible] with greater pleasure in that I am desirous of establishing cordial con[illegible] between all the Powers concerned in the Near East and I am proceeding to Paris to-morrow. My endeavour will be to persuade the French Government to maintain the *status quo* and to agree to th[illegible] Excellency. My object is to prevent [illegible] ably break [illegible] the withdrawal of the British forces from Syria, on the lines [illegible] down by th[illegible] Peace Agreement, which the Syrians have never acknowled[illegible] at which [illegible] will continue to protest. If I succeed I shall be much great[illegible] I fail I shall communicate with your Excellency with a view t[illegible] and asking for the holding of a conference of representatives of the Brit[illegible] Arab Governments. I believe that America wo[illegible]

[illegible] Excellency allow me to urge once more that the Syrian question [illegible] be separated from the Turkish question and be discussed on its own merits [illegible] Indefinite postponement might easily, in my opinion, lead to highly undesirable consequences. President Wilson's illness has assuredly caused us all great regret, but

I feel sure that the United States Government, in spite of this unfortunate occurrence, will approve of my proposal, because the state of affairs in the Near East is such as to render a speedy settlement imperative.

I have, &c.
FEISAL

143567 No. [illegible]

Mr. Kerr to Foreign Office.—(Received October 21.)

I ENCLOSE for your information and for purposes of record a copy of the [illegible] which the Prime Minister sent to M. Clemenceau on Saturday.

10, *Downing Street, Whitehall,*
October 20, 1919.

Enclosure in No. [illegible]

The Prime Minister of Great Britain to M. Clemenceau.

M. le Président du Conseil, *October 18, 1919.*

I BEG to acknowledge receipt of your telegram of the 14th October in reply [illegible] my telegrams of the preceding day, and also of the memorandum you have submitted in reply to my *aide memoire* of the 13th September which has just reached me. I must state at the outset that the tone of your telegram took me entirely by surprise [illegible] presents, so far as I can judge, a complete change from the friendly tone you adopted in our discussions on this subject in Paris. I must in particular resent your statement that you—

> thoroughly understand the difficulty in which English negotiators find themselves after being driven by political necessities to enter into engagements both with the King of the Hedjaz and with France which, if not in opposition the one to the other, are at any rate difficult to adjust.

I can hardly conceive of a more offensive imputation made by one Ally to another after five years of comradeship in arms, considering that the engagements were entered into with the King of the Hedjaz with the sole object of making possible the revolt of the Arabs against the Turks at a critical stage of the war. The Anglo-French Agreement of 1916 was not concluded by the present Government but by its predecessor, and was entered into by Sir Edward Grey, whose scrupulous integrity is [illegible] by the whole world. Your statement implies a charge of duplicity against [illegible] h Empire into the war against Germany by the side of [illegible] the steadfast friend of France during those [illegible] ly [illegible] He is the last man against whom a French Prime [illegible] such a charge. It is all the more singular that you should have [illegible] the fact that, so far from the engagements entered [illegible] amount to the Arabs and the French Government being [illegible] h Government is itself explicitly bound by the terms of the [illegible] Agreement of 1916 to accord to the Arabs the very rights guaranteed by [illegible] ment to King Hussein.

[illegible] French Government appears to be under a complete misapprehension [illegible] as to the policy of His Majesty's Government in this matter [illegible] story of the Syrian question. In order that that history may [illegible] I append the correspondence in full which passed between the British [illegible] n Egypt and King Hussein in 1915 and 1916. From this corre[illegible] you will see that, while the authority of the Turks over their whole Empire [illegible] stood intact the British Government scrupulously protected the interests of its [illegible] Ally [illegible] ment of revolt in order to help break down the Turkish wall, which prevented effective communication between the Allies of the West and the Russian armies. The conditions upon which alone the Arabs would agree to throw in their lot with th[illegible]

[illegible] agreement that there should be [illegible] ation of States including the whole Arab pop[illegible] will see, the Arabs [illegible] proposal. They stated, on the 25th October, 1915, that they did not consider that that portion of Syria lying west of Damascus, Homs, H[illegible] Aleppo could be said [illegible]

of Great Britain have taken careful notice of your observations; but [illegible] interests of our Ally (France) are involved, the question will require careful consideration, and a further communication on the subject will be addressed to you in due course."

[illegible] treaty stated in our previous letter what were the utmost possi[illegible] all this was only done so as to fulfil those aspirations which [illegible] attachment was desired by the well [illegible] which [illegible] Great [illegible] the present war [illegible] should be sure [illegible] our own from to-day for what we now leave to France [illegible]

[illegible] Beirout would decidedly never accept a [illegible] solution, and they [illegible] undertake new measures which might [illegible] than our present troubles, because of our belief and uncertainty in the reciprocity of our interests, which was the only cause that caused us never [illegible] with any other Power but you. [illegible] ly it is impossible to allow [illegible] on which gives France or any other [illegible] of land in these [illegible]

[illegible] between the British and the Arabs and the British and the French were carried on [illegible] agreement was arrived at at that meeting but at a later meeting on the 21st December [illegible] instruction from his Government to [illegible] conference. He said, rather, that his Government realised the importance of the [illegible] boundaries was concluded. These records, a summary of which I handed you before but which I attach for convenience of reference, are purely British records. But that [illegible] French Government [illegible] to [illegible] merely from these records, but still more from the fact that the limits laid down in the

[illegible] which [illegible] was to be an independent Arab State or confederation of Arab States, are identical with those laid down in the [illegible]

4. I come now to the text of the agreement itself. Article 1 reads as follows:

"France and Great B[illegible]

I observe that, both in your telegram and in your memorandum, you state that [illegible] Anglo-French Agreement France and Great Britain were to protect ("protéger") an independent Arab State. This is not correct. The word used in the [illegible] 1916. The proposal of alteration was set forth [illegible] letter from M. Cambon to Viscount Grey on the 15th August, in which he says

"Il me semble que [illegible] exactement notre pensée."

and was agreed to in a reply of Lord Crewe's of the 30th August, 1916. According to the correct text, therefore, the French G[illegible] Great Britain to uphold [illegible]

5. I would further direct your attention to the previous paragraph of Sir E. Grey's [illegible] Lord Crewe, he accepted the a[illegible]

"I have the honour to inform your Excellency in reply that the acceptance of the whole project as it now stands will involve the alienation of considerable British interests, but, since His Majesty's Government recognise the advantage to the general cause of the Allies entailed in producing a more favourable internal situation [illegible]

You will observe that [illegible]

6. T[illegible] authority from the interests [illegible] now alienated [illegible] [illegible]

Far from wishing to impose on the peoples of these regions this or that institution, they have no other care than to assure, by their support and practical aid, the normal workings of such Governments and administrations as the peoples shall themselves have adopted; to guarantee impartial and even justice for all; to facilitate the economic development of the country by arousing and encouraging local initiative, to foster the spread of education, to put an end to those [illegible] long exploited by Turkish policy—such is the part which the two [illegible] have set themselves to play in liberated territories."

A clause relating to the Turkish Empire in the Covenant of the League of Nations reads as follows:—

"Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognised subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration [illegible]

7. The only other historical date which I think it necessary to record as affecting the problem under discussion are the understandings arrived at between yourself and myself in December last year in regard to Palestine and Mesopotamia, [illegible] declaration made by the British Government in March of this year in regard to a mandate for Syria. The understanding of last December was that the British Government would agree to the inclusion of the Mosul area in Mesopotamia, and would also agree to relinquishing the idea of an international state in Palestine, so far as they were concerned, would agree to a British mandate over both. The terms of this arrangement, as I understand them, were threefold: (a) that Mosul was geographically and economically part of Mesopotamia; (b) that international [illegible] inhabitants of Palestine, whether Arab or Zionist, appeared to favour a British mandate; (c) that in view of the fact that the British Empire had practically thrown Turkey, and had employed a total of 1,400,000 troops and incurred an expenditure of 75,000,000*l.* in a campaign which led to the conquest of Syria, the French Government which, owing to the concentration of its forces in France had been unable to participate in the Turkish campaign to any degree and had even opposed its prosecution, was prepared to [illegible] in the 1916 Agreement, to meet British desires without attaching [illegible] alleged, any conditions thereto.

8. The declaration of Great Britain's disinterestedness in Syria was made to the Council of Four at a meeting held in March last. Lord Allenby, the Commander-in-chief in these parts was present at the meeting and went back to Egypt immediately afterwards to inform his subordinates. Instructions were sent to him at later dates from Paris and London instructing him [illegible] accompanying Great Britain accept the mandate for Syria. Similar statements were made at the time of the Paris meeting and later. To [illegible] as the British Government agree [illegible]

It was in the light of these facts, [illegible] undertaking, [illegible] forward the proposals as set forth in the *aide memoire* of the 13th September. The British Government had hoped that the Peace Conference would be able quickly with the Turkish problem, and in the earlier half the year they had thought the best road to a peaceful settlement would be the continuance of the mixed occupation of Syria by British troops, assisted by French and Arab troops under the supreme command of Lord Allenby until the Turkish peace was made. Thereafter a proposal for substituting French for British troops in West Syria broke down partly through disagreement about boundaries, and partly [illegible] doubt as to the consequences on local peace and order. Despite their strong desire for a Franco-Arab understanding it has been brought home to the British Government at every turn that there was a [illegible] to the exercise by France of a mandate over that country [illegible] Majesty's Government did their best to discourage. The length and [illegible] opposition is clearly indicated in the correspondence with King Hussein in [illegible] The report of the American Commissioners who have recently traversed the country taking evidence, proved that it is still formidable. It has throughout, however, [illegible] of the Peace Conference that an amicable working arrangement should be

arrived at between the French, British, and the Arabs, the three peoples concerned, and they did all in their power, as you will remember, to promote that understanding as long as the Emir Feisal was in Paris. Unfortunately, though they had entirely [illegible] had no interests of their own [illegible] right. In the early autumn, however, of this year it became [illegible] of the United States as to whether she would assume a mandate [illegible] of any part of Turkey would be long delayed, and it became necessary for Great Britain, which had borne almost the whole brunt of the war against Turkey, to [illegible] to make itself responsible for the occupation of Syria. It was essential that she should [illegible] withdraw her troops and limit her responsibilities. Pressure both of public opinion and of financial necessity left no other course open to the British Government. Accordingly they brought forward their proposals for the replacement of British troops in Syria by French and Arab troops in the following terms:—

Extract from Aide-memoire of the 13th September, 1919

3. In deciding to whom to hand over responsibility for [illegible] various districts in the evacuated area regard will be had to the engagements and declarations of the British and French Governments, not only as between those [illegible] them and the Arabs.

4. In pursuance of this policy the garrisons in Syria west of the Sykes [illegible] and the garrisons in Cilicia will be replaced by a French force and [illegible] at Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo, will be replaced by an [illegible]

The British Government further declared its willingness to accept the arbitration of the President of the United States on the question of the boundaries between Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine. This last, and certain [illegible] in the *aide memoire*. I agreed at your request to adjourn until the [illegible] up the whole question of the future of the Turkish territories. The proposals [illegible] however, in so far as they related to the occupation of Syria during [illegible] were referred to the Conference on the 13th September and no objection [illegible] These proposals were in all respects in complete accord with the Anglo-French agreement of 1916 as modified by the Prime Ministers in 1918 [illegible] area for control of the so-called blue area until such time as the [illegible] the future of these territories. They accord to the Arabs the control in the area in [illegible] a first Arab State both by British engagements and [illegible] government under the 1916 Agreement. Further, in area (A) excluding [illegible] France will alone have the right of supplying advisers at the request of the State [illegible]

[illegible] vitally affected the Emir Feisal and the Arabs, and could [illegible] effect without his co-operation, I telegraphed as soon as they were [illegible] him to come to Paris at once to discuss them with the British [illegible] At the same time I notified you and the other members of the [illegible] In reply, you stated that you did not see the purpose [illegible] time, and when he arrived you stated that you had [illegible] with the object of inducing [illegible] proposal about occupation as [illegible] to in Paris. To these proposals the Emir Feisal raised the strongest objections [illegible] and that the Arabs objected to the exercise by France [illegible] that these objections had already been made clear by the people to the American Commissioners, who had been sent to ascertain the wishes [illegible] and partly on the ground that the Arab people, as represented by [illegible] very great difficulties, the British Government put the strongest pressure [illegible] agreement and to come to terms with the [illegible] more objections and now loyally the British, [illegible] carried out its understandings with the French Government will be [illegible] correspondence which passed between the Emir and the British [illegible] the last few weeks, copies of which I append hereto. That the [illegible] is not forgetful of France's rights and claims is shown from the [illegible]

"In so far as the occupation by France of the rest of Syria is concerned they would ask your Highness to remember that the Arabs owe their freedom in a large

measure to the supreme sacrifices made by the French people in the late war. It [illegible] that the French contribution in Syria itself was not great, for France was [illegible] occupied in the war on other fronts. But on these greater and vital [illegible] of France they lost 1,100,000 in dead and incurred a debt not far sh[illegible] [illegible] Great Britain in overthrowing the power which sustained [illegible] without whose support the Turkish military power could not have continued the war more than a few weeks.'

11. As a result of our representations, I reached the conclusion that if a round table [illegible] of military representatives were held to discuss, not the policy but the [illegible] [illegible] dly agreement between the three [illegible] to you asking [illegible] [illegible] how surprised I was to receive [illegible] which led you to adopt this co[illegible] ring incessantly to bring about a friendly settlement which would [illegible] rights, which would re-establish friendly relations between here [illegible] ours, and leave her completely free to deal with them under the agreement of 1916. I [illegible] with an attitude of suspicion and opposition wholly unwarranted by the fac[illegible] [illegible] attached to this letter will show. I earnestly trust that th[illegible] [illegible] by consent will not prejudice the o[illegible] [illegible] out between Arabs and the French.

12. The British Government are so impressed with the importance of bringing about an understanding between the Arabs and the French that they did not commu[illegible] [illegible] message to the Emir Feisal in the somewhat insulting form in which it [illegible] Had they done so, there would in their opinion, have been but little [illegible] [illegible] settlement of the Syrian question. They informed him that you [illegible] [illegible] come to terms with the French Government [illegible] [illegible] bel to act upon this advice.

The British Government knows that when the Emir Feisal does come to Paris, notwithstanding the tone of your message, treat him with the courtesy and [illegible] which one of the Allies deserves. They would re[illegible] [illegible] t Turkish rule at a time when the A[illegible] very low ebb, that he was loyal to the alliance to the end, and that he [illegible] [illegible] The British Govern[illegible] him by solemn engagements, and the area he controls was opposit[illegible] the French and British spheres. His father is also a great Mohammedan [illegible] Majesty's Government cannot conceal the anxiety they have felt at [illegible] of the French press to deal with the Emir Feisal and the [illegible] with a high hand. If this were indeed the policy of the French [illegible] British Government are afraid that it would inevitably lead to [illegible] continued disturbances throughout the Arab territories w[illegible] [illegible] e Mohammedan world. The Emir Feisal is no[illegible] the Allies. They earnestly hope that during the course of the negotiations [illegible] nothing will occur to drive the Emir Feisal into hostility or to lose him t[illegible] [illegible] ns with those hostile elements which exist in the Middle East, [illegible] enemies alike of France and Britain.

14. His Majesty's Government would further state that the Emir Feisal [illegible] [illegible] entitled by solemn agreement to set up an independent State within [illegible] than the British Government, as the [illegible] this letter wi[illegible] to uphold ("soutenir") this Arab Sta[illegible] right to supply it with advisers at its request.

15. They must further state that inasmuch as the Emir Feisal is one of [illegible] Allies they cannot disinterest themselves in the question of whether or not [illegible]

tions which they have undertaken towards him, and which the French Government have also undertaken in the 1916 Anglo-French Agreement, are carried out or not. The British Government is under solemn obligation both to the Arabs and to the French Government. As I have pointed out in this letter, its obligations do not conflict with one another, but are complementary. It is clearly their right, as it is their duty, to concern themselves with the fulfilment of the treaties by which they are [illegible]d. As you will have seen, they have insisted to the Emir Feisal that he can expect no support from the British Government for anything more than he is entitled to under his treaty rights, and they have pressed him in the strongest possible manner t[illegible] come to a friendly agreement with the French Government as soon as possible. They are confident that their French ally will carry out its obligations [illegible] in the letter, and come to a friendly settlement with the Emir Feisal.

16. [illegible] Majesty's Government wo[illegible] the British and the French Governments are [illegible] the Allied [illegible] declaration of the 8th November, 1918, and by the covenant of the League of Nations. They have pledged themselves to take into account the wi[illegible] [illegible] settlement of the Turkish problem. T[illegible] [illegible] rations as binding undertakings, and it is clear [illegible] before the Peace Co[illegible] [illegible] As [illegible] [illegible] ment should spare no pains to establish a friendly understanding with the Emir Feisal and the Arab population of Syria.

17. The British Government, therefore, await with anxiety the result of the negotiations between the French Government and the Emir Feisal in Paris. The arrangement for the withdrawal of the British troops and for the occupation of Syria [illegible] er, as set forth in the *aide-memoire* of the 13th September will, of course, [illegible] [illegible] matters in your memorandum which call for comment. But [illegible] y relate to the final settlement of the problem of the Turkish Empire, [illegible] are reserved for the Peace Conference, and not to the interim period which is [illegible] under discussion, I do not propose to consider them now. A separate [illegible] dum from the Foreign Office on certain of these points, however, will follow in [illegible]

[illegible] put an end to the [illegible] warranted suspicion which exists in the mind of the French Government as to the [illegible] [illegible] ve pursued a policy of loyalty and co-operation from the start. You will observe [illegible] many important particulars the memorandum which you gave me was inaccurate [illegible] [illegible] unfounded in its insinuations. During the last six months, [illegible] [illegible] in regard to its policy and its actions in Syria, which they believe is [illegible] [illegible] fabrications. Even in the note [illegible] reply the French Government repeat their statement in regard to the supposed [illegible] British action in arming the Arabs. They believed that in the British despatch of the 6th September, addressed to the French Ambassador in London, they had finally [illegible] [illegible] of this charge. As this despatch does not seem to have produced any effect, they can only repeat the essential parts of it.

"Even since the successful advance of the Arab forces last year, and the disappearance of the Turkish Power, it has been in contemplation to raise and equip a suitable force of gendarmerie for the maintenance of law and order in the various regions that now acknowledge Arab authority. The organisation and [illegible] [illegible] rifle, machine-gun or gun for every similar weapon of British pattern furnished to the Arab forces. The effect of this step, therefore, will not be to increase Arab armaments, but solely to ensure uniformity between the different sections comprising Marshal Allenby's command.

In point of fact no rifles, machine-guns, or guns have hitherto been transferred to the Arabs under this scheme.

"Field-Marshal Allenby contradicts categorically the statement which [illegible]

appeared in 'Le Temps' of the 15th August to the effect that arms and ammunition had been landed at Beirout by British ships and delivered to the Arabs. I should be grateful if the French Government could see their way to publish a *dementi* of this statement."

The British Government would earnestly plead that interested propaganda should not be allowed to estrange Anglo-French relations, and that a hearing should not be given to these unfounded accusations against the British Government and its [illegible] There is a point at which such accusations, and still more their appearance in the French press, will inevitably provoke a demand for publicity. His Majesty's Government do not think it would conduce to the good relations between Great Britain and France if [illegible] to publish the whole series of accusations made ag[illegible] the Fr[illegible] friendly or conciliatory language, du[illegible] means, together with the replies which show these accusations to have been unfou[illegible] Certainly nothing would be more calculated to encourage the enemies of that A[illegible] French Alliance which was the principal cause of the Allied victory in the war [illegible] they will not shrink from this duty if it is thrust upon them.

I have, &c.

D. LLOYD GEORGE.

[144506] No. 125.

Earl Curzon to Earl Granville

[illegible]

My Lord, *Foreign Office, October 21, 1919.*

M. VENIZELOS, in the course of his present visit to England, paid me a call [illegible] Office, and indulged in a long conversation about the views and aspi[illegible] ry [illegible] ded the cause of the Greeks as against the Turks or the Bulgarians [illegible] whole of [illegible] torical maps, which showed that only [illegible] in bygone [illegible] ied the territories in question, and p[illegible] before m[illegible] ated the numerical preponderance of [illegible] He felt deeply hurt by the attitude of the American Gove[illegible] leaded earnestly for the support of Great Britain.

I [illegible] observations on a matter which still lay on the lap of Peace Conference, and contented myself with admiring the formidable arguments' arsenal with which the Greek statesman had provided himself.

He then entered into a prolonged exposition of his v[illegible] future of Constantinople, arguing that at all costs the Turk must [illegible] hd of his defeat and because his continued presence in Cons[illegible] lenge and danger in the years to come. America, he said [illegible] the illness of President Wilson, not in the least likely to take a [illegible] Great Britain would decline to take a mandate. The Turks [illegible] tolerate France as a mandatory. There remained [illegible] from Constantinople would be re[illegible] followed by disturbances and rebellions in all parts of the Eastern world, [illegible] even and that it would shake our position in India. Such views could [illegible] altogether ignored.

M. Venizelos retaliated by the observation that he believed, from [illegible] as he possessed, that these forebodings were far from being shared by [illegible] [illegible] ernment of India should be any more right than those who had so long over the fortunes of that country.

I thought it only fair to remark that the situation had changed during [illegible] of the war itself, and that sentiments had been aroused which, a decade [illegible] not existed.

Nevertheless, the Greek Prime Minister pooh-poohed the idea that any trouble could possibly arise from the expulsion of the Turk, and he argued that war would be thrown away if the opportunity was lost to get rid of this running [illegible]

I [illegible], another reason for the setting up of an international administration [illegible] If [illegible] British or the French were to assume the mandate, they would certainly [illegible] themselves involved, some day or other, in a bitter conflict with [illegible] of the Russian people. On the other hand, an international administration would be in a position to resist Russian encroachment.

When I asked whether M. Venizelos had considered the possibility of combining with the institution of some such administration the retention of the Sultan and his [illegible] in [illegible] H[illegible] thought the capital of Turkey ought to be removed to Brussa, on [illegible] buildings, and even reside from time to time in Constantinople. [illegible] It should be quite possible also to draw a ring round the pri[illegible]pal [illegible] which might remain under Turkish administration. The real business of [illegible] ment would be conducted in Asia Minor, but the simulacrum of power and [illegible] (so long as it was unaccompanied by authority) might be allowed to remain in [illegible]

[illegible] could not help thinking that, in the long argument which he developed on these [illegible] door for ever to the ambitions of Greece, but it might well be that, at some [illegible] to, an international administration [illegible] ity both in the city and in its neighbourhood. This idea was not expressed, but M. Venizelos [illegible] [illegible] it lurked in his mind, even if it did not find expression on [illegible] [illegible] made up my mind that, if he did so, I would be candid in my reply. He [illegible] however, perhaps fortunately, raise the subject, and I abstained from entering [illegible] so troubled a field.

I am, &c.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON

(144283.) No. 126

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received October 22.)

(No. 1830. Secret.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, October 10, 1919*

THE change of Government reported [illegible] [illegible]

2. [illegible] patch I pointed out that, notwithstanding every source of weak- [illegible] by some spectacular new development, such as a *coup d'Etat*, a sudden [illegible] ication of the movement in the interior or a financial crash he might [illegible] the difficulties altogether, and that he and the Sultan seemed to be moving [illegible] the direction of a mild form of despotism.

3. Nothing could be more remarkable than the calm which prevailed upon the surface of things in Constantinople [illegible] September. The [illegible] [illegible] ity and solidarity almost without precedent since the Armistice.

Ferid Pasha was cheerful. The Ministers of War and the Interior [illegible] in [illegible] [illegible] ment.

4. About the 11th September a change came over the spirit of the Grand Vizier and the Minister of the Interior. They would not admit that a grave situation had [illegible]

arisen in the provinces, but they were obviously perturbed by what they heard, and by the increasingly menacing telegrams with which the organisers of the nati[illegible] movement bombarded Constantinople. Their dismay was increased when the rebels seized telegraph offices and cut off communication between the Government here and all important provincial centres, except Eskishehr and Broussa. The Grand Vizier began to urge with ever-growing insistence that the Allies owed it to him either themselves to arrest the growth of the national movement, or in [illegible] alternative, to allow the Government to use what small forces it could dispose of to resist the rebels.

5. In the light of the fuller information now available, it is easy to sum up broadly what was really happening in the interior. The Congress at Sivas was a [illegible] Eastern vilayets only, but the Congress at Sivas, which assembled on the 4th September, claimed [illegible] Turkey in Europe. It adopted various resolutions, issued various manifestos, [illegible] assumed the functions of Government in the areas controlled by the "nat[illegible] forces."

6. The Congress declared all Ottoman territory within the boundaries fixed by the Armistice to be one indivisible whole. That territory, it said, was everywhere inhabited by a vast preponderance of Moslems, and all the Moslems in it were brethren. The national forces and the national will would be directed to maintain the integrity and independence of the Ottoman dominions, and to uphold [illegible] Greek or Armenian State in Ottoman territory would be tolerated, and while the equal rights of non-Moslems would be respected, they would be allowed to enjoy no special privileges. Measures had been taken, it was stated, to uphold the national rights in case the Turkish Government were constrained by outside pressure to cede territory. The *Entente* Powers were called on to abandon any idea of partitioning the territory within the Armistice boundary. Foreign economic [illegible] would be welcomed, so long as there was no encroachment on independence. [illegible] speedy peace based on these equitable principles was earnestly desired. [illegible] Central Government must rest on the national will and the National Assembly must [illegible] single Association for the Defence of the Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia, of which all the declarants' Moslem countrymen were natural members. The association was independent of party. A representative committee of the association would di[illegible] the general organisation of the national movement, which had everywhere been unified and strengthened.

7. Such was the main "programme" of the Congress issued on or about the 11th September. In other utterances of one sort or another the Congress or its executive declared that Ferid Pasha's Government was anti-national, unconstitutional and [illegible] between the people and the Sultan; that [illegible] was to get rid of that Government which would in the meanwhile be ignored; [illegible] that the safety of non-Moslems was guaranteed, and that foreigners would be respected and treated as guests so long as they refrained from any action contrary to the national interests. An oath was taken by those present to the effect that they would persuade the Congress to [illegible] of the country, that they would not work for the revival of the Committee of Union and Progress, and that they would not seek to serve the ends of any political party.

8. Meanwhile the national forces extended their positions [illegible] It can hardly be doubted that attempts were made to establish some sort of liaison with the anti-Greek movement in the country [illegible] Smyrna [illegible] and to draw [illegible] Ismidt area. These manifold physical activities continued after the Congress [illegible] definitely declared war on the Central Government. By the end of September [illegible] latter exercised no effective authority in Asia outside a circle on the circumf[illegible] of which lay Ada Bazar, Eski-Shehir, Kutahia and, say, Panderma.

9. Ferid Pasha's position was more desperate than he would admit. It was perhaps even more desperate than he realised, but he was determined to save the situation if he could. He seized eagerly on a hint given by me, in consultation with [illegible] In order to prepare the way, he obtained from the Sultan, on the 20th September, [illegible]

rescript, designed to rebut the suggestion that the Government were concealing from His Majesty the wishes of the people and to impress on the country the need for [illegible] dence in the Government, and for presenting an united front to Europe. I [illegible] close a translation of this document. It created a certain impression here, and [illegible] representative bodies, including one association of retired military officers [illegible] too late, to rally to the Government.

10. Events moved so rapidly that the Grand Vizier lost all confidence in the idea of a settlement by negotiation alone, and reverted with insistence to the necessity for making some display of force. An attempt to strike at the heart of the national [illegible] Manisa, where Cerid Bey passed to recruit his force, so successfully as to drive him and the local Governor, a Bedrkhan, into flight across the British lines. The new military scheme was to send a force of 2,000 [illegible] here to Eski-Shehr to hold the Nationalists in check and at least to prevent [illegible] tinople from being threatened.

As this would have been a purely military operation, it lay principally with [illegible] Milne to say whether it should be allowed or not. He was at first definitely [illegible] to it, as he had been opposed to similar proposals made earlier, and the Grand Vizier was so informed on the 21st September. A few days later, however, it appeared [illegible] desirable to give the Government a free hand rather [illegible] leave them absolutely at the mercy of the National movement, and it was [illegible] Ferid Pasha in a discreet and non-committal manner that if he could [illegible] forward a concrete proposal, it would be considered in consultation with General Milne and the French and Italian High Commissioners. Ferid Pasha's hopes were [illegible] unfortunately raised too high. Further [illegible] we could not countenance the proposal to send troops, and Ferid Pasha was so informed on the 29th September, as reported in my telegram No. 1889.

12. This communication was the *coup de grâce* to Ferid Pasha's Government. [illegible] there was no improvement in the situation in the interior had already been [illegible] the extension of the [illegible] movement at Konia, whence the Vali, its vigorous opponent in Asia Minor, had been compelled to fly on the [illegible] September. The allegiance of Broussa had also become more than shaky. [illegible] faint hope remained, not any longer of subduing the movement, but of holding [illegible] destroyed by the communication made by me on behalf of my colleagues and [illegible] on the 29th September. Ferid Pasha resigned on the 1st October.

[illegible] On the 3rd October, the military authorities at Broussa surrounded the [illegible] Government House and delivered to the Vali, whom Ferid Pasha had sent there in [illegible] five days earlier, an ultimatum ordering him to leave the Government House [illegible] and to leave Broussa the next day.

11. Thus was effected another of those minor revolutions which have occurred at intervals in Constantinople since 1908. Power has passed from a party which, however anxious to save as much as possible of the Empire, saw salvation in submission to, and collaboration with, the *Entente* authorities, to a party whose avowed object is to contest any attempt on the part of the *Entente* to impair the integrity and independence of Turkey, and who in their programme have made it quite clear that their "Turkey" comprises as a minimum all territory not occupied at the time of the Armistice, while leaving it vague in how much more of the old Turkish Empire they hope to uphold the rights of the Caliphate and the Sultanate.

15. The pretensions of the new rulers of Turkey might well have seemed ludicrous nine, or even six, months ago. They are sufficiently reasonable to-day to [illegible] in Turkish minds the hope that the Peace Conference will let Turkey off [illegible] rather than [illegible] with the national movement. There can be little [illegible] an army of occupation would now be needed to impose terms which would have been regarded as merciful in the hours of ruin and dejection following the Armistice. The hopes of the organisers of the national movement are strengthened by the feeling that there is no real union among the Allies, that neither France nor Italy desire to be hard on Turkey, that the British Government have come round to the same point [illegible] antics. [illegible] American journalist Arthur Brown, who attended the Sivas Congress and acclaimed its ideals, represent the judgment of the American people.

16. It must not be assumed that the party now in power will necessarily take up an aggressive attitude towards the Allies in Constantinople itself. In defining the character of the new Cabinet in my telegram No. 1908, I have probably if anything over-emphasised its nationalist complexion. The new Grand Vizier is regarded by some as being to-day more of a palace *persona grata* than anything else. Reshid Pasha, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, is a person of the greatest flexibility. The Minister of the Interior is rather a dark horse. He is a brother-in-law of the Heir Apparent, whose chauvinist sentiments are well known, but he was formerly a League of Kiamil Pasha, and he has the name of being sober and rather conservative. The Minister of Finance has been retained, and will doubtless impress on his new colleagues that the only possible financial policy is to try to cajole the *Entente* Powers into making advances or a loan. In these circumstances, it seems probable that the Cabinet will do its best to keep the *Entente* sweet.

17. On the other hand, the Government will certainly remain in power only so long as in internal affairs and in the main tendency of their foreign policy they dance to the piping of the authors of the national movement. The Minister of War, though he has a clean record as a soldier, has been in that movement from the start. From the 4th October onward the press has been allowed to advertise and glorify the [illegible] Bey adorn the local Turkish papers. It is confidentially anticipated that they will be restored to their military ranks. It is also announced in the Nationalist papers [illegible] the movement until he was removed from his post, and the officers of the same kidney will also be reinstated.

18. Numerous changes in the civil administration are to be expected, and it cannot hardly be hoped that the same readiness to comply with the wishes of the Allied authorities will be shown in the future as in the past. It will have to be very carefully considered, in the light of the events of the next couple of weeks, how far the policy hitherto followed by this High Commission of practically dictating the removal of undesirable officials and advising the Government in a more limited number of cases as to appointments can be adhered to without challenging issues which His Majesty's Government might be unwilling to see through.

19. It is impossible not to regret that the brewing of these, the most considerable events which have happened in Constantinople during the Armistice, should have coincided with a period during which His Majesty's Government have presented the appearance of wishing to disinterest themselves in the affairs of the non-Arab parts of the pre-war Turkish Empire. The recent withdrawal of the British force from the Samsoun area, however easily explained to ourselves, appears in native eyes in the light of the surrender of a British position under the menace of [illegible] they are sufficiently important on the little local stage to impress the various native elements, all unanimous in imagining that every act of His Majesty's Government contributes to some deep unvarying central purpose.

20. The native Christians are much alarmed by the course of events. They saw in the Mustafa Kemal movement a regeneration of the spirit which triumphed in 1908 under the motto "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and Justice," only to [illegible] the Adana massacres of the year 1909, and which again triumphing in January 1913, worked steadily up to the "boycott," deportations, and massacres of the years 1914 to 1916. They had hoped that the Allies, and more particularly Great Britain, were determined that the Turkish element would be deprived for ever of the power to work their will on the non-Moslem population. The more sober and less timorous admit the indisputable fact that for the moment the Nationalist movement has [illegible] out with unerring logic that they are left at the mercy of a party who stand for the perpetuation of the conditions in which all their previous miseries arose. Armenian lives may be safe to-day between Samsoun and Erzeroum, but they are safe by the good will and pleasure of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his associates.

21. The disillusionment of the Christians is the greater because of the brave show which His Majesty's Government especially has made since last November of [illegible] to-day, they are filled with apprehension not only for the near future, but for [illegible] by the Nationalist movement and anxious to avoid further trouble with it, will, after [illegible] all that the Allies, and especially Great Britain, have done for the Christians in the last ten months will only expose them to the greater wrath of their rulers in the time to come.

22. Those Moslem elements which really disapprove of the policy which brought Turkey into the war against the Entente, are also puzzled and depressed by the attitude of the Allies. They had never been able to get it out of their heads that the war was fought on our side, not against the Turkish people but against the Committee of Union and Progress, a view for which I believe they find some authority in the utterances of at least one *Entente* statesman. They refuse (and in this they are at one with the Christians), to regard the organisers of the national movement as anything but a new manifestation of the Committee. It completely baffles them to see that we have not attacked [illegible] are checked every proposed move of the Central Government to combat them effectively. These phenomena are again easy to explain to our own satisfaction, but our arguments carry no conviction with Orientals.

23. Great Britain has played the leading rôle in the war against Turkey, and Great Britain is still the cynosure of all eyes in this country. It is instructive to consider how our attitude is viewed, not by Christians and well-affected Moslems, but by the [illegible] Asia Minor, they are better in touch with the situation as a whole than any other element [illegible] a fruitful field for Pan-Islamic and Pan-Turkish propaganda. To the south-east, [illegible] Kurdistan. To the south they see us preparing to disinterest ourselves in Cilicia and Syria. To the west, they see a more hopeful situation in the Smyrna area, for the occupation of which they still hold Great Britain responsible along with the other Allies. To the north-west they see British forces motionless before their own advance, and British officers ready to enter into negotiations with them.

24. These people cannot conceive of a British line too simple to mistrust them, too indifferent to care what they do, too economical to fight. They are conscious that [illegible] are themselves [illegible] and Britain, because it is strong which [illegible] them, and because their hope of future greatness lies in an appeal to a Moslem world in which England is the greatest ruler, and of which she is therefore represented as the greatest [illegible] paragraph, they probably supposed that some strange weakness [illegible] has overcome us, and that further exhibition of vitality on their [illegible] produce further manifestations of weakness on our [illegible]

25. The unfortunate coincidence of Major Noel's presence at Malatia while the Sivas Congress was sitting, and while Ghalib Bey was organising his abortive coup, coupled with an *en clair* telegram sent by Major Noel to this High Commission [illegible] intercepted by the Nationalists, convinced the latter that we had some military compact with the late Government involving British designs on Kurdistan. This belief inflames the anti-British feeling, but Nationalist comfort can also be drawn from [illegible] imaginary project on the first display of Mustafa Kemal's teeth.

26. [illegible] think that the clock can be now put back. I emphasise them partly in order that it may be realised at home that the Allies are confronted with a new situation which may probably call for new methods on their side of dealing with current questions. I emphasise them still more in order to show that Turkish chauvinism, feeding as [illegible] on the delay in announcing Peace terms for Turkey, is still a growing force. It would be more difficult to-day than it would have been eight months ago to impose on Turkey a distasteful Peace Treaty without fresh resort to force.

27. [illegible] men or not is a question of labels. They may differ from the Committee [illegible] some extent in personality. Indeed, they are just now at pains to advertise their past differences with, and present horror of, people like Enver and Talaat. They may differ in minor points of sentiment. They may differ even more in method. Their fundamental character is, however, the same. The [illegible] want Turkey [illegible] foreign protection. Ottoman Christians are their cattle, and they want to do with their [illegible] England, [illegible] pons of pan-Islamism and pan-Turanianism. They aspire to sign not [illegible] of the Empire but [illegible] new life

28. I cannot too strongly repeat and emphasise that the time has gone by when it was possible to assume that any Turkish Government must accept any peace which the Allies might choose to offer, and when it was legitimate to prefer, if anything, that the reins of power here should be in the hands of the Committee of Union and Progress for the sake of the moral effect of poetic justice of making those who ru[illegible] Turkey [illegible] Turk recovering more and more from the overwhelming sense of disaster which General Allenby's victorious advances, followed by crushing Armistice terms, instilled into him. The prolonged delay and the events which followed the Armistice gradually gave him breathing time and opportunity to collect and reorganise himself [illegible] action and that action has gone on steadily, day by day, week by week until [illegible] the Allies are confronted with an entirely different Turkey to that which si[illegible] the Armistice.

29. Every week that the Peace terms are delayed, sees further acquisition to the power of resistance which Turkey means to oppose to any "humiliation" which such terms may impose.

30. The great majority of the intelligenzia and the officer class (the only ones which count in Turkish politics) is in sympathy with the Nationalists, and it is probable that the leaders of the movement will, in order to justify themselves in the public eye, maintain a very unaccommodating attitude with regard to Peace condi[illegible] more and more to transform into probability) that Turkey will reject the pr[illegible] of the Allies, must therefore be taken into serious consideration, necessitating a review of what means the Allies will, in that event, be prepared to employ, in o[illegible] to secure the execution of the Peace terms they mean to impose.

31. There is, moreover, the danger that if things drag on as at present, the Nationalist leaders, as a means of maintaining their political supremacy [illegible] prestige, may force the pace by presenting the Allies with demands with regard, for instance, to Smyrna, which will bring matters to a he[illegible]

32. It has to be borne in mind that although the Allies dispose of a formidable weapon in the pressing financial needs of Turkey, the Nationalists on their side possess a valuable hostage—to which European public sentiment cannot remain indifferent—in the exposed situation in which the Christian population in Turkey will be placed should trouble arise.

33. The delay in dealing with the Turkish situation is, therefore, breeding new complications, rendering the imposition of severe Peace terms more and more di[illegible]cult, and involving the necessity for more and more armed forces being employed on the part of such Ally or Allies as may be charged with the duty of imposing terms of Peace.

34. That such duty will in greater or less measure devolve on Great Britain appears to me inevitable, and it thus results that it is directly in our own inte[illegible] that the Peace Terms should be settled and announced with the least possible [illegible] and certainly within the next few weeks.

I have [illegible]

(For High Commissioner),

RICHARD WEBB.

Enclosure in No. 126.

[illegible]

Texte de la Proclamation Impériale transmise par Son Excellence Ali Fouad Bey, Premier Secrétaire de la Cour Impériale, à Son Altesse le Grand Vizir pour être communiquée aux Départements de l'État et, par circulaire, à tous les vilayets et sandjaks.

NOUS avons pris connaissance, ces derniers temps, des dépêches qui nous sont [illegible] de l'Anatolie au sujet de la [illegible] ont eu lieu. Cet état regrettable est dû à l'influence produite sur l'opinion pu[illegible] par l'occupation de Smyrne [illegible] pression profondément douloureuse que nous ressentons dans notre cœur par suite de

ces incidents et de ces rumeurs, à l'unisson avec nos peuples, et, en outre, le devoir de faire le possible pour la sauvegarde des droits de l'Empire et de la nation, tout en étant naturel pour tous, ceux du Gouvernemen et de la nation doivent consister à entreprendre des démarches politiques raisonnables, à travailler à l'unité des courants d'opinion [illegible] à la sauvegarde de nos droits. La politique poursuivie par notre Gouvernement, qui a eu pour résultat d'attirer en notre faveur l'attention des Puissances [illegible] de toutes natures que notre Gouvernement n'a pas négligé de prendre contre [illegible] de l'Asie Mineure [illegible] propositions tendant à porter atteinte à notre unité nationale, de troubler l'ordre et la sécurité à l'intérieur du pays et de compromettre le prestige du Gouvernement, ainsi que toutes les tentatives pouvant mettre la discorde parmi [illegible] ne saurait s'allier avec les intérêts fondamentaux et vitaux de notre Empire.

La modification de la situation réelle du pays tentée par certains et l'allégation par eux d'un prétendu désaccord entre le peuple et le Gouvernement, qui peut fourvoyer l'opinion publique [illegible] sont de nature à léser les intérêts supérieurs du pays.

Cet état de choses regrettable à tous les points de vue, en entravant et retardant les élections que nous aurions désiré effectuer au moment plus tôt dans les conditions prévues par la loi, ne peut que retarder de même la réunion du Parlement, indispensable dans les circonstances actuelles, et aggraver les difficultés avec lesquelles le Gouvernement est aux prises.

Ce que j'attends aujourd'hui de chacun, c'est d'apprécier la délicatesse de la situation, de garder le calme et le sang-froid, de se conformer entièrement aux lois et [illegible] être convoquée par la Conférence pour la discussion de la paix, puisse se [illegible] d'espoir dans la grâce du Tout Puissant pour obtenir une paix sauvegardant l'intégrité et l'unité de notre Empire, qui a été depuis six siècles et demi l'un des facteurs importants de l'équilibre européen, et assurant le rang et le prestige de la nation ottomane.

L'esprit de justice des grandes Puissances, et les tendances à la modération de l'opinion publique européenne et américaine, qui saisit chaque jour davantage la vérité, renforcent cet espoir.

La consolidation du Gouvernement en le préservant de toutes les difficultés [illegible] garde des droits de nos sujets, constituent le fond même de nos vœux. Et je [illegible] assuré que le Gouvernement [illegible] pour guider les vœux [illegible]

J'ordonne de porter à la connaissance de ma nation et de répandre sur tous les [illegible] notre territoire [illegible] ce que j'ai en sa fidélité et en son patriotisme.

MEHMED VAHIDEDDIN.

Le 24 Zilhidjé 1337 (20 septembre 1335).

[144305] No. 127

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon. (Received October 22.)

[illegible]

Constantinople, October 6, 1919.

[illegible] Mustafa Reshid Pasha, the Minister for Foreign Affairs in the Government which has just been formed.

The personality of the Pasha is well known to you, so that it is unnecessary for me at the present time to give any description of him.

3. The conversation contained nothing of any special interest, beyond that I took the opportunity to impress upon him, as clearly as words can do so, that it was the intention of His Majesty's Government to maintain as good relations as were compatible

with the present anomalous position with whatever Turkish Government might be in power, that the constitution of the Government was a matter of complete indifference to me, but that there were two points which we shall insist on, and those were the strict observance of the terms of the armistice and the maintenance of public order; the latter especially applied to the Christian populations, but also to the absence of political strife or the employment in political affairs of methods of violence.

4. His Excellency assured me that I need feel no uneasiness on these points, as the new Government were fully alive to the importance of them. He said that the situation presented by the indefinite prolongation of the armistice pl[illegible] extraordinary difficulties in th[illegible] the Allies, but above all to Great Britain, for assistance and advice. He said that, above all, the financial situation was most critical. I informed him of the steps which had been taken by the ex-Grand Vizier in this matter, and that I and my colleagues were still awaiting the replies of our Governments to the telegrams which we had sent [illegible] forth the facts of the situation.

5. I enquired what was the position of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who, from being a rebel appeared now, according to the press, to be one of the pillars of the present Government. His Excellency replied that the Pasha could hardly be described in these terms, but that his feelings of patriotism had driven him into open opposition to the last Government, which he had believed not to be acting in the best interests of the country, especially over the matter of the occupation of Smyrna. I replied that I did hardly imagine that any human being could do more than had been done by Ferid Pasha. Reshid Pasha said that the whole of the present difficulties sprang from the Smyrna incident. The great duration of the armistice would have mattered but little had it not been for that untoward occurrence. He did not think that his Government would have any serious trouble in arranging matters with Mustafa Kemal.

6. In this connection, however, I hear from independent sources that the relations between Mustafa Kemal and the new Government are still a matter of negotiation.

I have, &c.
(For High Commissioner),
RICHARD WEBB.

[144381] No. 128.

Vice Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received October 22.)

(No. 1883.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, October 10, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith copy of the summary telegram sent by Mustapha Kemal Pasha to the Government here, which was given to me by the French High Commissioner.

2. There is every reason to believe that it is authentic, and it is of considerable interest, as showing the lines which Mustapha Kemal intends to follow. He is still a great [illegible] and though he states, with a certain amount [illegible] has nothing to do with the Committee of Union and Progress, y[illegible] probable that many members of the Committee have enrolled themselves in his party and, if events are allowed to pursue their present course, I believe it will not be [illegible] before the one will be indistinguishable from the other.

[illegible] vengeance upon his political enemies and, as I have reported in my telegram No. [illegible] of the 10th October, I arranged with my colleagues that when we returned the call [illegible] Mustapha Hedad Pasha, the new Minister for Foreign Affairs, we should [illegible] inform him that the Allies would view with entire disfavour any attempt upon [illegible] liberty of the late Government or the employment of any methods of violence. [illegible] kind, but when I observed that I could expect no other answer from a man of education, yet could he give me that answer in the name of the Government as a whole, he was very much less positive, and said that if anything of this kind were done he himself would at once retire.

[illegible]

Interior, have requested authorisation to leave the country, and, in concert with my colleagues, I am arranging to accord them facilities.

[illegible] Mr. [illegible] copy of the telegram which [illegible] re, and in this copy he noticed a reference to the withdrawal of the British troops from Samsoun. Damad Ferid had not been able, Mustapha Kémal said, to prevent these troops from landing on Turkish soil, while he, by his competent management of affairs, [illegible] their withdrawal.

I have, &c.
(For High Commissioner),
RICHARD WEBB.

Enclosure in No. 128.

Summary of Telegram.

RÉUNION immédiate de la Chambre.

Avant que la Chambre ne soit réunie, ne prendre aucun engagement concernant le sort de l'Empire et de la nation turcs vis-à-vis de n'importe qui.

Envoyer à la Conférence des hommes capables de comprendre la volonté de la nation et de défendre les droits et les intérêts nationaux.

Cela est l'essentiel.

Nous avons d'autres demandes accessoires, par exemple :

Prendre dès maintenant toutes mesures pour que Damad Férid Pacha, Suleyman [illegible] renvoyer, dès l'ouverture de la Chambre, devant la Haute-Cour.

Les Gouverneurs généraux de Kurpouth, de Konia, le Gouverneur de Malatia et le Directeur général des Postes devront être immédiatement traduits devant la cour martiale.

Les fonctionnaires civils et militaires, qui ont été destitués ou emprisonnés à cause du mouvement national, doivent être libérés et rétablis dans leur poste, de même les [illegible] du peuple qui ont été incarcérés doivent être relâchés.

Les Gouverneurs généraux de Castamouni, d'Angora et de Trébizonde, qui ont été [illegible] mouvement national, doivent être destitués et exclus à tout jamais des [illegible]

[illegible] étrangers nous sont complètement acquises. Nous sommes en [illegible]. Nous devons maintenir les amitiés avec les Français et servir les Anglais.

[illegible] votre [illegible] de voir.

[144387] No. 129.

Earl Curzon to the Earl of Derby.

(No. 1960.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, October 22, 1919.*

IN the course of my conversation with the French Ambassador last week he mentioned, in tones of pious regret, a very insulting message which M. de Fleuriau, after an interview of an entirely different character, had been instructed to leave in the Foreign Office [illegible] Kemal. This note I had declined to receive, and it had been returned to M. de Fleuriau. The [illegible] character, he expressed no surprise at its rejection; but he informed me incidentally that it had the distinction of having been composed by M. Clemenceau himself.

This afforded me an opportunity of entering at some length into the successive notes of a [illegible] by the Foreign Office [illegible] course of the last six months, culminating in the recent exchange of high [illegible] M. [illegible]

The Ambassador, speaking from the standpoint of the old diplomacy, deeply deplored that these matters should be taken out of the hands of the respective Foreign Offices and that language should be employed which did not strictly conform to the old traditions. He greatly disliked this form of fusillade, which, he thought, excited tempers and rendered settlement difficult.

I suggested to him that at [illegible] greater cause [illegible] the fact on that [illegible] between [illegible] of the Mosul [illegible] French [illegible] be surprised, if this campaign were continued, should be one day find himself the recipient of a note that was a conscious, though feeble, imitation of the French style.

Alluding to the recent interchange of messages and telegrams about the visit of the Emir Feisal to London and Paris, I said that we were quite prepared to challenge the verdict of public opinion and to publish the entire papers at any moment when they might be called for. [illegible] French [illegible] to interference by the French Government, we should not hesitate to make public the whole of these papers, and to leave verdict to be pronounced by the public opinion of the world at large.

Once again the Ambassador deplored to me the alleged necessity for delaying the solution of the Turkish problem in deference to the illness of President Wilson and [illegible] the United States. He [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[144898] No. 130.

Earl Curzon to Mr. Kennard.

(No. 658.)
Sir,

[illegible]

THE Italian Ambassador called upon me this afternoon and raised two points.

He was very much concerned at the opposition of Sir Eyre Crowe, in the Supreme Council in Paris, to the proposal to include Italian troops amongst those occupying the Aidin district [illegible] [illegible] the other Allied representatives were [illegible]

[illegible] I was [illegible] points with the attitude of Sir Eyre Crowe [illegible] was but the [illegible] Asia Minor of the Italians on the one hand and the Greeks on the other. The Greek troops had been invited to Smyrna with [illegible] knowledge and by the act of the Supreme Council. I myself thought that the [illegible] the greatest mistake that had been made in Paris, and that it was the starting [illegible] of most of the troubles which had since ensued. But, whether the step was right or wrong, the Greek troops had appeared upon the scene with sanction from the

Powers and they could justify their presence by that authority. On the other hand the Italians by their descent upon Adalia, Scala Nuova and other places without the knowledge or authority of the Paris Council had [illegible] and [illegible] It was [illegible] before that our representatives [illegible] [illegible] which had taken place in that vilayet.

The Ambassador [illegible] the Adriatic question to the [illegible] policy of Baron Sonnino [illegible] Mr. [illegible] Foreign Office at [illegible] the [illegible] spheres in Asia Minor [illegible] Mr. [illegible] and the Italian Ambassador [illegible] [illegible] Mr. [illegible] Italian Government [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] I could not without further study express any opinion [illegible]

The [illegible] to the Ambassador was with regard to the [illegible] proposal with [illegible] Italy [illegible] within a few days.

[illegible] proposal I was unable to discuss it.

The Ambassador [illegible] that it was [illegible] [illegible] to which [illegible] Italy [illegible] with the [illegible] America [illegible] [illegible] Washington.

[illegible] the Italian press [illegible] [illegible] Prime Minister [illegible] [illegible] the Italian Prime Minister [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the Italian Prime Minister [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the countries were concerned [illegible] the [illegible] in [illegible]

[illegible] suggestion were made to take up the question at an early [illegible] Italian would find any difficulty in coming here.

He answered in the negative, and seemed thoroughly to realise the importance of an early solution.

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

144817 No. 13

[illegible]

THE [illegible] July to despatch to Smyrna a Commission, which was to investigate the [illegible]

[illegible]

ation of the Commission of Inquiry in question, as also the instructions given to latter

In spite of the fact that the resolution under date of the 21st July of the Supr[illegible] cil of the Peace Conference only satisfied in a very limited degree the [illegible] tibility of the Greek army, M. Venizelos, who was the first to insist upon the insti[illegible] tion of such a commission, desiring, above all others, that an impartial enquiry sho[illegible] completely elucidate the occurrences in Asia Minor since the landing of the Greek [illegible] there, accordingly designated Colonel Alexander Mazarakis, of the Greek General S[illegible] for the purpose of participating in the work of the Commission of Inquiry on the l[illegible] of the decision of the Supreme Council.

The commission was constituted at Constantinople in the month of Ap[illegible] with[illegible]ut the presence of the Greek delegate, and set to work there. Later on it [illegible] decided that the presence of the Greek delegate at the examination of witnesses sho[illegible] not be allowed, on the ground that the presence of the latter might have an infl[illegible] on certain of the witnesses.

This decision, diametrically opposed to the resolution of the Supreme Council [illegible] Peace Conference, constituted a violation of its decisions, under which only [illegible] work of the commission could be effectuated, and it was the cause of a protest [illegible] M. Venizelos to the President of the Peace Conference under date of the 22nd A[illegible] (Annexe E).

Since that occasion, M. Venizelos has repeat[illegible]ly solicited, without success, a [illegible] of the Supreme Council of the Conference in respect of the unfair procedure follo[illegible] [illegible] Commission of Inquiry in disallowing the presence of the Greek delegate at [illegible] of witnesses, and, in general, at the work of the commission, from [illegible] ought not to be excluded except when the conclusions were to be drawn up, at end of its work.

This [illegible]ment on of the decisions of the Supre[illegible] of protest addressed by M. Venizelos to the P[illegible] date of the 14th September, and as the [illegible] furnished [illegible] copies of the evidence given by the various witnesses, M. Venizelos, through a [illegible] letter of protest addressed to the [illegible] Peace Conference asked [illegible] a proposal should be laid before t[illegible] Supreme Council for a new inquiry to be effect[illegible] with the assistance of the Greek delega[illegible]

At the moment when the Commission of Inquiry is concluding its work, the G[illegible] Government can only formulate a solemn protest ag[illegible] consider themselves justified in thinking that the procedure followed by [illegible] of Inquiry is entirely unjustified. It is both contrary to the decisions of th[illegible] Council of the Peace Conference and to the pr[illegible] justice to refuse to con[illegible] interested party and disallow representative of that party to d[illegible] and cross-exam[illegible] it. This procedure applied even [illegible] army would be considered unfair. It is something more than that applied to an Allied army.

The Greek Government cannot admit the results of an inquiry conducted [illegible] manner. They feel sure that the Allied and Associated Governments represented in commission will not fail to consider as null and void the outcome of such a co[illegible] and to order a new inquiry conducted in accordance with the general principle [illegible] equity and in conformity with the resolutions of the Supreme Council under date of [illegible] July, which, as a matter of fact, only conceded to the Greek Government [illegible] minimum of rights, securing themselves against a one-sided investigation.

Only the invalidation of such an investigation could restore things to their [illegible] and, with a view to the repetition of this inquiry, under guarantees and safeg[illegible] will secure to the Greek Government the full exercise of their rights, at least as were recognised by the Supreme Counc[illegible]

5, Knightsbridge, London, S.W. 1,
October 16, 1919.

Annexe (A).

M. Venizelos to M. Clemenceau.

Paris, le 19 juillet 1919.

M. le Président,

LE Conseil suprême de la Conférence a décidé, dans sa séance d'hier, l'envoi [illegible] Suivre d'une commission chargée de faire une enquête sur les faits qui se sont p[illegible] depuis deux mois en Asie Mineure.

Cette commission sera composée de quatre représentants des principales Puissances alliées et associées.

Je prie votre Excellence de me permettre de lui exposer les raisons pour lesquelles il ne serait, à mon sens, ni juste ni conforme aux usages jusqu'ici suivis dans des cas [illegible] que la partie de l'enquête ayant trait à la conduite de l'armée d'occupation pût se poursuivre sans la participation d'un représentant de la [illegible] qu'une enquête impartia[illegible] [illegible]ts qui se sont déroulés dans ces dernières semaines en [illegible] espoir que, si certains excès regrettables pourront être [illegible] meurs militaires grecs dont la punition exemplaire [illegible] [illegible] se tenant [illegible] des circonstances de provenant en et de [illegible] l'étendue. Les certaines [illegible] de la part des [illegible] méritée, si, la [illegible] être représentée dans l'enquête [illegible] connaître le titre [illegible] en Asie Mineure où [illegible] sur l'[illegible]tat [illegible] des [illegible] associées et avec le [illegible] lui ont fait l'honneur de lui confier.

Il serait oublier qu'à la différence des forces turques, elle appartient à un Etat uni et allié, qu'elle est unie aux armées des grandes Puissances par des liens de confraternité d'armes et de souvenir des luttes glorieusement livrées en [illegible] une même cause, que partout où elle a été appelée à combattre à leur [illegible] Macédoine comme en Russie, elle s'est distinguée par une vaillance, une discip[illegible] et une [illegible] l'estime et la considération de tous.

[illegible] [illegible]uque fièrement ces titres pour demander aux Puissances [illegible] lui épa[illegible]r la douleur qu'elle ressentirait très vivement si [illegible] enquête prescrite sur des faits isolés et n'engageant que des responsabilités personnelles devait, par suite de l'absence d'un représ[illegible]ant grec, paraître avoir été instituée contre elle.

[illegible] M. [illegible] de soumettre cette demande à votre bienv[illegible] de justice, je me flatte de l'espoir que vous [illegible] recommander à l'adoption du Conseil suprême de la Conférence.

Veuillez agréer, &c.

VENIZELOS.

Annexe (B).

Résolution du 21 juillet 1919.

Il est décidé de faire connaître à M. Venizelos qu'il est libre de désigner un officier [illegible] qui sera autorisé à suivre les travaux de la Commission d'Enquête en A[illegible] [illegible] cet officier n'aura pas droit de vote dans la commission et ne pourra pas prendre part à la rédaction de ses conclusions.

(Annexe C.)

Résolution du 22 juillet 1919.

LA Commission interalliée d'Enquête en Asie Mineure sera composée comme suit :—

Empire britannique	..	Un officier général à désigner par le Général Milne [illegible]
Italie	...	Général Dallolio.
États-Unis d'Amérique	...	L'officier ne pourra être désigné qu'après réception de la réponse de Washington.

Il est décidé que cette commission devra commencer sans délai ses travaux ; elle se [illegible] aussi rapidement que possible à Constantinople.

Annexe (D).

Résolution du 25 juillet 1919.

IL est décidé d'accepter le texte suivant des directives destinées à la Commission d'Enquête interalliée se rendant en Asie Mineure.

[illegible] et suivi l'occupation par les troupes grecques des régions de Smyrne, [illegible] Cheik-ul Islam, adressée à la Conférence.

L'enquête devra porter sur tous faits se rapportant à ces événements depuis la date de l'occupation jusqu'à ce jour

La commission définira les responsabilités et soumettra, le plus rapidement possible, son rapport au Conseil suprême des Puissances alliées et associées avec les conclusions qu'elle croira devoir formuler

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Annex (E).

M. Venizelos to M. Clemenceau.

M. le Président, *Paris, le 22 août 1919.*

DANS sa séance du 18 juillet, le Conseil suprême de la Conférence a décidé l'envoi à Smyrne d'une Commission d'Enquête de quatre membres représentant les Puissances alliées et associées.

Aussitôt informé de cette décision, je m'empressai d'exposer à votre Excellence, par lettre du 19 juillet, les raisons pour lesquelles il ne me paraissait ni juste ni conforme [illegible] que la partie de l'enquête ayant trait à la conduite de l'armée grecque [illegible] se poursuivre sans la participation d'un représentant de la Grèce.

Le surlendemain, 21 juillet, le Conseil suprême me faisait connaître [illegible] de désigner un officier grec qui serait autorisé à suivre les travaux de [illegible] d'Enquête, sans qu'il eût, toutefois, ni droit de vote ni la faculté de prendre part à la rédaction de la conclusion de la commission.

Bien que cette mesure ne donnât que très partiellement satisfaction au légitime amour-propre de l'armée hellénique, je l'acceptai, n'ayant pas l'habitude de créer [illegible] aux grandes Puissances. Je décidai, en conséquence, de désigner, [illegible] suivre les travaux de la Commission d'Enquête, le Colonel d'État-Major, M. Alexander M[illegible] et, par lettre du 31 juillet, je portai cette décision à la connaissance du Secrétariat général de la Conférence, en le prant de bien vouloir la notifier aux [illegible]

[illegible] tinople la semaine dernière et y com[illegible] de certains témoins. Le représentant [illegible] hellénique s'empressa de demander que le Colonel Mazarakis fût dès [illegible] rendre à Constantinople pour suivre ses travaux. La Commission [illegible] toutefois, qu'il était préférable de ne pas faire assister de délégué [illegible] aux interrogatoires, car sa présence pourrait intimider certains témoins, on se bornerait à lui communiquer après coup les dépositions et à le tenir au courant des travaux de la commission.

C'était déjà donner l'interprétation la plus restrictive à la résolution du Conseil suprême en date du 27 juillet et diminuer encore le rôle assigné au délégué hellène qui, privé du droit de vote, se voyait, en outre, enlever la faculté d'assister au moins aux travaux de la commission.

Malheureusement, une nouvelle diminution l'attendait. Le représentant du Gouvernement hellénique à Constantinople vient en effet de l'informer que la Commission d'Enquête lui a fait savoir mercredi dernier, 20 août, qu'à la suite des nouvelles instructions reçues de Paris, un officier turc serait admis au même titre que l'officier grec et avec exactement les mêmes privilèges à suivre ses travaux.

Je ne puis, M. le Président, [illegible] la très [illegible] que j'ai ressentie à l'annonce de ces nouvelles mesures et faire appel à votre sentiment de justice pour en obtenir le redressement.

Placer l'officier grec sur un pied d'égalité avec un officier turc dans une enquête se poursuivant en pays occupé par l'armée hellénique, ce n'est pas seulement infliger à cette armée une injuste humiliation et oublier qu'elle s'y trouve comme mandataire des Puissances alliées et associées, c'est perdre de vue l'état de guerre existant encore entre

la Grèce et la Turquie ; c'est méconnaître les services rendus par la Grèce à la cause commune, les torts graves de la Turquie à l'égard de l'Entente et ses crimes contre les populations chrétiennes, c'est, enfin, supprimer toute distinction entre vainqueurs et [illegible]

Je dois, en outre, M. le Président, insister sur la nécessité de modifier la mesure adoptée par la commission de procéder à l'audition de témoins en l'absence de l'officier grec. L'enquête déjà commencée à Constantinople et qui va se poursuivre à Smyrne, bien que réclamée tout d'abord, mais vainement, par le Gouvernement hellénique, n'a été [illegible] par le Conseil suprême qu'à la suite d'une plainte adressée à la Conférence par le Cheik-ul-Islam. Il a plu au Conseil suprême, en y faisant droit, de placer l'armée hellénique d'occupation en posture d'accusée. L'officier grec admis à suivre les travaux de la commission apparaît, dès lors, comme son légitime défenseur. Il est inconcevable qu'il ne soit pas autorisé à assister aux interrogatoires des témoins. La commission craint que sa présence n'intimide certains témoins. Je demande ce qu'on penserait du juge qui, [illegible] écarterait le procureur, avocat de la [illegible] Dans les pays [illegible], loin d'écarter le défenseur de l'instruction, les lois en imposent la présence comme une garantie essentielle pour l'inculpé, car elle lui permet de contrôler les dires des témoins, de leur [illegible] les explications complémentaires, le protéger [illegible] bien [illegible] nouveaux témoignages, de contribuer [illegible] à prévenir les erreurs auxquelles le juge instructeur pourrait être induit.

Vous ne trouverez pas exagéré, M. le Président, que je réclame l'application de ce droit [illegible] enquête [illegible] à Smyrne [illegible] que [illegible] Conseil suprême, reconnaissant l'absolue justice de cette demande, s'empressera d'y faire droit.

Veuillez agréer, &c.

VENIZELOS

144535] No. 132

Mr Kerr to Mr. Kidston.—(Received October 25.)

Mr. Kidston, 10, *Downing Street, October* 21, 1919.

I ENCLOSE copies of messages which passed between the Prime Minister and M. Clemenceau, preceding the Prime Minister's *aide-memoire* of the 13th September.

P. H. KERR.

Enclosure 1 in No. 132

Message from Prime Minister to M. Clemenceau

IT looks to me as if the question of mandates for Turkey would take longer to settle than we had anticipated, in view of the delay in American decision. The British Government, however, cannot any longer undertake to maintain an army of over 400,000 men to garrison the Turkish Empire. This involves the question of what will happen in the parts of the Turkish Empire we withdraw from. When the Syrian question is discussed, the British Government wish to lay certain proposals before the Supreme Council in regard to it. With this object, I propose to come to Paris on Friday next to discuss this and the Armenian question and could see you at any time on Saturday or Sunday, but I shall have to leave on Tuesday in order to keep an [illegible] in London on Wednesday. As the British and French Governments are [illegible] pledged to the Emir Feisal that he shall be present when the settlement of the Syrian question is reached, I have taken the responsibility of inviting him to Paris. As he may not be able to reach Paris before next Tuesday, I hope that you will see no [illegible] to his paying me a visit in London.

September 11, 1919

Enclosure 2 in No. 132.

Message from M. Clemenceau in reply to Mr. Lloyd George's Message.

I AGREE with you that the settlement of the mandates in Turkey by the Allied and Associated Powers must be delayed until the American Government is in a position to acquaint us with its views on this subject. We have decided to wait until the Conference examines in its entirety and with full knowledge the settlement of the Eastern question.

The general difficulties which can result from the final settlement of the Ottoman questions, and, as regards the maintenance of order, from the retreat of the B[illegible] troops from the territories of the Turkish Empire, are assuredly within the ju[illegible] of the Supreme Council. It is not possible to isolate the question of Syria from the other questions connected with the final liquidation of the Ottoman Empire, and to submit it to the Supreme Council independently from those connected with C[illegible]tinople, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia. The Supreme Council is only actually infor[illegible] (and that by the Americans themselves) that imminent danger threatens the Arme[illegible] in addition to the fact of the retreat of the English troops from the Caucasus and the Turkish nationalist movement in Asia Minor. The American, British, and Italian Delegations have declared that they are not in a position to send troops to protect the Armenians. The French Government has, therefore, offered to send 12,000 men as from the 10th September through Cilicia to effect this purpose. The reply [illegible] our proposal awaits the British opinion. Mr. Balfour, who told me that he had consulted you and who is favourable to the proposal, has told me, that you also had [illegible] Lo[illegible]ndon and could not come to Paris to settle this question, and further asked me to send him an officer. I accordingly sent Colonel Fagalde, our second military at[illegible] only concerns the French and British Governments, because of their agreements in 1916, and ought to be settled directly between them without any intermediary. This question, which is a purely military question, does not prejudge the final settlement [illegible] the Syrian question, which will be determined at the same time as the general settle[illegible] In these [illegible] understanding between ourselves, would not appear to hav[illegible]

September 11, 1919

[146031] No. 133.

Sir G. Buchanan to Earl Curzon.—(Received October 27.)

(No. 674. (Part 2).)
(Telegraphic.) R. *Rome, October* 26, 1919.

N assuring his Excellency of your desire to maintain most cordial relations with Italian Government I said that I should personally always endeavour to smooth over any difficulties or misunderstandings that might arise between us. I would not, however, conceal from his Excellency fact that certain acts of Italian Govern[illegible] such as despatch of Italian troops to Adalia, had created bad impression in Lo[illegible] His Excellency at once admitted that this had been a mistake which he would never have committed had he been in Baron Sonnino's place. There was, I continued, [illegible] matter on which I would venture to give him word of friendly advice, namely, not to mix up question of Italy's recognition of our protectorate of Egypt with other questions in which Italy was interested in Africa. Apart from unfavourable interpreta[illegible]tion which might be [group undecypherable] placed on such a procedure, Italy as signatory of Treaty of Versailles could not avoid recognition which that treaty had imposed on Germany. Signor Tittoni begged me to assure you that he [illegible] propose to attach any conditions to his recognition of our protectorate [illegible] there were certain questions touching status of Italian subjects in Egypt to which he would like to call attention, though not, he repeated, as conditions.

Assistant Minister for Foreign Affairs, on whom I called yesterday evening, went [illegible] and as Signor Tittoni. He was even more out[illegible] deploring change which [illegible] come over Anglo-Italian relations of late, and remark[illegible]

British Ambassador had ever on his arrival in Italy been faced with such a difficult situation as the present. One reason, he added, that had made Italian people so ready [illegible] that she had done Italy was now treated with less sympathy and consideration than [illegible] States who had no claim on our gratitude. She was apparently forgotten or not [illegible] Italy. I reminded him of explanation which, as Signor [illegible] Italian Ambassador about this omission, but it failed [illegible] than did Sir E. Crowe's explanation about non-participation of [illegible] troops [illegible] district.

(Repeated to Peace Conference.)

[142426] No. 134.

Earl Curzon to M. Cambon.

Your Excellency, *Foreign Office, October* 27, 1919.

I HAVE the honour to refer to the communication which M. de Fleuriau was good enough to make to me on the 9th ultimo, relative to the four lighthouses situated in the Red Sea, and to the question of their being handed over to the Administration of the Société des Phares de l'Empire ottoman.

As your Excellency is doubtless aware, the lighthouse at Mocha is not under the control of His Majesty's Government. The request made by M. de Fleuriau is assumed [illegible] as a war measure, and have b[illegible]ntrolled throughout the period of [illegible]ties at Aden.

[illegible] of the actual ownership of these [illegible] at Mocha, under serious consideration. The [illegible] he possession of this Office has shown that [illegible] Lighthouse Administration obtained a concession in 1881 from [illegible] ferent points in the Red Sea, the [illegible]on remained inoperative for reasons which it will be unnecessary to enter into. On the renewal of the general lighthouse concession in 1894, an exception was made in the case of the Red Sea lighthouses, and although various proposals were put forward by the Administration in 1897 for the construction of the lighthouses, nothing was [illegible] own account of the lights at Mocha, Abou Ali, Jebel Zubar, and Jebel Teir.

It is to be observed that the convention concluded between the [illegible] ministration and the Turkish Ministry of Marine, dated the 8th May, 189[illegible]

(a.) That the whole cost of the installations was to be borne by the Ottoman Government.

(b.) That the administration is not responsible for any damage caused to the lighthouses and that all expenditure incurred for repairs, &c., had to be defrayed by [illegible] ment, which was estimated at £T 15,000.

(c.) Article 6 of that convention further excludes the Lighthouse Administration from any participation in the dues which may be levied on shipping making use of these lights, and states that the total sum of such dues shall be handed over to the Turkish Government.

It would thus appear that whatever may have been the rights which accrued to the [illegible] set aside by the subsequent arrangements made by the Turkish Government, and that the only interest of the Administration consisted in the provision of a staff to work the [illegible]

This is emphasised by article 4 of the convention of the 14th April, 1913, which extended the period of the general concession, and which affirms that the maintenance of the Red Sea lighthouses is to remain in the hands of the Ottoman Government.

In view of all these facts, His Majesty's Government cannot regard these [illegible] as other than the undoubted property of the Turkish Government, and it [illegible]

circumstances they are of the opinion that the question of the ultimate disposal of the four lighthouses is one which will have to be settled by the terms of the Treaty of Peace to be concluded with Turkey.

I have, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON.

[146620] No. 135.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received October 29.)

(No. 1810.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, October 18, 1919*

WITH further reference to my letter No. 1845 dated the 7th Septem[illegible] on the subject of Turkish Prisons, I have the honour to forward herewith to your Lordship copies of the following documents:—

(1.) Report by the Inter-Allied Prisons Commission, dated the 20th September.
(2.) Note presented to the Minister for Foreign Affairs by the Military Att[illegible] of France, Great Britain, and Italy, on the 27th September.
(3.) Reports by the Inter-Allied Prisons Commission dated the 11th October and the 7th October.

2. I am glad to be able to report that the appointment and activities of the [illegible] in the conditions of the Turkish prisons in Constantinople. The members of this Commission frequently visit the various prisons, make recommendations as to improvements in accommodation and administration, and, by constantly keeping the prison authorities up to the mark, ensure that effect is given to their recommendations.

3. Two new prisons are in course of construction, and, owing to Allied representation, the completion of these is now being hurried on by the Turkish Government. One should be ready very shortly, and the second should be sufficiently constru[illegible] two months' time to be able to accommodate the majority of prisoners at present housed in unsuitable buildings. These buildings, when completed, will enable prisoners under sentence or detention to be housed or guarded under conditions approximating in a reasonable degree to that obtaining in more civilised countries.

4. The Turkish Director General of Prisons and the Prison Governors have on the whole accepted the appointment of the Commission in a good spirit, and have shown themselves willing to act on the advice of the Commission and to do their best to effect improvements.

5. Lieutenant A. J. Wilson, whom I have nominated as British Delegate, has been of the greatest possible assistance. He is, in particular, well qualified for this mission, having had considerable experience in the Cyprus Military Police, and being acquainted with the local languages, and his zeal and energy have been [illegible] commendable.

6. [illegible] I would point out to your Lordship that the absolute lack of funds at the di[illegible] of the Turkish Government, which has formed the subject of several reports by me (see my despatch No. 1775 of the 29th September), is a most serious handicap to the carrying out of improvements on a permanent and systematic scale. Moreover it is quite certain that, should the Prisons Commission cease its activities, conditions would immediately become as unsatisfactory as they were before its appointment.

I have, &c.
(For High Commissioner),
RICHARD WEBB.

Enclosure 1 in No. 135.

Report by the Inter-Allied Prison Commission.

(Translation.)
Messieurs,

NOUS avons l'honneur de vous informer que nous avons visité les prisons ci-dessus mentionnées. Nous vous soumettons le rapport général suivant:

1. *Prisons de Sultan Ahmed.—Stamboul.*

2. *Prisons des hommes.* Cette prison renfermait au 10 septembre 17[illegible] condamnés 124 hommes, 12 femmes, 47 jeunes [illegible]. Il n'y a pas moins de 58 prisonniers

hommes condamnés pour meurtre, et la rigueur des sentences varie entre la détention perpétuelle et neuf mois d'incarcération.

3. *Personnel.*—Cette section de la prison est gardée, à l'intérieur, par 27 gardiens [illegible] 45-50 gendarmes sont répartis à l'extérieur, comme sentinelles aux murs et aux postes d'observations. La paye mensuelle de ces gardiens est de 400 à 500 piastres plus les [illegible] de guerre avec la ration des prisons. Evidemment ce salaire est tout à fait insuffisant et que ni ordre ni discipline ne peuvent être maintenus, à moins que les salaires [illegible] considérablement augmentés, et que, de plus, le personnel soit, autant que possible, changé, car nous sommes convaincus que les gardiens actuels peuvent être facilement corrompu.

Avant que le mal ne soit déraciné, on ne peut escompter de progrès réels.

L'officier attaché à la prison et des gardiens eux-mêmes déclarent naïvement qu'ils ont peur des prisonniers et que ces derniers ont la haute main et font ce qu'ils veulent.

4. *Logement et Sécurité.*—Le logement de la section prison des hommes consiste [illegible] portes, sont assimilées en conduits avec des portes en fer.

Pour le moment, les dortoirs renferment un grand nombre de prisonniers et les [illegible] pouvoir pénétrer, en négligent surtout l'accomplissement de ses rondes de nuit. Si ces treize chambres cubiques étaient transformées en cellules, elles pourraient contenir chacune quatre à six prisonniers qui seraient là en lieu sûr et ainsi les détenus les plus dangereux pourraient être isolés et les gardiens [illegible] leur autorité. Ces mesures réduiraient les chances d'évasions. Nous [illegible] les cellules, on ne laisse que le [illegible] de prisonniers, et que ces prisonniers qui y seront [illegible] soient choisis parmi ceux ayant encouru des peines légères et qui sont bien notés.

5. La section prison des femmes semble bien entretenue et propre, comparée aux autres parties de la prison.

6. Il y a une section où sont confinés trente-sept jeunes détenus dans un quartier où l'espace manque, et où, autant que nous avons pu le remarquer, la discipline fait défaut.

7. La section où se trouve les prisonniers en prévention est entièrement inhabitable, à presque tous les points de vue:

(a.) Les logements en très mauvais état sont très malsains.
(b.) Il apparaît que la sécurité laisse à désirer, la prison étant contiguë à des maisons privées, et avec la surveillance actuelle, qui est presque nulle, rien n'empêche un prisonnier de s'enfuir, et il semble que tout prisonnier décidé peut s'évader pour peu qu'il le veuille.

Nous recommandons le transfert à la Prison générale des condamnés de tous ceux des détenus en prévention sur qui pèse [illegible] clauses mentionnées au paragraphe 4.

Il y a 114 prévenus dont:

2	en prévention depuis	7 à 8	mois pour meurtre	
2	" "	6 " 7	" " "	(1 est un chrétien)
2	"	5 " 6		
11		4 5		
1		3 4		
41		2 3	"	
28		1 2		
54	" " "	moins d'un mois.		

Nous recommandons l'application des mesures préconisées au paragraphe 11 ci-après.

8. *Hygiène.*—L'état sanitaire des prisons est vraiment déplorable, les fosses [illegible] elles devront être comblées et de nouvelles latrines construites dans les cours des prisons.

Actuellement, les latrines sont toutes situées à l'intérieur des bâtisses, qui manquent d'air, et la puanteur qui s'en dégage se répand dans les prisons. Comme mesure immédiate, nous insistons pour la fourniture aux prisons d'un désinfectant et d'une abondante quantité d'eau [illegible] Rapport No. 1/19 du 11 courant.

2. *Galata-Séraï*

9. Nous visitâmes la prison le 11 septembre 1919 et y trouvâmes soixante-deux détenus en prévention. La prison est antihygiénique à tous les points de vue, et notre seule recommandation est qu'elle soit immédiatement fermée et que les fosses d'aisances soient comblées dans l'intérêt des voisins, dont la santé est en danger par suite de la saleté de la prison.

En particulier, la Commission demande que les femmes, actuellement détenues à Galata-Séraï, soient transportées d'urgence à Sultan-Ahmed.

10. Aucun effort sérieux n'est fait pour juger ces détenus, et il y en a qui ont été incarcérés sans jugement depuis le 15 mai 1919. Il y a :

12	prisonniers	arrêtés	depuis	3 à 7 mois
10	"	"	"	2 à 3 mois
15	"	"	"	1 à 2 mois
22	"	"	"	2 semaines à 1 mois
5	"	"	"	1 semaine à 2 semaines
6	"	"	"	2 jours à 1 semaine

11. Nous portons à votre attention le cas de Nicargsoglon Nishan, arménien de Constantinople, et de sa femme, qui furent arrêtés le 23 mai 1919, accusés d'un vol de literie. Ils sont en prévention depuis quatre mois, sans avoir été appelés au tribunal.

12. Il est intéressant de noter que durant le mois d'août sur 33 prisonniers arrêtés en août pour diverses inculpations, détenus seulement quelques jours, et puis jugés, douze furent acquittés. On en peut déduire que le tribunal ne fait pas comparaître les détenus par ordre de date d'arrestation, qu'un prévenu [illegible] sans jugement pendant quatre mois est détenu injustement et selon toute p[illegible] des soupçons, sans preuves évidentes, sont la cause de la détention prolongée, [illegible] jugement, d'un homme puni ainsi injustement.

Nous pensons que cette difficulté peut être facilement écartée en recommandant que la détention d'un prévenu n'excède pas une semaine en durée. A la fin de la première semaine de détention le prévenu (homme ou femme) devrait comparaître devant le juge pour une première déposition; un délai d'une semaine pourrait [illegible] être accordé à la partie adverse pour la production de nouvelles charges, et [illegible] appartiendrait au juge de décider si le prévenu doit être remis en prison ou [illegible] sous caution.

3. *Prison de Scutari*

13. Nous visitâmes cette prison le 18 septembre 1919, et y trouvâmes [illegible] neuf prévenus. La prison se compose de deux chambres excessivement malsaines, et nous vous soumettons qu'il est impossible de rien faire pour assainir la prison, qu'il faut la fermer. Il y a :

23	prévenus	détenus	depuis	3 à 4 mois
4	"	"	"	2 à 3 mois
3	"	"	"	1 à 2 mois
17	"	"	"	moins d'un mois

14. *Nouvelle Prison civile.*—La nouvelle prison à Sultan Ahmed sera une belle bâtisse et à tous les points de vue propre à servir de prison. Elle est en construction depuis bientôt trois années, et d'après les travaux en cours elle ne sera pas achevée avant une année. Nous recommandons l'augmentation de la main-d'œuvre afin qu'au moins une partie de la prison puisse être utilisée pour la détention des prévenus de Sultan-Ahmed et de Galata-Séraï qui devront être transférés sous peu plus tarder.

15. Une autre nouvelle prison est en construction à [illegible] belle bâtisse. Elle est presque achevée, à l'exception d'une aile renfe[illegible] mosquée et les bains. Nous recommandons instamment qu'elle soit [illegible] immédiatement et que les prisonniers de Scutari y soient transférés. Il semble rien n'empêche d'en retarder l'occupation plus de quelques jours.

En résumé, la Commission des Prisons présente les propositions suivantes :

[illegible] les Prisons [illegible]

Ahmed

2. *Aménagement.*

(*a.*) Fermer par des grilles les treize cellules dont il est question au § 4—Logement et Sécurité.

(*b.*) Placer dans ces cellules les condamnés et prévenus dangereux.

(*c.*) Les autres condamnés et prévenus seront répartis dans la Prison centrale et au besoin à Galata-Séraï et Scutari.

(*d.*) Nous demandons qu'aucun détenu âgé de plus de 16 ans ne soit joint aux enfants et que, de plus, les jeunes détenus soient répartis dans les chambres suivant leur âge.

3. *Régime.*—Les heures de promenade et les visites devront être réglementées [illegible]

4. *Gardiens des cellules.* [illegible] Prison [illegible] leurs et [illegible] Ils [illegible] et sont tra[illegible] [illegible] 10 [illegible] Le [illegible]

5. *Travail des Prisonniers.*—Il serait désirable que les prisonniers, actuellement oisifs, soient occupés sur un travail selon leurs aptitudes.

MONTAZAU
A. J. WILSON
T. RAIMONDI

Le 20 septembre 1919.

Enclosure 2 in No. 135.

[illegible] the Pr[illegible] of the Ministry of the Interior, by the Military Attachés of France, Great Britain, and Italy, September 27, 1919.

1. La construction de la nouvelle prison à Scutari doit être achevée instamment. [illegible] et le travail nécessaire est une affaire d'une semaine au plus, et on donne les ordres pour le hâter.

Aussitôt que cette prison est en état d'être utilisée, autant que possible des [illegible] les plus dangereux [illegible]

2. La constructi[illegible] avant une ann[illegible] plus d'énergie [illegible] actuell[illegible] [illegible] pour les hommes, dans la [illegible] condamnés qui ne peuvent [illegible] que pour les détenus les plus d[illegible]

4. Les femmes détenues dans la prison de Galata Séraï doivent être transportées d'urgence à Sul[illegible]

La prison de Galata Séraï est infecte et la détention de prisonniers dans [illegible] res. La Commission des Prisons est autorisée à chercher une autre bâtisse [illegible] servir comme prison pour Péra et Galata, et alors la prison de Galata [illegible] sera évacuée et les prisonniers transférés à la bâtisse désignée à la remplacer.

6. Il sera [illegible] le Scutari par un [illegible]sionnaire plus capable. La Commission des Prisons ayant inspecté, le 18 septembre, la prison en question, a proposé quelques changements. Lors de sa [illegible] visite, qui a eu lieu le 23 septembre, il a été constaté que rien n'avait été [illegible] mettre en exécution ses recommandations, et même à 10 heures 45 le [illegible]teur n'était pas encore venu à la prison. Cette prison se trouve dans un état déplorable, ce qui est une honte pour une administration civilisée.

7. Son Excellence le Ministre est prié de donner à qui de droit les ordres nécessaires pour donner suite aux recommandations de MM les attachés militaires dans l'appendice ci-jointe.

8. Il est nécessaire de nommer douze nouveaux gardiens pour la prison de Sultan Ahmed, qui seront chargés de la surveillance générale et la garde des prisonniers les plus dangereux. Ces nouveaux gardiens recevront en guise de traitement douze livres par mois, ils seront nourris par l'Etat et porteront des armes.

Il serait à désirer que le Directeur général de la Police fût prié de choisir ces nouveaux gardiens parmi les recrues qui fréquentent actuellement l'Ecole de la Police

Notes

1. Minister of Interior promises this would be done in a fortnight
2. Work will be pushed forward so as to get one part ready first
3. Prisons Commission will go into this question with Director General of Prisons.
4. Orders given.
5. Agreed
6. Reprimand this time. Next time he will be dismissed.
7. Minister of Interior promised to do this.
8. New warders have now been appointed. Wages amount to about Ltq. 24 inclusive per month. Agreed to give them a trial

(Id.) I. M. S.

September 26, 1919

APPENDICE

MM. [illegible] Son Excellence le Ministre que les prisonniers détenus, dont les noms, etc., sont indiqués plus bas, soient mis en liberté à moins que leurs procès ne soient pas terminés et les jugements rendus jusqu'au 7 octobre au plus tard.

La Commission interalliée des Prisons sera chargée de surveiller l'exécution, par les autorités compétentes, des ordres donnés par son Excellence le Ministre

Dans les Prisons de la Cour martiale

1. [illegible] 22 juillet, étant en possession d'un revolver militaire." Transféré, le 10 août, à la prison de la Cour martiale. Aucune [illegible]

2. [illegible] Transféré à la prison de la Cour martiale le 19 juillet. Rien n'a été fait pour le juger

3. [illegible] 7 août, étant en possession d'un revolver, qu'il a braqué sur un individu."

4. Caralambo Marko Nikolaraki Arrêté à Constantinople le 13 juillet, "ayant prononcé des paroles injurieux à l'égard de la police." Aucun procès.

5. Yanni Grégoire Constantinides Arrêté à Constantinople le 24 juillet, [illegible]

6. Yorghi Yoannon Arrêté le 12 juillet à Constantinople, "s'étant servi des propos injurieux à l'égard de la police" Aucun jugement.

7. Antoine Constandinides Arrêté le 12 juillet à Constantinople, "pour s'être servi des propos injurieux à l'égard de la police." Pas de procès.

8. Dimitri Oghlou Costi. Arrêté le 10 août, "pour avoir insulté la police et braqué un revolver" Aucun procès

9. Ohannes Veledi Artin Arrêté le 7 août, "pour avoir braqué un revolver." Aucun procès.

10. Triantafillo Oghlou Yanni Arrêté le 7 août, "pour avoir braqué un [illegible]

11. Yanni Oghlou Yorghi Arrêté le 12 juillet, "s'étant servi des propos injurieux à l'égard de la police" Aucun procès

12. Spiro Oughlou Evanghelli Arrêté le 24 août, "pour avoir facilité des [illegible]" Pas de procès

13. Mizargis Oghlou Misban et sa femme (dans la prison de Galata Seraï). Arrêté le 23 mai, "accusés d'un vol de literie." Pas encore appelés au tribunal

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Enclosure 3 in No 135.

Report by the Inter-Allied Prisons Commission.

(Traduction.)

Messieurs,

Constantinople, le 11 *octobre* 1919.

NOUS avons l'honneur de vous informer que nous avons régulièrement visité les prisons de Constantinople la semaine dernière jusqu au 11 octobre, et nous vous soumettons le rapport suivant

2. *Prison de Sultan-Ahmed.*—La prison est tenue plus proprement et le mudir paraît faire son possible pour en améliorer les conditions d'entretien. Nous avons de nouveau à nous plaindre des latrines, qui sont dans un état antihygiénique quoique un léger progrès ait été réalisé. Nous avons [illegible] au Directeur général des Prisons à ce sujet, recommandant d ordonner le nettoyage, la désinfection et l usage des cabinets situés dans la cour, et de réserver à un usage nocturne ceux de l'intérieur, qui devront également être nettoyés et désinfectés. Il promit de faire exécuter nos recommandations [illegible]

3. Un essai est maintenant tenté de faire travailler les prisonniers, et un certain nombre d'entre eux sont employés à des réparations dans la prison. Le Gouvernement général nous a promis d'occuper immédiatement quelques prisonniers à des travaux de tailleur d'ici trois semaines tous les détenus devant recevoir une tâche. Considérant le fait qu'un mois auparavant aucun prisonnier ne travaillait, la situation actuelle marque un grand progrès, quoique, sans doute, il y ait encore de la marge pour le progrès.

4. Les gardiens ont reçu un ceinturon qui les distingue des détenus. Nous sommes informés que prochainement ils auront un uniforme convenable

5. La construction de la nouvelle prison derrière le Palais de Justice avance favorablement

6. *Prison de Galata-Séraï.*—Cette prison antihygiénique est à peu près dans les mêmes conditions, quoique le directeur fasse de son mieux pour les améliorer Quelques prisonniers ont été transférés à Sultan-Ahmed

7. *Prison de Scutari.*—La nouvelle prison sera prête pour l'occupation dans [illegible] jours et la prison actuelle sera fermée

A. MONTAZAU
A. J. WILSON (*Lieutenant*)
RAIMONDI

Report by the Inter-Allied Prisons Commission respecting the Prison centrale (Sultan-Ahmed)

1.—*Prison des Détenus condamnés*

(*a*) *Discipline.*—Étant donnée la disposition des locaux et les gardiens actuels, la discipline est difficile à obtenir—aussi laisse-t-elle encore à désirer

Cependant, il y a une tendance à l'amélioration, ne serait-ce que dans la tenue des gardiens, qui autrefois ne se distinguaient guère des prisonniers.

Il serait désirable que, conformément au règlement, les [illegible] les détenus leur soient enlevés et qu il leur soit remis un uniforme.

(*b*) *Hygiène.*—Le régime de la distribution de l'eau a été fortement amélioré. La prison est alimentée pendant à peu près toute la journée.

Il existe [illegible] fonctionner, faute d'une quantité suffisante d'eau. Il serait indispensable que cette installation soit en mesure de fonctionner un ou deux jours par semaine, et les détenus astreints à y aller

Une autre question extrêmement importante est la désinfection des latrines, qui sont employées se trouvent à l'intérieur des bâtiments occupés

Si leur transfert à l'extérieur n'est pas décidé, il est indispensable de fournir en quantité suffisante un désinfectant qui devra y être chaque jour

(*c*) *Travaux* [illegible] Quelques travaux ont été exécutés dans cette partie de la prison (en particulier des écoulements d'eaux ont été réalisés).

2.—*Prison des Detenus en Prevention.*

(a.) *Discipline.*—Elle semble encore plus relâchée que dans la prison des détenus condamnés. Cela tient d'ailleurs en grande partie aux locaux extrêmement défectueux servant de logement aux prisonniers.

Les préparatifs d'une tentative d'évasion (amorce de tunnel) avaient été découverts la veille de la visite, mais il semble que les gardiens n'ont été pour rien dans cette découverte. Les travaux auraient été indiqués par un autre détenu.

Le service de surveillance pourrait, cependant, être exécuté de façon [illegible] car il est effectué par treize gardiens. Le service de jour est assuré par la [illegible] et celui de nuit (pendant huit heures) par quatre gardiens.

(b.) *Hygiène.*—[illegible]

(c.) *Travaux.*—L'aménagement d'une nouvelle salle située à proximité des [illegible] et améliorera les conditions d'hygiène actuellement déplorables.

3.—*Prison des Femmes.*

Rien à signaler pour la discipline et la propreté.

[illegible] d'urgence avait été demandé, n'étaient pas encore arrivées à Sultan-Ahmed.

(Signé) MONTAZAU
RAIMONDI

[146626] No. 135.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received October 29.)

No. 1915.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, October 16, 1919.*

WITH reference to my despatch of the 10th October relative to recent developments in the general situation in this country, I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of an intelligence report from Konia which has been communicated to me by General Headquarters, Army of the Black Sea, and which illustrates the [illegible] in the interior on the eve of the fall of Ferid Pasha's Government.

2. I enclose also a cutting from the "Stamboul" newspaper of the 6th October which gives a fairly accurate account of the development of the movement in [illegible] communications which have passed between Moustapha Kemal Pasha and Constantinople. It will be observed that the Sultan was induced to send a message of satisfaction to his loyal subjects in the provinces.

3. The present position may be described as one of unstable equilibrium between [illegible] Government and the provinces. [illegible] show no intention of winding up the provisional quasi Government in Anatolia, but appear rather to intend to maintain it in being as a control on the Central Government. On the other hand, they appear [illegible] their demands on the latter, as, [illegible] late Government should be impeached and meanwhile kept under surveillance.

4. The Government have published a new electoral decree, [illegible] to expedite the completion of the elections. It is hoped that it [illegible] convoke Parliament by the middle [illegible]

5. The executive created by [illegible] movement which might otherwise suffer the reproach of being the creation of swashbuckling adventurers.

7. Ahmed Rustem Bey, is a well-known renegade of Polish extraction, who crowned a disreputable career by becoming a Turkish Ambassador in Washington, having to quit that post at the request of the United States Government.

8. Rechid Pasha, is Vali of Sivas. He was appointed to that post by Ferid [illegible] Committee of Union and Progress, as he resigned the post of Vali of Kastamuni during the war, rather than carry out the deportation of Armenians, and had since remained without employment. Ever since his arrival at Sivas, however, he has shown great complaisance to the Chauvinist element.

9. Reouf Bey, is a well known naval officer. He was Minister of Marine in Izzet Pasha's Cabinet (October–November 1919), and was the foremost of the delegates who signed the Armistice. He is reported an ardent supported of the Committee of Union and Progress.

I have, &c.
(For the High Commissioner),
RICHARD WEBB.

Enclosure 1 in No. 136.

Control Officer, Konia, to Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck.

L.R. [illegible]

Konia, September 25, 1919.

DESCRIPTION [illegible]

1. The Government authorities have been entirely cut off from communication with the Central Government for over a week. [illegible] grows closer daily—and by remaining at his post the Vali could not prevent the [illegible]. His presence here would incite his supporters to resistance, and the net result [illegible] Vali's resignation and departure it is hoped that this projected resistance [illegible] that when the Nationalists occupy Konia they will do so in an orderly [illegible] may be avoided, and the instructions contained in paragraph (E) [illegible] gram of the 23rd September, 1919, will have been complied with.

I beg to submit that the above was the only sane advice I could give the Vali, not in his personal interest, but also for the general welfare of the Konia population. [illegible]

[illegible] made arrangements with the local railway authorities to facilitate the Vali's journey. As there is a possibility of the Nationalists endeavouring to capture or kill him on the journey, one of the railway [illegible] Konia to Eski Shehir, at my suggestion.

[illegible] Konia he has striven energetically to maintain law and order, and abide by the instructions received from his Government. He has made a considerable effort to content the Christian population. In his dealings with me I have not found he has [illegible]

The Nationalists may now be expected to take possession [illegible] next day or two.

In view of the above, I trust that my action has your approval. CONTROL OFFICER, KONIA.

Enclosure 2 in No. 136.

Extract from the "Stamboul" of October 6, 1919.

LE MOUVEMENT ASIATIQUE ET SES RÉPERCUSSIONS.

RAREMENT on vit départ de ministre déclancher revirement pareil à celui déterminé par la retraite de Damad Férid Pacha. Sans aller cependant jusqu'à [illegible] sous

l'effet de quelque baguette magique, on ne peut s'empêcher de reconnaître l'étendue du changement survenu du jour au lendemain. Peut-être va-t-on un peu trop vite et trop loin sous ce rapport, mais il n'en est pas moins vrai qu'une détente s'est produite. En sorte que l'on est porté à penser que la seule présence de Ferid Pacha constituait l'unique obstacle à un compromis entre la capitale et l'Anatolie.

L'entente entre le pouvoir central et le chef du mouvement asiatique [illegible] vise maintenant par tous. Est-elle réalisée ? Hier matin, le " Vak[illegible] encadré de motifs fleuris, l'annonçait formellement, spécifiant qu'elle avait été obtenue à la suite d'un échange de communications télégraphiques entre le Cabinet et les chefs du mouvement anatolien. Il y avait la garantie de l'intégrité et on félicitait les deux parties.

Cependant, l' " Akcham," ayant été demander confirmation de la chose au Ministre de l'Intérieur, en a reçu la réponse suivante :

Je prie les journaux de [illegible] publications prématurées avant que le Gouvernement ait exposé [illegible] viendrons à une amélioration, et j'en suis convaincu ; mais il faudra que vous patientiez [illegible] deux jours. Nous expliquerons ce que nous nous proposons de faire par la déclaration que nous allons publier.

Ce journal croit savoir, de son côté, que le Cabinet a d[illegible] chefs du mouvement de la teneur de sa déclaration. Il pense [illegible] son assentiment. Cela fait, le désaccord se trouverait dissipé de lui-même. [illegible] bre comme gagnée, dès lors, la cause de l'intégrité nationale plaidée en [illegible]

A Constantinople

[illegible] aux journaux [illegible] une façon de [illegible] intention [illegible] au mouvement [illegible] bien [illegible] disposés de s'y faufiler dans l'espoir de pêcher en [illegible] par lesdits promoteurs serait la libération de Smyrne, la garantie de la récupération des vilayets orientaux de l'Asie Mineure, bref l'intégrité territoriale.

Il veut deux indices permettant d'affirmer que le mouvement n'est pas unanime : (1) le fait que Bekir Sami Bey, un adversaire de l'Union et Progrès, a présidé l'un des deux congrès tenus par les délégués — celui de Sivas ; (2) le serment exigé des affiliés qui doivent s'engager à ne servir la cause d'aucun parti, et surtout de l'U[illegible] et Progrès, mais à sacrifier leur sang et leur [illegible] attente de l'ennemi.

En même temps, les journaux des provinces, retenus jusqu'ici par la poste, sont [illegible] en Asie Mineure au cours de ces derniers mois.

Les précautions prises à cet égard par l'ancien chef du Gouvernement au [illegible] consisté jusqu'à ne pas présenter à Sa Majesté les dépêches télégraphiques parvenues d'Anatolie et jusqu'à lui dépeindre sous de fausses couleurs la nature du mouvement [illegible] Ce qu'apprenant, le sénateur maréchal Fouad Pacha se serait p[illegible] jours de suite au palais impérial et aurait été reçu par le Sultan, à qui [illegible] s par les congrès et [illegible] connaissance des proclamations.

[illegible] est ainsi que le souverain aurait été mis au courant de la situation.

[illegible] de recevoir, avant-hier l'ex-Ministre de l'Intérieur Adil Bey et l'ancien Cheikh ul-Islam Sabri Effendi.

En Asie Mineure

Par les documents rendus publics, on sait qu'il a été tenu deux congrès [illegible] régler la marche du mouvement en Asie Mineure : un premier, partiel, qui se tint [illegible] Erzeroum, et décida d'en convoquer un général à Sivas, pour le 10 juillet. [illegible] tard sous la présidence de l'ancien Vali [illegible]

Parmi les résolutions prises à ce co[illegible] unant les vilayets d'Erzeroum, Sivas, [illegible]

[illegible] et le sandjak de [illegible] ces ne peuvent sous aucun prétexte être séparées l'une de l'autre. Les [illegible] habitant ces régions professent vis-à-vis l'une de l'autre des [illegible]

[illegible] on ou intervention dans ces régions devant être considérée comme [illegible] en procédera à sa défense. Dans le cas où le Gouvernement, sous une pression [illegible] consentirait à céder ses provinces, un Gouvernement provisoire sera institué [illegible] Millé et la région sera administrée en conformité des lois présentes [illegible]

Le [illegible] de Sivas, à son tour, a pris en septembre les résolutions suivantes rendues publiques par manifeste. Les sept premières sont identiques aux principes admis par le Congrès d'Erzeroum.

Les autres portent en résumé qu'à cette époque historique fut proclamé le principe [illegible] nations doivent elles-mêmes décider de leur sort. Il est obligatoire pour le [illegible] prendre sans retard les dispositions requises pour assurer la convocation, le plus tôt possible, du Parlement.

Le congrès a décidé aussi que l'organisation nationale formée par la fusion des [illegible] défense des droits de l'Anatolie et de la Roumélie." Un comité d'administration [illegible]

Moustafa Kémal Pacha a lancé de Sivas une circulaire qui peut être résumée ainsi :

" Dans une dépêche, datée du 13 septembre, adressée au vali de Trébizonde Ghalib [illegible] Damad Férid Pacha disant que des groupes de bolchevistes, abordant au littoral [illegible] au point [illegible] par ses mensonges, cherche à intimider la nation devant [illegible] le. Ce fait met en évidence qu'un certain nombre de personnes, ayant [illegible] conscience à l'intérêt étranger, cherchent à étouffer la voix de la nation.

Alors que toute la nation exprime sa méfiance à l'égard du Gouvernement, celui-ci [illegible] et de parole et l'empêche de s'adresser à son Souverain.

[illegible] de sécurité, cherche à provoquer des massacres entre les citoyens d'une même nation. Par conséquent, l' " Association de la défense des droits de l'Anatolie et de la Roumélie " saisit cette occasion pour déclarer encore une fois que personne ne veut reconnaître un tel Gouvernement et désire qu'un nouveau Ministère composé de personnes honnêtes soit constitué."

Dans une adresse au Sultan des commandants des 13e, 20e, 3e et 15e corps d'armée déclarent en substance qu'alors que la nation et l'armée, toutes les deux fidèles au trône, se sont réunies dans le but d'assurer le salut de la patrie et du trône, le Gouvernement de traîtres vendus à l'ennemi prépare des complots de [illegible] une guerre civile a enlevé toute confiance dans le Gouvernement. [illegible] tional est indemne de toute influence politique, et [illegible] également indemne de tout sentiment politique, appuie les patriotes [illegible] est d'assurer le salut de la patrie et du trône.

[illegible] termine en demandant la formation d'un nouveau Cabinet, réclame [illegible] enquête au sujet des traîtres et déclare que l'armée ne pourra [illegible] la nation, qui a décidé de suspendre toute communication avec la capitale [illegible] formation du nouveau Cabinet.

Konia

La ville de Konia a participé au Techkilati-Millié le soir du 26 septembre écoulé. [illegible] Chakir Bey, commandant intérimaire du corps d'armée de Konia, les notables, les ulemas et les négociants se sont réunis au konak pour élire un Vali intérimaire. Le

religieux Vehbi Effendi a été désigné. Tous les assistants ont signé le procès-verbal de cette élection.

Puis ont été désignés les membres des délégations chargées d'annoncer la participation de Konia au Techkil-Millié, aux missions de l'Entente et au commandant des forces nationales à Yeni-Cheh[illegible]

Correspondances avec Kemal Pacha

Le Damad Chérif Pacha, Ministre de l'Intérieur, aurait longuement correspondu hier par le télégraphe avec Moustafa Kémal Pacha.

Déclarations du Prince-héritier

Le "Sabah" publie ce matin, en résumé, les opinions émises par le Prince-héritier pour le retour d'un état de choses normal.

"En examinant la question—a dit son Altesse—on comprend aisément que l'[illegible] a été amené d'abord par l'inaptitude du Cabinet à gouverner le pays dans ce [illegible] délicat et ensuite par les raisons suivantes

"Depuis la conclusion de l'armistice, une administration saine donnant confiance à la population de la capitale et des provinces n'a pas été instaurée

Non seulement le Gouvernement n'a pris aucune disposition pour rassurer la nation au sujet de Smyrne, Andrinople et des provinces orientales, menacées à ch[illegible]t, mais le Ministère de l'Intérieur a qualifié le brigandage ("Tché[illegible] yagamadjak") les efforts déployés par la nation en vue de défendre les intérêts [illegible] patrie. Ces faits ont mécontenté la nation."

D'autre part, la déclaration du Grand-Vizir relativement à l'octroi aux Arm[illegible] des provinces orientales d'une large autonomie, a produit une pénible impression dans [illegible] régions, où l'on a cru que la patrie allait être cédée à d'autres.

Aussi, ont elles fini par perdre tout espoir dans le Gouvernement, et la nation dû chercher elle-même les moyens d'assurer le salut de la patrie

1. Le Souverain et Calife, qui est le point d'appui de la nation et du Gouv[illegible] doit, sans inclination pour un parti quelconque, chercher à assurer l'équilibre de l'op[illegible] générale et des courants nationaux

2. Dans un moment si critique aucun Gouvernement ne devant assumer la [illegible] stabilité, il y a lieu de procéder immédiatement aux élections afin de consulter la na[illegible]

3. Formation d'un Cabinet de concentration avec le concours d'hommes d'[illegible] expérimentés.

4. La publication d'une amnistie générale.

L'Amnistie générale

L'amnistie générale, dont il est question depuis deux jours, ne concernerait que [illegible] organisateurs et participants du mouvement national

L'Entente libérale

[illegible]

Le secret est gardé. Il aurait été décidé de ne rien divu[illegible] [illegible] il a présenté au Grand-Vézir le manifeste du parti

Les Communications télégraphiques.

Contrairement à ce qui a été annoncé, les communications télégraphiques avec les provinces n'ont pas été reprises. La Sublime-Porte a reçu seulement une dépêche de Castamoni.

Nous disons, d'autre part, que le Ministre de l'Intérieur a correspondu par [illegible]mme avec Moustafa Kemal Pacha; c'est ce dernier qui a demandé cet entretien. Vers le tard, une dépêche a été également reçue du mutessarifat de Caresse

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Enclosure 3 in No. 136.

Extract from the "Moniteur oriental" of October 9, 1919.

PROCLAMATION DE MOUSTAFA KEMAL PACHA A LA NATION

NOTRE grande nation qui s'était réunie pour assurer la sauvegarde de nos droits [illegible] rancune haineuse de quelques traîtres. Ce Gouvernement illégal, qui ne [illegible]ait pas sur la nation, était susceptible de nous faire du mal par la situation [illegible] qu'il conservait. C'est la raison pour laquelle nos amis comme nos ennemis [illegible] voyaient désunis et désagrégés.

Aujourd'hui, grâce à l'assistance divine, et grâce à la volonté de fer montrée par [illegible] grande nation, les traîtres sont tombés, et l'État et la nation se trouvent groupés autour d'un même objectif de délivrance et d'union. Deux faits sont à considérer:

1. Notre Souverain Calife a destitué le Cabinet Férid Pacha dès qu'il a eu [illegible]nes des désirs légitimes de la nation.

Le nouveau Cabinet présidé par Ali Rizza Pacha a admis les principes de légitimité [illegible] mots enlevés par la censure) de notre idéal national, et l'accord est complet [illegible] Gouvernement et la nation.

En conséquence, à partir d'aujourd'hui, nous apporterons de notre sympathie le [illegible] Gouvernement, et prouverons ainsi une fois de plus que notre activité avait pour but la [illegible]garde de la nation.

En regard des devoirs du Gouvernement, il incombe à la nation une grande tâche [illegible] grand principe était d'ailleurs de servir la nation et non d'entraver la loi. Aussi [illegible]rons nous avec joie le moment où nous n'aurons plus qu'à assurer le calme et la [illegible]illité, ainsi que nous l'avons toujours fait. Notre nation qui ne s'est [illegible] gardera toujours ces qualités, et fera voir au monde civilisé qu'elle est dig[illegible] conserver cette terre glorieuse et sacrée.

MOUSTAFA KÉMAL

Moustafa Kemal Pacha au Sultan.

Moustafa Kémal Pacha, Commandant en Chef des forces nationales, vient d'envoyer au Sultan la dépêche de remerciement suivante:

Au nom de toute la nation, nous osons déposer aux pieds de votre auguste Majesté nos sentiments de gratitude et de respect pour avoir daigné ordonner la destitution de l'ex-Cabinet, qui n'a pas reculé d'étouffer la voix nationale qui s'élevait de partout pour monter jusqu'à votre Majesté, trompant ainsi jusqu'à la fin son Souverain et la nation. La parole et le firman est à votre glorieuse Majesté.

MOUSTAFA KEMAL

Le 7 octobre 1335

Au nom du Conseil représentatif de l'Association d'Anatolie et de Roumélie pour la défense des droits.

Le Grand-Vézir à Moustafa Kémal Pacha.

Votre dépêche du 7 octobre 1335, à l'adresse de Sa Majesté Impériale le Sultan et [illegible] des vœux pour l'État, et que la nation entre bientôt dans la voie du salut et de la prospérité

ALI RIZA

Le 8 octobre 1335.

Moustafa Kémal Pacha au Grand-Vézir.

[illegible] lu la proclamation publiée par le nouveau Cabinet et adressée aux autorités [illegible] critiques de notre existence, a fait que jusqu'à présent le Gouvernement n'a pu s'appuyer [illegible]

La déclaration du nouveau Cabinet mettant fin à ce malentendu et annonçant sa décision de se conformer aux desiderata et vœux nationaux par une gestion dans ce sens, a uni à partir d'aujourd'hui la nation et le Gouvernement de façon inséparable. Je fais des vœux pour le raffermissement de l'union nationale, qui a été un de nos principaux buts.

MOUSTAFA KÉMAL

Le 8 octobre 1335.

(146629 No. 157

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received October 29.)

(No. 1918. Secret.)

My Lord,

WITH reference to my telegram No. 196[illegible] I [illegible] honour to forward herewith, for your Lordship's [illegible] the Inter-Allied Commission of Enquiry into the G[illegible] surrounding districts, under the h[illegible]

(1.) Established points (statement of incidents which occurred on and after the occupation);
(2.) Responsibilities;
[illegible]

2. The original report has been forwarded by the commission direct to the Paris Conference.

3. The various enclosures in the copy of the report supplied to me have been retained in this High Commission for reference.

4. I am sending a copy of this despatch to Sir Eyre Crowe in Paris.

I have, &c.
(For the High Commissioner),
RICHARD WEBB.

Enclosure in No. 157

Report of the Inter-Allied Commission of Enquiry into the Greek Occupation of Smyrna and surrounding Districts.

(1.)

Exposé des Faits survenus depuis l'Occupation, qui ont été établis au cours de l'Enquête entre le 12 Août et le 6 Octobre 1919.

DEPUIS l'armistice, la sécurité des chrétiens n'était pas menacée dans le vilayet d'Aidin.

[illegible] cours de la guerre et traitées sans aucune bienveillance, pendant les premiers [illegible]

[illegible] suivirent l'armistice, par le Vali Noureddin Pacha; mais depuis l'entrée en fonction du Vali actuel, Izzet Bey, tous les habitants, sans distinction de races, étaient traités avec impartialité.

Malgré la présence de quelques bandes de brigands dans la région, on peut affirmer que le calme était revenu.

Les craintes de massacre de chrétiens n'étaient pas justifiées. Des enquêtes prouvent que les proclamations, appelant les musulmans au massacre des Grecs, qui, quelques semaines avant le débarquement, sont tombées entre les mains des autorités [illegible] les officiers de gendarmerie turque dont les signatures figurent sur ces pièces. Ces pièces ne sont pas certainement authentiques.

2. Les conditions de sécurité dans le vilayet d'Aidin et à Smyrne en particulier ne justifiaient point l'occupation des forts de Smyrne par application de l'article 7 des [illegible] procès-verbal de la 97e séance les réserves faites à ce sujet par le Général représentant italien.)

La situation intérieure du vilayet ne motivait pas davantage le débarquement de [illegible] alliées à Smyrne.

Au contraire, depuis le débarquement des Grecs, la situation est troublée à cause de l'état de guerre existant entre les troupes grecques et les irrégulières turcs.

3. Les forts de Smyrne furent occupés, le 14 mai 1919, par des forces alliées (britanniques, françaises, italiennes et grecques) sur l'ordre de l'Amiral Calthorpe, de la marine de Sa Majesté britannique, l'un des Hauts-Commissaires alliés en Turquie pour l'exécution des termes de l'armistice. L'ordre d'occupation portait qu'elle [illegible] la Turquie et les Puissances [illegible]

4. Dans la nuit du 14 au 15 mai, à la suite de proclamation, un rassemblement de plusieurs milliers de Turcs a eu lieu dans le quartier turc du côté du cimetière [illegible] ce rassemblement n'avait pas pour objet d'organiser la résistance par la force au débarquement des Grecs. Son but était de prouver la majorité et la prédominance des habitants turcs sur les éléments étrangers.

[illegible] par la Conférence de la Paix. Les ordres pour l'occupation furent donnés par l'Amiral Calthorpe, [illegible] présidant cette Conférence.

5. La ville de Smyrne fut occupée, le 15 mai 1919, par les forces grecques, assistées des forces navales de l'Amérique, Grande-Bretagne, France, Grèce et Italie.

Les forces navales britanniques, françaises, italiennes et américaines débarquèrent de petits contingents armés pour garder leurs consulats respectifs.

[illegible] gardes les points de débarquement des troupes grecques. Cette force était insuffisante pour préserver l'ordre et exécuter sa mission.

[illegible] jetée et sur le quai en face de l'Hôtel Kramer. Les troupes commencèrent à débarquer à 8 heures du matin.

6. Aucune résistance au débarquement n'a été organisée par les autorités turques, les coups de fusils tirés par les Turcs furent des actes isolés.

7. Plusieurs centaines de prisonniers de toutes sortes se sont échappés des prisons [illegible] de la Caserne quelques heures avant l'occupation.

Les autorités turques n'ont pas pris de mesures efficaces pour prévenir ou empêcher ces évasions.

Quelques-uns de ces prisonniers furent se procurer des armes au dépôt d'armes situé près de la Caserne.

8. Le commandement supérieur grec n'a pris aucune mesure préalable pour [illegible] ville. Des détachements [illegible] des [illegible] représentant [illegible] ite, les troupes turques étaient maintenues dans leurs casernes.

[illegible] ses ordres aux autorités turques et pour se renseigner sur l'état d'esprit de la [illegible]

9. Les autorités grecques, militaires, civiles et religieuses n'ont rien fait pour essayer de calmer la foule.

La cérémonie faite par le métropolite pour bénir les troupes à leur débarquement n'a pu avoir qu'une influence fâcheuse.

La foule, massée sur le parcours des troupes, a eu une attitude de nature à

déchaîner la colère des habitants turcs et à entraîner des actes de violence de la part fanatiques [illegible].

10. Les ordres relatifs au débarquement n'ont pas été strictement exécutés. [illegible] ont été modifiés sans l'approbation du co[illegible]ent, à la suite de l'intervention commandant de l'"Averoff," qui avait [illegible] en de la formati[illegible] rassemblements turcs du côté de Caratina.

Les compagnies d'evzones qui devaient débarquer à Caratina pour occuper [illegible] où elles ont débarqué derrière les autres fractions du régiment. Pour les [illegible] suivre, les commandants des colonnes se sont conformés aux [illegible] leur ont été données. Ils ne savaient pas que les troupes turques étaient consignées dans leurs casernes près du Konak.

11. Les premiers coups de feu ont été tirés vers le coin de la place du Konak [illegible] entrée de la rue qui conduit à Cocarai.

Il est impossible d'établir avec certitude par qui furent tirés ces premiers coups. Les troupes grecques n'ont pas ouvert le feu et ont seulement riposté à ces premiers coups.

12. A la suite de ces premiers coups, une vive fusillade a éclaté. Les soldats grecs qui se trouvaient dans les jardins de la place du Konak ont dirigé un feu violent contre les fenêtres de la Caserne et du Konak.

Il a été impossible de savoir exactement si quelques coups de feu ont été tirés [illegible] certaines fenêtres de la Caserne après le commencement de la fusillade.

Aucune trace de balle n'a été trouvée sur les murs des bâtiments qui font face à la Caserne.

Quelques rares coups de feu paraissent a[illegible] [illegible] rapports grecs, le détachement de garde fut obligé de se défendre à coups de [illegible] contre une attaque t[illegible]que.

[illegible] Sur le chemin qu'ils ont parcouru entre la place du Konak et le [illegible] où ils furent enfermés, les premiers convois de prisonniers comprenant [illegible] soldats [illegible] furent l'objet de brutalités de la part de la foule qui les accompagnait et même de quelques soldats grecs qui les escortaient.

Tous ces prisonniers furent volés. Tous devaient crier "Zite Venizelos!" [illegible] marcher avec les mains levées. Quelques-uns furent massacrés.

A part une ou deux exceptions, les officiers grecs n'ont exercé sur leurs hommes aucune action pour empêcher les violences.

[illegible] 15 mai et jours suivants, les troupes grecques ont arrêté arbitrairement [illegible] 60 personnes, parmi lesquelles un certain nombre d'enfants de moins de 14 ans. Le personnel et les élèves de quelques écoles furent même enfermés sur "Patrix." Bon nombre de ces prisonniers furent maltraités, pillés et détenus pendant plusieurs jours dans des conditions d'[illegible]

de pillage furent [illegible] et les femmes et les [illegible] [illegible] furent arrachés et les Turcs n'osèrent plus sortir avec cette coiffure. De nom[illegible] femmes furent violées. Quelques assassinats furent commis. Ces violences et pillages furent exercés le plus souvent par la populace grecque de la ville mais il a été [illegible] par des soldats [illegible] mesures efficaces pour y mettre fin.

16. Le nombre des tués et blessés le jour de l'occupation de Smyrne par les troupes grecques est estimé de façon différente par les autorités turques et grecques. Les nombres sont environ les suivants:

Grecs: soldats, 2 tués, 6 blessés; civils: 20 tués, 20 noyés, 60 blessés.
Turcs: 300 à 400 victimes (tués ou blessés).

17. Après que la nouvelle du débarquement des forces [illegible] connue dans les villages des environs, les bandes [illegible] maisons turques et à voler le bétail turc; [illegible] différents villages.

18. Le colonel commandant [illegible] 21 mai le télégramme envoyé [illegible] conditions d'occupat[illegible]

[illegible] représentant de l'Entente à partir du 28 mai,

n'a reçu que le 1er juin les instructions lui faisant connaître ses attributions vis-à-vis des autorités [illegible]

Depuis le départ de l'Amiral Calthorpe (21 mai) jusqu'au 28 mai, le représentant [illegible]

[illegible] 21 mai [illegible] contre les ordres contenus dans le télégramme du 20 mai, en autorisant le colonel commandant les troupes à [illegible] le 24 mai un ordre d'opération visant [illegible] sans avoir, au préalable, demandé l'autorisation au représentant de l'Entente.

Le Haut-Commissaire [illegible]

21. Pour justifier l'extension de la zone grecque le Haut-Commissaire hellénique s'est appuyé:

(a.) Sur les renseignements non vérifiés reçus par l'autorité militaire, d'après lesquels la sécurité publique aurait été menacée dans les régions survisées;

(b.) Sur une interprétation donnée par l'autorité militaire à des conversations tenues avec le Colonel anglais Smith, qui n'avait aucune qualité pour remplacer le représentant de l'Entente.

Le Colonel Smith n'avait pas eu connaissance du télégramme envoyé le 20 mai par M. [illegible] Zafiriou. Il [illegible] colonel Zafiriou l'utilité d'envoyer quelques troupes le long de la voie ferrée jusqu'à [illegible] pour protéger la ligne, si le Colonel Zafiriou avait l'autorisation de pousser ses [illegible] en avant.

Le Colonel Smith ajouta que toute occupation au delà de Trinda pourrait [illegible] des désordres.

[illegible] rendit compte de cette conversation à son supérieur.

La marche en avant et l'installation des troupes grecques aussi bien dans la [illegible] M[illegible] que dans la direction d'Eudemich, d'Aïdin et jusqu'à Nazli s'est [illegible] faite dans des conditions satisfaisantes, malgré l'émotion soulevée dans le pays [illegible] ments de Smyrne. Le commandement grec tolera l'action de [illegible] grecs armés qui, sous prétexte d'aider les troupes grecques, se livraient au pillage et commettaient toutes sortes d'excès.

Une cour martiale constituée à Smyrne, dès le 16 mai, par le commandement grec a prononcé (à la date du 15 août) 74 condamnations, dont 3 à mort pour les seuls événements des 15 et 16 mai. Parmi ces condamnés figurent:

48 Grecs
13 Turcs,
12 Arméniens,
1 juif.

23. L'excitation produite dans le pays par les événements de Smyrne augmenta progressivement pour les raisons suivantes:

a.) Une grande incertitude régna au sujet des limites du territoire à occuper par [illegible] grecques jusqu'au 2 juin, date à laquelle le Commodore l'[illegible] de la marine britannique, fut chargé de déterminer les limites de l'occupation.

b.) L'avance rapide des troupes grecques vers l'intérieur du pays augmenta le [illegible] réguliers turcs et la gendarmerie désertèrent. Des civils grecs s'armèrent ouvertement. L'activité des brigands augmenta en même temps que le nombre des actes de [illegible] les vols et les pillages.

Les perquisitions faites par les troupes grecques, aidées par des civils armés, [illegible] les maisons turques pour la recherche des armes, portèrent au plus haut point le mécontentement de la population, car la violation du domicile musulman constitue une [illegible] particulièrement vexatoire, susceptible de provoquer une grande irritation.

Cette excitation créa dans tout le vilayet d'Aïdin une apparence de désordres, qui [illegible]

24. Les armes dont les civils grecs [illegible] [illegible] par la commission opérant entre les alliés et la Croix-Rouge.

Il n'y a pas lieu de retenir l'accusation portée par les Turcs contre la Croix-Rouge grecque au sujet du débarquement, à Smyrne, d'armes contenues dans des caisses portant [illegible] de cette institution.

Il est seulement prouvé que, au cours du mois de février, un grand nombre [illegible] à plusieurs reprises [illegible] du château grec. Autrefois [illegible] pèrent au contrôle de la douane. Des témoins turcs, entendus, ont affirmé que ce[illegible] de ces caisses renfermaient des armes et des munitions.

Les autorités grecques n'ont autorisé que dans les premiers jours de mars le contr[illegible] des caisses par les fonctionnaires turcs du service de la douane.

25. Ayassoulouk a été occupé le 25 [illegible]
Deunendjik a été occupé le 25 [illegible]
Baladjik a été occupé le 25 [illegible]
Aidin a été occupé le 27 mai
Eudemich a été occupé le 1er juin.
Nazli a été occupé le 3 juin.

26. Divers coups de main exécutés sur des postes grecs par des bandes ou [illegible] insurgés turcs ont amené, de la part des Grecs, des représailles dont quelques [illegible] prouvaient être justifiées par la situation militaire. Toutes ces représailles ont [illegible] faites brutalement. Quelques assassinats furent commis de part et d'autre.

27. L'évacuation de Nazli a été faite dans la nuit du 19 au 20 juin sur [illegible] commandant du bataillon d'occupation. Cette évacuation n'a pas été faite conf[illegible] ment aux ordres du représentant de l'Entente donnés depuis le 14 juin, d'après lesq[illegible] les autorités locales turques devaient être prévenues à l'avance du départ des [illegible] grecq[illegible]

28. Les autorités militaires grecques expliquent ce mouvement en disant que [illegible] commandant du bataillon craignait une attaque et que, pour ne pas renseigner l'en[illegible] [illegible] ment de retraite, il n'a pas prévenu les autorités turques de son [illegible] Les ordres relatifs à l'évacuation de Nazli n'ont été donnés par le comman[illegible] supérieur que le 19.

29. Après ce départ, les autorités turques n'ont pas eu le temps de créer un [illegible] d'ordre pour remplacer la gendarmerie désarmée et désorganisée pendant l'occup[illegible] grecque. Elles n'ont pas été en mesure de s'opposer au pillage et au mass[illegible] quelques familles grecques par des bandes turques entrées à Nazli quelques [illegible] après l'évacuation par les Grecs.

30. Les habitants arrêtés à Nazli par les Grecs comme suspects, au nombre d[illegible] trentaine environ, ont été amenés avec les troupes en retraite.

L'un d'eux fut tué en route, sous prétexte qu'il ne pouvait marcher.

Parmi les autres, quelques-uns purent s'échapper, mais le plus grand nombre [illegible] tué au village de Kuak au cours d'une bagarre survenue pendant la traversée de [illegible] village, pendant laquelle un officier grec a été tué.

31. Après l'évacuation de Nazli par les troupes grecques, les attaques des [illegible] contre les postes grecs et les soldats isolés se sont multipliées.

Dans toute la région d'Aidin, la population était armée, aussi bien les Turcs [illegible] les Turc[illegible]

32. Les troupes grecques ont exécuté aux environs d'Aidin des reconnais[illegible] armées. Au cours de ces reconnaissances quelques villages furent brûlés.

Le 27, une de ces reconnaissances a été repoussée par les bandes qui l'ont pour[illegible] jusqu'à l'entrée d'Aidin. Le combat a continué le 28. Les assaillants ont fait usage [illegible] canons de 105, dès le 28. Les grecs ont reculé.

Le commandement et les témoins grecs affirment que des coups de feu [illegible] tirés par les habitants turcs sur des fractions de troupes grecques en retraite, au [illegible] où elles traversaient le quartier turc, situé au sud de la voie ferrée. Quelques uns [illegible] incendies qui ont éclaté dans ce quartier turc, dans la matinée du 29, ont pris na[illegible] au cours du combat.

D'autres incendies éclatèrent aussi dans ce quartier sur divers points isolés.

Un grand nombre de Turcs, hommes, femmes, enfants qui essayaient de sort[illegible] quartier en flammes ont été tués sans raison par les soldats grecs qui gardaient to[illegible] les issues conduisant de ce quartier vers la partie nord de la ville.

Le commandement et les troupes grecs ont incontestablement perdu [illegible] sang-froid.

Les Grecs évacuèrent la ville dans la nuit du 29 au 30 après avoir [illegible] nombreux attentats et des crimes. Un grand nombre de civils grecs qui [illegible] s'enfuir en accompagnant les troupes dans leur retraite en ont été empêché par [illegible] commandement.

33. L'incendie du quartier grec est dû aux bandes turques du chef Yuruk [illegible]

qui y sont entrées dans la matinée du 30 juin, et l'ont brûlé complètement après avoir [illegible] les maisons, dont elles ont tué les occupants.

Sans distinction d'âge ni de sexe, un grand nombre d'habitants grecs, rencontrés [illegible] les rues, furent impitoyablement tués par les bandes.

Les habitants qui échappèrent à la mort, mais non pas au vol [illegible] nombre de 2,000 ou 3,000 environ, purent se réfugier, avant l'arrivée [illegible] le couvent des religieuses françaises, d'où elles se rendirent au Konak sous la protection du Colonel Cheflik Bey, commandant la 57e division ottomane.

De même, quelques notables qui avaient pu se rendre au Konak eurent en partie la vie sauve, mais quelques-uns furent exécutés.

Il n'a pas été possible d'établir avec certitude le chiffre des victimes grecques ou turques.

Le représentant du Gouvernement grec, entendu par la Commission le 7 septembre, estime que le nombre des victimes grecques est de 2,000 environ ; 900 cadavres étaient déjà retrouvés à cette date. Un témoin anglais estime ce nombre à 400 environ.

Un officier français qui a fait une enquête sur place quelques jours après les [illegible] ts évalue le nombre des victimes à :

1,500 à 2,000 Grecs,
1,200 à 1,500 Turcs,

en reconnaissant, toutefois, que l'évaluation des victimes turques a été très difficile à faire.

34. Les troupes grecques, à l'aide des renforts envoyés par le Général Nider, ont repris Aidin le 4 juillet. Elles ont incendié le quartier turc situé à l'ouest de la ville, où se trouvent aussi des usines grecques.

35. L'ensemble des incendies allumés entre le 29 juin et le 4 juillet ont certainement détruit les deux tiers de la ville d'Aidin, dont la population s'élevait à 30,000 habitants, parmi lesquels environ 8,000 Grecs.

Les maisons non brûlées ont toutes été pillées.

36. Avant la rentrée des Grecs à Aidin, la plus grande partie de la population [illegible] Nazli Denizli, où elle est encore.

Un millier de Grecs ont été emmenés dans la zone turque, où ils étaient encore [illegible] une situation matérielle très pénible au moment de la visite de la Commission à [illegible], le 11 septembre.

37. La réoccupation d'Aidin a été ordonnée par le Commandement supérieur grec, malgré les ordres formels du représentant de l'Entente.

Les autorités grecques ont agi sur ordre formel envoyé de Paris par M. Venizelos, [illegible] l'Entente.

38. La plupart des villages situés le long de la voie ferrée entre Baladjik et [illegible] sont déroulées dans la région.

39. Actuellement, le calme est à peu près rétabli, sauf dans la zone très vaste du front où se livrent encore des combats d'avant-postes, qui causent des pertes et [illegible] entraînent des mesures militaires, dont souffrent les habitants.

Il en est de même dans la région d'Eudemich, où l'occupation grecque s'est faite dans de bonnes conditions.

40. L'occupation du vilayet d'Aidin par les forces grecques a causé de grandes pertes matérielles au point de vue des récoltes et propriétés.

Les unes, impossibles à estimer, sont dues aux pillages, aux vol et à la destruction du bétail, dont une partie a été utilisée comme nourriture par les troupes grecques.

Les autres, de moindre importance, furent la conséquence des opérations militaires et des rencontres qui eurent lieu entre les forces grecques et les bandes turques.

D'autres enfin, très considérables, sont dues à l'incendie des maisons, des villages, et de la ville d'Aidin. On peut estimer que les pertes provenant de l'incendie d'Aidin représentent approximativement une valeur de 3,000,000 de livres sterling.

Lorsque les habitants turcs abandonnèrent leurs maisons et s'enfuirent des [illegible] ,000 ivres.

La récolte des olives souffrira également et les conditions ne s'amélioreront pas avant le mois de novembre.

[illegible]

[illegible] nous l'impression causée par les événements de Pergama, et que les officiers n'ont [illegible] sui calmer.

45 Le commandement militaire grec affirme que la répression grecque a été [illegible] d'une attaque des T[illegible] gare et [illegible] K[illegible] attribuent tire des coups de feu sur de soldats grecs.

[illegible]

[illegible] représailles furent exercées par certains Turcs de la région. Ces actes de bri[illegible]

[illegible] vingtaine de musulmans.

Le pays est tranquille, mais le commerce est presque complètement arrêté.

46 Les réfugiés turcs qui ont quitté les territoires occupés par les Grecs [illegible] le long de leur domicile sont [illegible]

[illegible]

47 Au sujet du transport de Grecs dans la province de Smyrne signalé par [illegible] du Cheik-ul Islam Mustafa Sabri à la Conférence de la Paix [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

L'Amiral Bristol, Délégué des États-Unis d'Amérique.
Le Général Bunoust, Délégué de la France.
Le Général Hare, Délégué de la Grande-Bretagne.
Le Général Dallaire, Délégué de l'Italie.

[illegible]

(2

Établissement des Responsabilités.

[illegible]

[illegible] données par le télégramme du 7 [illegible]

[illegible] ation de ces armes dans le pays.
[illegible] de leurs opérations militaires ou de police, elles ont même toléré [illegible]

[illegible] troupes ont avancé.

Les haines qui existent depuis des siècles entre Turcs et Grecs en ont incontestablement augmenté la fréquence et la sauvagerie.

Les Grecs ne sauraient, en toute just [illegible]

Les mêmes considérations s'appli[illegible] les régions de Pergama et aux environs [illegible]

7. Les Grecs sont, au contraire [illegible] massacre [illegible] exécutant [illegible]

[illegible]

8. Bien que la situation actuelle soit meilleure, le calme n'est pas encore rét[illegible] dans le vilayet d'Aidin.

Presque toutes les transactions commerciales avec l'intérieur de l'Anatolie sont arrêtées.

[illegible] de bandes de brigands, n'ont pas toujours une autorité suffisante sur leurs forces, [illegible] les empêcher de se livrer quelquefois à des incursions. Il en résulte qu'une part[illegible] responsabilité leur incombe en ce qui concerne la situation actuelle du pays.

Derrière leur responsabilité apparaît celle du Gouvernement turc, qui, jusqu'à ce jour, n'avait aucune autorité sur les chefs du mouvement national.

Les Membres de la Commission :

R. H. HARE. A. DALL'OLLIO.
MARK S. BRISTOL. BUNOUST.

Constantinople, le 11 octobre 1919.

(3.)

Conclusions présentées par la Commission.

1. La situation créée à Smyrne et dans le vilayet d'Aidin par l'occupation hellén[illegible] est fausse parce que :

[illegible] elles n'ont plus les [illegible]

(b.) L'occupation impose à la Grèce des sacrifices militaires considérables, hors [illegible] proportion avec la mission à remplir, si cette mission est temporaire et ne doit av[illegible] pour but que le maintien de l'ordre.

(c.) Elle est incompatible dans sa forme actuelle, avec le retour de l'ordre et de la tranquillité dont les populations, menacées par la famine, ont grand besoin.

2. La Commission estime :

(a.) Que, si l'occupation militaire du pays ne doit avoir pour but que le maintien de la sécurité et de l'ordre public, cette occupation ne doit pas être confiée aux troupes grecques, mais aux troupes alliées sous l'autorité du commandement supérieur alliés [illegible] Asie Mineure ;

[illegible] à la Grèce.

Dans ce cas, la liberté d'action devra être laissée au commandement grec vis-à-vis des forces turques.

(c.) Que l'annexion pure et simple, envisagée ci-dessus, serait contraire au principe [illegible] le respect des nationalités, car, dans la région occupée, en dehors de la ville même de Smyrne et d'Aivali, la prédominance de l'élément turc sur l'élément grec est incontestable.

Il est du devoir de la Commission de faire remarquer que le sentiment national tr[illegible] la légal[illegible] ne [illegible] pas [illegible] contre [illegible] la force, c'est-à-dire devant une expédition militaire, que la Grèce seule ne pourrait [illegible]

3. [illegible] les troupes alliées.

(a.) Faire relever, le plus tôt possible, tout ou partie des troupes grecques par des [illegible] alliées beaucoup moins nombreuses.

(b.) Si, pour sauvegarder l'amour-propre grec, il est décidé qu'une partie des troupes grecques coopéreront à l'occupation, répartir ces troupes à l'intérieur de la région occupée pour leur éviter tout contact direct avec les forces nationales turques.

(c.) Dès que l'occupation par les Alliés sera réalisée, exiger du Gouvernement turc la [illegible] la gendarmerie, sous la [illegible] officiers [illegible]

Cette gendarmerie devra être mise, le plus tôt possible, en état d'assurer l'ordre dans toute la région et de remplacer dans ce but les détachements alliés.

(d.) En même temps que la réorganisation de la gendarmerie, le Gouvernement turc devra restaurer l'administration civile.

4. Les chefs du mouvement national ayant affirmé à plusieurs reprises que leur opposition n'est dirigée que contre les Grecs, les mesures proposées doivent leur enlever tout motif [illegible] Gouvernement central de Constantinople [illegible] qu'il n'a plus.

R[illegible] ne devra plus empêcher le licenciement des troupes irrégulières.

[illegible] me faites par les Turcs, soit par les chefs du mouvement national, soit par les [illegible] du Gouvernement.

[illegible] membres de la Commission :

L'Amiral Bristol, Délégué des États-Unis d'Amérique.
Le Général Bunoust, Délégué de la France.
Le Général Hare, Délégué de la Grande Bretagne.
Le Général Dall'Olio, Délégué de l'Italie.

Constantinople, le 13 octobre 1919.

[146648] No. 138

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received October 29.)

(No. 1935.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, October 20, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith for your Lordship's information, copy of a letter [illegible] the 14th October, which I have [illegible] my representative [illegible] the activity of the Italians in Smyrna and its environs.

2. I would invite the particular attention of your Lordship to this report, in that it [illegible] the early withdrawal from Asia Minor of both the Greek and Italian troops (as set out in my telegram No. 1831 of the 17th September and in my despatch No. 1785 of the 1st October).

3. Their presence in these regions cannot possibly be claimed to be conducive to law and order, but has shown itself to be the exact opposite.

I have, &c.
J. M. DE ROBECK, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure in No 138.

Representative of British High Commissioner, Smyrna and Aidin Vilayet, to Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck.

(No. 272.)

October 14, 1919

I HAVE the honour to report that Italian activity, whether military, na[illegible] political, commercial, social, or otherwise, is making itself quite noticeable in [illegible] town and district.

Some of this activity may be attributed to the fact that they want to create [illegible] quently in case some other Power is confirmed in the possession of Smyrna.

Their methods and their way of acting are very little removed from those of [illegible] Greeks, who are the more irritated against them in that they recognise in [illegible] adversaries of the same mentality.

There is no doubt that the decision to allow the Greeks to land in Smyrna [illegible] most distasteful to the Italians, and although they no doubt had to consent to it [illegible] Paris, they have worked actively against the Greeks within and without the G[illegible] zone ever since.

In the Greek zone they are quick to seize upon any attempt on the part of [illegible] Greeks to assert authority, and outside the zone there is little doubt that they [illegible] the Turk [illegible] going [illegible] Paris and here and encouraging them [illegible] their resistance against the Greeks. The deplorable conditions of the Aidin Railway and the districts adjoining it are due almost as much to Italian intrigue as to G[illegible] disobedience.

That the Italians have become the carriers of the German and Austrian [illegible] and that they readily lend themselves to be channels for Austrian and German [illegible] tration again into Turkey seems to be undoubted. By taking possession of [illegible] best ports in the Adriatic and by seizing what was before the war the finest shipping line in the Near East, namely, the Austrian Lloyd, the Italians have obtained [illegible] the Austrian Lloyd have been converted into those of the Lloyd Triestino, and [illegible] goodwill of the Austrian Company has passed to the Italian one.

In addition to acquiring the Austrian Lloyd steamers and connection, [illegible] Italians run the following lines of their own: Servizi Marittimi, Puglia, Marittima, Italiana, Lloyd Sabaudo.

Banking.—Previous to the war, the Italians had no bank in Smyrna, and ha[illegible] now acquired the Hungarian Bank with its goodwill, and have turned it into [illegible] Banco di Roma. How far the Banco di Roma will be a cloak for Austrian or [illegible] finance remains to be seen.

Schools, Churches, Hospitals.—One of the most prominent buildings of the to[illegible] is the Italian School, which existed before the war, and is the finest school bu[illegible] in the town. Since the Armistice, the Italians have taken under their prote[illegible] an Austrian Church and the Austrian Hospital, much to the displeasure of [illegible] French delegate, who claims that all churches, hospitals, &c., in the Near East sh[illegible] be of French protection. The French delegate has succeeded in having a French [illegible] hoisted along with the Italian over the former Austrian hospital, and on the [illegible] [illegible]ral service was held in the former Austrian Church was unable [illegible] a diplomatic illness.

Italians had no hospital in Smyrna before the war.

A [illegible]w feature is the opening of an Italian Red Cross Delegation in Sm[illegible] and the establishment of Italian dispensaries in various parts of the town where [illegible] drugs are dispensed and relief given. A good deal of this medical propaganda [illegible] done in the Muslem quarters. The opening of the Italian Red Cross establishm[illegible] is undoubtedly a counterblast to the establishment, previous to the Greek landing, [illegible] Greek Red Cross missions in various parts of the country. These missions [illegible] looked on with great suspicion by the Turks, and presumably by the Italians, who d[illegible] not let slip any opportunity of following up any Greek move by a countermove.

Boy Scouts.—Following on the establishment of Greek boy scouts, the I[illegible] also formed an Italian Boy Scout Corps. French, Armenian and Jew[illegible] [illegible]scouts followed suit.

Italian Protection.—Since the day of the Greek landing the Italian dele[illegible] has issued hundreds of papers of Italian protection to Muslems in this town [illegible] also to Armenians, Jews, and a few Greeks. Any Muslem with the slightest [illegible]sion to having any connection with Italy or Tripoli, or even with the Italian "zone

in Asia Minor, can obtain without the slightest difficulty a paper of Italian protection. No previous residence is nec[illegible], nor is it thought necessary [illegible] annexation of the Italian zone in Asia Minor in order to convert Moslems who were born there but are now resident in Smyrna into Italian citizens. The Greeks undoubtedly feel very sore at the Italian pretension that these papers of special protection have any value, but as the Greek in Egypt or in Asia Minor or Macedonia [illegible] little difficulty in issuing papers of Greek nationality to any Greek-speaking [illegible]tian, he can have little to complain of in the Italian action in this matter.

As regards Armenians, the Italians, like the French and ourselves, issue to them [illegible] of special protection, but a fee is payable by Armenians who obtain such papers from the French or Italians, whereas we deliver these papers gratis. This practice should, I think, be altered.

Italian Naval and Military Forces.—Since and before the Greek landing, the I[illegible] [illegible] in Smyrna and [illegible] sheets and [illegible] any work that has to be done there. I am informed that a short time ago a number of Italian soldiers marched through the main streets of the town carrying a large Italian flag [illegible] "Viva Italia ed Asia Minore."

[illegible] there was an Italian newspaper. Now a special propaganda newspaper called the "Levant" has been started by them. A propaganda bureau has been started in the Parallèle Street, Smyrna.

Italians and Greeks.—Both these nations, recognising each other as enemies, [illegible] a good deal of time in spying on one another, and in bringing to the notice of [illegible] the delinquencies of the other or the attempts of the other party to obtain any form of advantage. At the same time both parties realise that they can exploit their enmity to obtain from the other Powers concessions in order to prevent them coming to open conflict, which would be, perhaps, the best solution of Greco-Italian rivalry in Asia Minor and would not be an unmixed evil.

Italians and Turks.—The Italians are, in my opinion, very afraid of the Turks, and realise that they are dependent on Turkish favour and goodwill for remaining in the Italian zone. On this account they allow the Turk a free hand in their zone, and also actively help him in order to curry favour with him. It would, perhaps, be an evil day for the Italians if the Turks were to carry out their threat of driving the Greeks out of Smyrna, because the Turk would then probably turn on the Italian and drive him out of Scalanova and Adalia.

JAMES MORGAN.

146-48

No. 139.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(*Received October* 29.)

[illegible]

Constantinople, October 18, 1919.

[illegible] the honour to forward herewith a report from Captain Perring, no[illegible] [illegible]g the conditions prevailing in that area.

[illegible]ion, as expressed in paragraph 2, as to the move[illegible] originating with Enver, other reports rather go to show that Mustapha Kemal [illegible] no dealings with him whatever.

3. I have approved paragraph 5.

4. I fully concur with paragraph 6. There is no doubt that in the early days of [illegible] [illegible] would undoubtedly be attacked. The withdrawal of the Samsoun force has, of course, been made the most of by Mustapha Kemal.

5. I also have the honour to put forward herewith a translation of a message, dated the [illegible] [illegible] recently [illegible] to the [illegible]

6. The threat against foreigners, which may possibly have been suggested by [illegible] [illegible] between the sectional nature of the Erzeroum Congress and the national character of that at Sivas.

7. I would further draw the attention of your Lordship to the mention of E[illegible] Turkey in the title at the foot of the document.

I have, &c.
(For the High Commissioner),
RICHARD WEBB.

Enclosure 1 in No. 139.

Captain Perring to Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck.

Sir,
Samsoun, October 1, 1919.

I HAVE the honour to report that the Mustapha Kemal movement has [illegible] completed its organisation in the eastern vilayets and the movement is spre[illegible] rapidly west—viz., the adhesion of the Castemouni, Angora vilayets. At the p[illegible] moment order and security are better than under the administration of the [illegible] Government, and, with the exception of several small incidents, which have [illegible] alarmed the Christian communities, the whole of the Samsoun district is calm [illegible] awaiting events.

2. I beg to express the opinion that the whole movement originates with En[illegible] Pasha, whose presence in the Caucasus there can be very little doubt of, and [illegible] appearance at the head of the present organisation is openly talked of.

3. I beg to point out that in all Mustapha Kemal's proclamations no [illegible] guarantee is given for the safety of the Christian; he states all have equal [illegible] irrespective of race or religion, provided they do not do anything against the in[illegible] of the movement. Already several extensive searches have been made for arms [illegible] Christian houses. A great danger will immediately arise should any incident [illegible] and, as no Allied military force is available, there would be no means of checking or stopping massacring should any incident occur. Even the visit of a single [illegible] officer could be sufficient to cause a general outbreak, the Moslem being ext[illegible] bitter against the Greek; this is greatly owing to the late Archbishop's attitude [illegible] of course, the occupation of Smyrna; also a spirit of revenge for the Greek welcome [illegible] Allied representatives.

4. The military forces at Mustapha's disposal consist of all regular and ir[illegible] troops without exception; they are well fed, better clothed, and are paid regu[illegible] Officers are available and are busy training their units, inspecting arms in vi[illegible] arranging ammunition supplies, and proceeding very cautiously with mobilisation o[illegible] males of the ages 20 to 37. Orders have already been issued that no passes are [illegible] be granted to leave the Samsoun area by sea to any male, Christian or otherwise [illegible] many Christians of military age as possible, I also propose to continue sending [illegible] to Novorossisk the remaining Greek refugees from that district, there being no p[illegible] of their being able to proceed to their villages nor can they earn a living. [illegible] presence at Samsoun, in view of the continuous stream of refugees from the in[illegible] will be a great danger.

5. Restitution of property, &c., is now completely out of the question, and [illegible] attempt to restore properties would only further excite the Turk; I therefore [illegible] propose that I be authorised to leave this work in abeyance.

6. The presence of any small or detached military force would be a further [illegible] of danger, and unless backed up by reinforcements very quickly (which is almost [illegible] impossibility) would be almost certain of being attacked, especially since the [illegible] of the British troops at Samsoun.

I have, &c.
J. S. PERRING, *Lieutenant, R.O.,*
1st Suffolk Regiment.

Enclosure 2 in No. 139.

Mustapha Kemal to General Solly Flood.

To be forwarded to the British High (Extraordinary) Commissioner at Constantinople

Sivas, September 25, 1919 (1335).

THE proclamations of the congresses convoked in Erzeroum in the name [illegible] Eastern Anatolia, and in Sivas in the name of the whole Ottoman fatherland, [illegible]

respectively the 7th September, 1919 (1335), and the 11th September, 1919 (1335), the nation wishes publicly to make known to the world their lawful purpose which led to the present unity and organisation; also their fellow-feeling of patriotism which they [illegible]ntain towards the non-Moslem elements.

2. Although complete peace prevails in the whole Ottoman fatherland, inasmuch as without any distinction of religion or nationality the protection of personal freedom is being maintained, we are informed that some ill-wishers are trying to attribute the movement which has sprung up from the national conscience to a movement against the non-Moslem elements.

3. On the 18th September, 1919 (1335), circular notes informed all the vilayets an[illegible] dependent sub-provinces that every subject of His Majesty possesses the same [illegible]; also strangers in our country must be objects of Ottoman hospitality, provided [illegible]ey are not discovered in any action against our country and our nation.

4. The present demand of the nation is that, instead of the Ferid Pasha Cabinet, whose acts of treachery to the country have been asserted, a lawful and trustworthy [illegible]

[illegible]erefore I beg to state and confirm the maintenance of peace existing in our [illegible]try, and the safety of our non-Moslem comrades who are protected against any [illegible] of attack.

I remain, &c.
(On behalf of the Representative Committee for protecting
the rights of European and Asiatic Turkey),
MUSTAPHA KEMAL.

140649

No. 140.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received October 29.)

(No. 1939. Secret.)
My Lord,
Constantinople, October 18, 1919.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith an account of a conversat[illegible] place here recently between Mr. Hohler and B[illegible] the Staff to General Harbord. [illegible] [illegible]ently sound and [illegible] man, and able to take a somewhat larger view than the majority of [illegible] compatriots who visit the Near East. It is to be hoped that it will have the effect [illegible] [illegible]es, and especially with regard to Major Noel's activi[illegible] [illegible] unfortunate and entirely erroneous idea has sprung up in the [illegible] afraid, Allies alike.

[illegible]

[illegible] also an account of a conversation which recently took place between [illegible] officer and Lieutenant R. Dunn, U.S.N., Intelligence Officer to Admiral Bristol [illegible] [illegible]ds out here. As your Lordship is aware, England is practically the only [illegible] which has kept aloof from all the intrigues which are going on in this country, and which has refused all overtures of friendliness on the part of the Turks, no matter [illegible] may be their political complexion.

[illegible] a result, we are credited with some deep and mysterious policy which it [illegible] be the endeavour of everyone to ascertain. Consequently, when some slight [illegible] as the Noel incident at Malatia, everyone at once reads [illegible] it just the explanation of our conduct which they want to prove. The result is [illegible] erroneous, for the simple reason that the [illegible] than our avowed one of complete non-interference, is of course non-existent.

6. The fraternisation with the Turks, which is now so much on the increase, is naturally having a very bad effect. A recent alleged interview with Mrs. Bristol, wife [illegible]iral Bristol, of which I enclose a copy, is a case in point. I understand that [illegible] [illegible]y believe the protestations of friendship therein expressed, to the no small [illegible] the native Christian committees.

[illegible] Again, the Americans, as your Lordship is aware, publish an uncensored copy [illegible] press news received by them; though, in view of Foreign Office despatch

No. 601 of the 8th October, it is difficult to say whence these messages emanate. attach a page of this news, including a very unfriendly and, of course, wholly erro statement concerning British activities in stirring up strife in the interior. The presumably comes from some irresponsible wireless station, but an unfortunate effect produced by the fact that the publication has an official heading, i.e., Navy Radio Press.

8. I do not think the Americans are following any definitive line out here present, but, as individuals, they take colour from their surroundings. Very few them have any previous knowledge of the Near East, of the Committee of U and Progress, or of the political history of the past ten years. In fact, they "green," easy for the Nationalists to spoon-feed, and ready to rise to such catchwo as independence and self-determination.

9. A certain number, chiefly trade representatives, some missionaries officers, desire to see an American mandate over the whole of Turkey, for respective purposes of money, security and progress, and Imperialism.

10. The American journalist is, of course, a law unto himself, out for sen and with a very superficial judgment of, or regard for, facts. Their utterances taken very seriously by the Nationalists, and one individual of this breed persuaded the Sèvres Conference that the Nationalist movement was wholly pa and had the complete endorsement of everyone except England.

11. The anti-British colour shown is really more a reflection of Nationalist than anything else, though there is, of course, a certain amount of hereditary pa I am inclined to think that, in a good many cases, though the voice may have strong Yankee twang, yet the sentiments are those of Mustapha Kemal and party. The opportunity of giving another twist to the British lion's tail is, in fact, good to be missed.

I have, &c.
(For the High Commissioner),
RICHARD WEBB.

Enclosure 1 in No. 140.

An Account of a Conversation between Mr. Hohler and Brigadier-General McCoy.

GENERAL McCOY, second to General Harbord, came to see me this m He is of the regular United States army and is an old friend of mine from M Washington.

His journey is accurately described in the annexed extract from the

He said that he had been very agreeably surprised by the t apparent at all events—prevailing in the interior, but he attributed t to that which had struck him above all during his journey, namely, the exha the Turkish people. There were really, he said, no men left. He had b to find that the Christians had suffered greatly, but not to discover that the had suffered quite as much or more. He had been favourably impressed Mustapha Kemal, who had treated the expedition extremely well. The m would never have taken place had it not been for the occupation of Smyrna, but, it is, the people are all mad for Mustapha Kemal, though they do not want to bothered, they want to be left alone and to rest, and it will be a long time before t are again in a position to raise their heads; at present they are "down and Mustapha Kemal had made every sort of eulogy of the Americans just, said Ge McCoy, as a Mexican would whilst talking face to face with an American. But the rest, he showed himself strongly anti-British, and complained bitterly of encroachments. I asked what these were, and General McCoy said they were done after, and, the Pasha claimed, contrary, to the armistice; he mentioned spec the Urfa region, the district north of Mossoul, and the efforts made to create independent Kurdistan by certain British officers, who had been almost arrested Mahitta, Major Noel and Colonel Bell.

I was very glad of the opportunity thus presented to explain to the general what had been up to the present the lines upon which this High C patriotism—a quality which he had been highly praising in Mustapha Kemal—but experience showed that Turkish patriotism was different from any other, and was apt—very unfortunately—to take the direction of wiping out Christians. In the

of his remarks, he had said that there were very few Armenians left in the vilayets which were to form—according to the press—the new Armenia; only Kurds were left A ly desired to see the remnant of the Armenians protected. But Mustapha K d set himself up against the Central Government, having inherited the ts, the organisation, and, I feared also the spirit of the Committee, and it s if he hoped to establish himself somewhere in the interior where he was nd whence he could

terfere in the internal affairs of Turkey, ction were to result in the establishment of a direct Committee This decision was undoubtedly wise, though there were many reasons which counted in favour of assisting a Government such as that of Ferid Pasha, l by peaceful methods to mitigate the decis s of the Peace Conference rather avert them by force, as appeared to be the idea of the, to me, almost mythical M Kemal. Mustapha need be under no fear as to our encroachments. Urfa r towns had been occupied by us in strict conformity with the terms of the , which allowed us to occupy places where danger to the Christians was ded. I had been here during the tragedies of 1895 and 1896, and again in , and after such experiences I could not bring myself to trust Turks with Christians more than a fox with geese, and it appeared to me that the Christians still alive existed by the sufferance and goodwill of Mustapha Kemal, and were in the of new hostages in his hands for the benevolent behaviour of the Peace ference towards Turkey.

The same observation applied in part M

massacres of Nov. 1895 [illegible]
some 30,000.
we could
the He
that

he plain. This had already been proved by various lated the establishment of an independent Kurdistan, and if Major Noel had spreading propaganda (as the general had said, that sense, it was entirely unauthorised so far as the T K s had only been allowed to go south in order preservati of order, and they had given d not engage in any form of intrigue or t or against Mustapha Kemal, whom M

the general I regretted that But the side efforts of His Maj order and greater responsibility in this matter than any other Power, but it was one to wh very great importance was lost in England.

As to the Urfa district, I understood we were already handing over all that region to French control.

I repeated that we were entirely prepared to treat with Mustapha Kemal or any other person who might be called to power; it was, as he had said, exactly like Mexico, no matter how many changes there might be in the individuals who were in authority, that was an internal matter, and did not concern us, we were ready to enter into goo with any of them, only we expected them to safeguard British interests, we also expected them to observe the armistice, which included the preservation of order, the most important part of which was the protection of the Christian populations.

October 14, 1919.

T. B. HOHLER.

Enclosure 2 in No. 140

Extract from the "Stamboul" of October 13, 1919.

La Mission Harbord. Le Colonel Haskell.

UNE personne de la suite du Général Harbord, rentré samedi de la Caucase fait les déclarations suivantes au Sabah.

La mission, partie de Constantinople le 7 septembre, visita Konia, Adana, A Mardine, Diarbékir, Kharpout, Malatia et Sivas. Dans cette dernière ville, le Gén H [illegible] Hassam Ka

Le 30 septembre, la mission parvenait à la frontière de l'Arménie, tandis que le chef de l'Etat-Major du Général Harbord partait d'Erzeroum à Bayezid, qu'un groupe allait à Oulou Kichla et un troisième à Amassia et, de là, à Trebizonde. [illegible] au général lui-même, franchissant la frontière arménienne, il allait visiter Sari-Kam Kars, Echmiadzin. Le général fut reçu par le patriarche suprême de tous Arméniens.

Le général passa ensuite à Erivan, capitale de l'Arménie, où il resta deux jours.

La mission se retrouva à Batoum, d'où elle est rentrée ici. Le général et se resteront ici jusqu'à jeudi, date à laquelle aura lieu le départ pour Paris.

Une copie du rapport sera remise à la Conférence et une autre au [illegible]

Le Colonel Haskell [illegible] avant hier, part en [illegible]

Enclosure 3 in No. 140.

An After-dinner Conversation with an American Officer at Constantinople.

LIEUTENANT R. DUNN, United States Navy, dined with me on the evening of the 4th October. He is Intelligence Officer to the American High Commissioner Constantinople. He had lately returned from Smyrna, having been with Ad Bristol on the Commission of Enquiry and was keen and communicative on affairs generally. To my knowledge, since he has held his present position at Con tinople, he has, other than his five weeks' stay at Smyrna on duties with the Commi visited Tiflis, Trebizonde, and Samsoun, via Batoum, to which port he made th [illegible] H.M.S. "Gardenia." He arrived in Turkey about February of this [illegible] first visit, and his only knowledge of Turkey and the East, as far as [illegible]

[illegible] to him, the American opinion of the Smyrna affair is that the [illegible] position and claims are untenable, as also is the position of the Italians, who, th the same basis as the Greeks, have not sufficient forces to hold the Turks in ch [illegible] Turks.

The conversation naturally drifted to a wider beam and the Nationalist movem came to the forefront. The American authorities could see nothing but the " intriguing policy in the present dealings with Turkey by Allied European Po Britain was not excluded from th [illegible] policy was "to find the presen [illegible] future Government of Turkey. [illegible] British had done all in their power [illegible] Nationalists was shown in their so [illegible] members had even been nom [illegible] rather the feebleness of that Ca [illegible] incapable of dealing [illegible] They were carrying on the intrigues of [illegible] attempting to solve a difficult problem, [illegible] interests.

One of his duties is to read all the papers published in Constantinople. H remarked that the day after the fall of the Turco-Brit [illegible]

that did not report it was the "Orient News." This led him to believe that the British were as far as possible trying to keep this "defeat" from their own people. When told that the "Orient News" was not published for local purposes but for the quicker [illegible] and entertainment of the British forces in Turkey, [illegible] in large type, that the paper was "printed and [illegible] Black Sea, and must therefore be considered publish propaganda purposes.

Reiterating the fact of British intrigue so often, I asked him to give me a case within his knowledge. He then told me of a visit to Malatia of a Major Noel, who [illegible] well-known Kurds. Major Noel, he asserted, was sent to [illegible] Turks in order to push our Mesopotamian bound [illegible] dent, the Americans had at least three, [illegible] met each other [illegible]

The firs [illegible] who could be [illegible] British in the [illegible] second was [illegible] United States [illegible] Major Noel to the High Co [illegible] which Major Noel [illegible] hold to arrive. They had [illegible] Dunn did not know if the [illegible] to, it was confided that the telegram [illegible] and he had reported to American the [illegible] telegram might be a forgery. H [illegible] Noel's visit to Malatia. I suggested that [illegible] I also [illegible] telegram to the British [illegible] commissioner. He, however, was certain that Admiral Bristol would not do and begged me to find out personally.

The Americans, he stated, receive inform [illegible] all sources and listen to everybody, but anything in the nature of [illegible] the Turks about the A [illegible] they do [illegible]

He persisted in America's disinterestedness in Turkish affairs and was sure that she would not accept a mandate for Armenia alone. Even if the territor [illegible] Constantinople were also [illegible] within the Smyrna vilayet in con [illegible] of the Italians would be madness. [illegible] interests in Syria was cons [illegible] and Palestine were [illegible] this was [illegible] le the [illegible] and so difficult to [illegible] whole of Turkey ex Mesopotamia (not [illegible] and Palest [illegible] did not think that Turkey should be [illegible] as in pre-war days, but the French had already declared [illegible] they could not get anything better from the situation. I [illegible] he had obtained this information from the local French offi al [illegible] ther only from reading the French newspapers.

[illegible] task America undertook in Turkey would be for the good of Turkey [illegible] looking of their self-interests, but they must be given at least [illegible] Nationalists represented the Turkish opinion and included [illegible] basis of the Nationalist party may or may not be [illegible] committee of Union and Progress, but, as the only possible [illegible] to the Committee of Union and Progress was its support of the [illegible] further opposition was unnecessary owing to the present impotence of [illegible] harm. I asked whether even the American Relief Committee were as [illegible] American Government. He admitted that a [illegible] be commercially interested, but in the large majority of cases [illegible]

[illegible] le themselves thoroughly unpopular all over the East [illegible] wherever the Americans went, they were asked to accept [illegible] policy in the East was a failure proved by the discontent shown

by the recent risings in Egypt, which had been under her guardianship for so [illegible]

In the course of our conversation, Lieutenant Dunn remarked that the new Brit[illegible] High Commissioner was anti-Turk.

I met Lieutenant Dunn at the club the next day. He "rushed" at me and [illegible] if he had been rude to the British in his conversation the previous evening, as [illegible] could not remember all that had occurred. I answered him in the negative.

Enclosure 4 in No. 140

Extract from the "Entente" of October 15, 1919

LES TURCS ET MME. BRISTOL.

DU correspondant à Smyrne du "Yeni-Gune"

Mme. Bristol avait accompagné à Smyrne, à bord du yacht "Scorpion" son [illegible] l'amiral, l'un des commissaires de l'Entente pour les méfaits commis durant l'occup[illegible] [illegible]

Elle a visité les lieux les plus remarquables, exprimant en outre le desir de rencontrer avec quelques dames musulmanes appartenant à la meilleure soci[illegible] Smyrne.

Tout dis que, au moment [illegible] le départ de la commission était déc[illegible] [illegible] Mme. Bristol dans un terrain de tennis proche de la Po[illegible] [illegible] voulut connaître ses impressions sur son séjour dans notre [illegible] Elle répondit:

"Je ne puis [illegible] que, tandis que je me trou[illegible] en Ame[illegible] prendre à différent[illegible] qui avaient cours à l[illegible] de votre pays. En [illegible] conséquence de nombre de suggestions produites [illegible] cours de la guerre, [illegible] convictions très graves pour la Turquie, et surtout pour [illegible] Turcs, s'étaient accréditées.

"C'est seulement en parcourant la Turquie avec mon mari et en [illegible] opinions recueillies par lui du fait de ses fonctions [illegible] opinion publique avait été inf[illegible] [illegible] notre pays. C'est [illegible] [illegible] Et même [illegible] [illegible] complètement d'accord av[illegible] [illegible] sur son impression [illegible] les Turcs sont le joyau de l'Orient. Ils ont un tel fonds de noblesse q[illegible] de ne pas les aimer.

"J'ai connu à Constantinople nombre de dames turques. Ici même, je me trouve en rapport avec quelques jeunes demoiselles turques. J'ai vu chez toutes grande affabilité, une préoccupation du moment, une participation étroite et sincère [illegible] [illegible] Il y en a parmi elles qui parlent anglais. Il [illegible] [illegible] sincère, j'ai confirmé mon mari dans ses convictions. [illegible] familles étrangères d'ici, j'ai constaté qu'elles en ont du même avis que [illegible] consolidée dans mon opinion.

"Je suis très heureuse d'avoir ainsi connu dûment les Turcs. Mon opinion [illegible] pas d'accord avec les attitudes contraires et persistantes de votre Gouvernement.

"Et vous trouverez cela très naturel."

Enclosure 5 in No. 140

Extract from United States Radio Press, Constantinople, Turkey, October 15, 1919

THE NATIONALIST PARTY IN TURKEY

MUSTAPHA KEMAL said —

"The Nationalist party recognised the necessity of the aid of an impartial [illegible] country. It is our aim to secure the development of Turkey as she stood at the armistice. We have no expansionist plans, but it is our conviction that Turkey can be made a rich and prosperous [illegible] ment. Our Government has become we[illegible] intrigues. After all our experie[illegible] able to help us. We guarantee no new Turkish violences against the Armenians will take place.

"It is untrue that we are working with Enver Pasha. We believe his [illegible] injured Turkey. We do not know his whereabouts. It is rumoured that [illegible] is with the Russian Bolshevists. I saw a letter wherein he stated that he was going to form an independent Turkish Government, possibly at Azerbaijan. It is untrue that the Nationalists are supported by Anglo-French capitalists, seeking to [illegible] Turkey [illegible] here to destroy Turkey. We are aware that the [illegible] Abdul Bey, ex-President of the Association of Turkish [illegible] £T. to the Governor of Konia perhaps a larger sum to [illegible]

[illegible] ex-Minister of Marine, and known in the United States, speaking of [illegible] [illegible] "America is our only hope, otherwise we fight it out." The [illegible] claim the control of 40,000 troops, but otherwise it is improbable [illegible] progress was hampered by the posts of the American Commission for [illegible] chief of the New East, whose agents, frequently we[illegible] [illegible] ing dangerous isolated positions, doing what Harbord termed a vitalizing work [illegible] hopeless conditions. They are conducting schools, hospitals, workrooms, caring [illegible]

[illegible] The people need soap, medicine, and clothing. It is estimated that at Kharput 70 per cent. of the young men are missing.

No. 141.

Earl Curzon to Viscount Grey

[illegible] representations with regard to a case in which his [illegible] and concerning which they had received a reply from the Eastern Department of the [illegible] Office that did not altogether satisfy them.

The case arose out of the claim of certain American geologists (as they w[illegible] called by the Ambassador) representing the Standard Oil Company, who, being [illegible] [illegible] ering areas in Palestine, had gone to Jerusalem with a view of inspecting properties, but who had been denied by the British authorities any opportunity [illegible] carrying out their task. The defence had been made by the Foreign Office that, [illegible] the grant of a mandate, all such proceedings had been impartially vetoed by Majesty's Government, who felt that they had no right to anticipate a decision which might compromise the ultimate mandatory, whoever that might be; and which, further [illegible]

The Ambassador read to me a long and rather argumentative statement from his Government, which did not seem to carry much conviction to his own mind, but which, he apparently felt, compelled him to reopen the case. He argued as though it would

be safe to proceed upon the hypothesis that the mandate, if not already given, w presently be given to Great Britain.

To this I replied that, so far as my recollection extended, though there had be [illegible] tain classification of different forms of mandate drawn up by Lord M [illegible] Commission in Paris, the French had hitherto refused to agree to the grant of particular form of mandate with regard to any part of the Turkish dominions.

Mr. Davis then sought to establish a distinction between investigation operation. He contended that it might be possible to allow a concessionaire [illegible] to investigate upon the spot the nature of the concession which he had ob [illegible] without taking any practical steps to carry it into effect

I said that, though this was a logical, I did not think that, in practice, it would a very helpful distinction. A permission given [illegible] others, there were doubtless secrets of co [illegible] concessions from the Turkish Gover [illegible] Commission him, great [illegible] was still at war and I could not imagine anything more unfortunate than to Palestine overrun by groups of persons of different nationalities, endeavouring ascertain what their concessions—the legal status of which had not yet been [illegible] mined—were likely to be worth. I promised, however, to look into the matter [illegible] and to let him have a reply

I then took advantage of the presence of Mr Davis to tell him [illegible] an official protest, but as a fact of which I thought that in fair [illegible] [illegible] sure, that I had good reason to believe that the United S [illegible] in Constantinople, Admiral Bristol, was inspired by no very friendly feeling [illegible] Great Britain, and was continually suspecting, and sometimes openly [illegible] dark and sinister intrigues for which there was not a vestige of foundation. No [illegible] had no evidence that Admiral Bristol had openly spoken to this effect in [illegible] sions in Smyrna, but I had an abundance of testimony from independent quarters [illegible] his whole action was characterised by a similar suspicion. Thus, I sa [illegible] made for the Admiral to act [illegible] Amongst [illegible] ring upon the international stage in Constantino [illegible] s, I said, none less anxious to get any individual advantage [illegible] sincerely desirous to be quit of responsibility than the British. Our evacuation of Caucasus; our retirement from Trebizond and Samsun, our reluctance to let forces play any compromising part in Asia Minor, our well-k [illegible] take a mandate for any of these regions, and the sincerity and [illegible] [illegible] ated, and were still prepared to support, an American mandate [illegible] have been sufficient to protect us from the kind of insinuation in which Admiral Bristol appeared constantly to indulge. I should have thought [illegible] satisfactory solution, already very problematical, could only be retarded, and [illegible] [illegible]

It was not for me to make any suggestion, still less did I desire to make an [illegible] complaint, to the Ambassador, but if he felt disposed to take any informal steps moderate the attitude of Admiral Bristol I thought that some good might be done.

While I was speaking to the Ambassador there was handed to me the telegram which your Excellency had sent, recording your conversation with Mr Lansing [illegible] the possibility of hurrying-on the negotiations as to the Turkish Peace Treaty to the Ambassador that, as Mr. Lansing had suggested that, in the interests debate in the Senate and of the ratification by the United States of the Peace [illegible] with Germany, it might be desirable to postpone the Turkish negotiations for a [illegible] days, we should of course do nothing that would [illegible] complicate the situation [illegible] [illegible] no reason why, if we so desired, we should not at [illegible] enquire among our Allies whether they would be willing to consider the [illegible] resumption of negotiations on that aspect of the general peace, of the desirability [illegible] in lord the necessity, of which he was as much convinced as we were, and, although he knew that Mr Polk was anxious to return to the United States to spend Christ with his family, he did not think that, if he were pressed to stay, there would be [illegible] part in the negotiations, whether they conducted here or at Paris.

I am, [illegible]

CURZON OF KEDLESTON

147731] No. 142

Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby to Earl Curzon.—(Received November 1.)

[illegible]

Ramleh, October 16, 1919.

A [illegible] ence to my telegram No. 1340 of the 8th September, 1919, I have the [illegible] to inform you that recent reports from the British agent at Jeddah, as well as [illegible] cations from King Hussein himself, make it appear possible that th [illegible] is resignation at any time and perhaps without giving Colonel [illegible] ry notice of his intentions. However this may be it would obviously be [illegible] tageous to establish the King's successor with as little delay as possible, in orde [illegible] avoid an interregnum which might lead to anarchy or even civil war. Colonel [illegible] kory would therefore be glad of any general instructions which could be issued for [illegible]

Emir Abdullah would be the most suitable successor. He is not fanatical, will listen to advice, is progressive and [illegible] British in his views. He has considerable [illegible] tic ability learnt from long intercourse with the Turks, and this, added to his [illegible] al popularity both in British and native circles, should enable him to establish [illegible] without difficulty. He would also probably be able to persuade his father to [illegible] exclusion of his elder brother the Emir Ali who is said [illegible] [illegible] ak, and therefore not a serious rival [illegible] Abdullah, it may be anticipated [illegible] ping responsibility ask the British agent the extent of [illegible] [illegible] ternal, which His Majesty's Government will be prepared [illegible]

As regards a naval support, he will probably demand the maintenance at Jeddah of [illegible] or British official [illegible] as intermediary with His Majesty's G [illegible] [illegible] weight. I understand that the [illegible] with apprehension the re-establishment of a simple [illegible] the present agency. If the agency as such ceases to [illegible] [illegible] state might be placed in charge of a senior official with [illegible] political affairs who would be appointed temporarily as Britis [illegible] [illegible] would perform the duties of a British agent [illegible]

If Abdullah would rely largely on His Majesty's Government for material [illegible] [illegible] Hedjaz, and is certain to ask for a statement from [illegible] [illegible] ce of the subsidy after December 1 [illegible] [illegible] submit proposals for a loan to the Hedjaz to supplement his reduced [illegible] I do not suppose it is possible to make any definite statement on this subject [illegible] [illegible] your the continuance of the principle of subsidies and stipends which is the [illegible] of the trucial treaties, and of the arrangements concluded with the chiefs such Abdul Sultan and the Sultan of Lahej we should presumably have to give preferential treatment to the ruler of Mecca. Any indication which could [illegible] [illegible] y in this respect would undoubtedly do much to enable the King's [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

I have, &c.

[illegible] ALLENBY

148039 No. 143

Mr. Davis to Earl Curzon.—(Received November 3.)

American Embassy, London, October 31, 1919.

[illegible] the matter of our conversation of yesterday, I have just received a despatch [illegible] State Department saying that it is informed by the Standard Oil Company of [illegible] that a representative sent to Bagdad to investigate petroleum conditions [illegible] [illegible] is forbidden to operate by British authorities while a geologist, probably [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] land, based upon the assertion that representatives of private [illegible] concerns are not being allowed equal privileges with those of British or other [illegible] ties in Palestine, Mesopotamia, and the adjacent regions.

[illegible]

[illegible] ration the possibility that the inconvenience which might arise upon [illegible] of those persons if they should come in any appreciable number. [illegible]

I believe me &c
JOHN W DAVIS

[146317] No. 144.

Earl Curzon to Sir E. Crowe.

(No. 7338.) [illegible] 1919

[illegible] Commission of Enquiry into the events attending the Greek landing at Smyrna. [illegible] been treated, as this in fact stated that it was an insult to a friendly nat[illegible] fought alongside the Allied forces, and a denial of the most el[illegible] He continued that it was entirely contrary to the whole conception of Hellen[illegible] should be condemned without having access to the [illegible] to loss to explain to the Greek Parliament [illegible] to the Conference that a free [illegible] evidence.

Mr K[illegible] the [illegible] which [illegible] concerned the [illegible] and to questions asked in Parliament M Venizelos anticipated that the matter [illegible]

I am, &c
CURZON OF KEDLESTON

Enclosure in No. 144

M. Venizelos to Earl Curzon

M VENIZELOS presents his compliments to Earl Curzon of Kedleston [illegible] following his letter of 16th October, has the honour to request his Lordship to [illegible] into consideration the following point:—

[illegible] M Venizelos [illegible]

[illegible] was kindly made to him.

London, October 27 1919

[149750] No. 145

Sir M Cheetham to Earl Curzon.—(Received November 7.)

(No. 526.)
My Lord, Cairo October 27 1919.

WITH reference to my despatch No. 457 of the 22nd September, 1919, I have the honour [illegible] [illegible] Kenya.

[illegible]

Enclosure in No. 145

Note 2 on the Massacre of Colonel Jacob's Mission at Bajil.

[illegible]

THE following note has been compiled with a view to assisting the various A[illegible]

[illegible]

Colonel Jacob [illegible] of Bajil [illegible] [illegible] ion does not appear to be any more imminent than it did seven weeks ago [illegible] In a somewhat pessimistic letter written on the 10th September Captain Na[illegible] (the Indian political officer with Colonel Jacob) stated that the tribesmen were [illegible]

[illegible] considering [illegible] [illegible] the safety of the mission precarious for a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] they be

to use all their influence to secure the return of the mission to Hodeidah. [illegible] also had also been sent out to Bajil.

The offer of the political officer, Hodeidah, had been supplementary to those Colonel Jacob, who preferred to retain charge of the negotiations, and considered should be consulted before any ser[illegible]

Mahmud Nadim was reported to have arrived at Bajil on the 19th September [illegible]

On the 21st September Colonel Jacob got a letter through to Hodeidah following is an extract

Received this day a letter from the Zaranij tribes. It is over the seal of [illegible]

[illegible] result of manifestos of the Imam and Mahmud Nadim. They think that [illegible] is now b[illegible]

[illegible] The Qubrah sheikhs en[illegible] were the evacuation of Hodeidah and free trade by sea and land. They allege that the trade route from Hodeidah to Morawa was co[illegible] to them was the raising of the blockade. They [illegible] Zaranij, &c., to cease raids on Hodeidah (for the Z[illegible] to start raiding as a religious duty), and in return [illegible] ask me to write to you to allow passage of [illegible] very essential at once, provided of course that no raiding takes place."

[illegible] Zaranij [illegible]

[illegible] and Mag[illegible] replace him

[illegible] but such assistance as tantamount to a recognition of his suzerainty over [illegible]

[illegible] as far as the Hodeidah [illegible] was a replacement [illegible] Nevertheless, [illegible] welfare [illegible] work out a reasonable programme for future welfare of Yemen. Interesting [illegible] of using force from Hodeidah.

[illegible] ion Colonel Jacob had mooted the sending back to [illegible] Turkish troops, to whom we should hand over the town after release [illegible] was suggested in order to support the Qubrah against the Imam, [illegible] proposal has received no approval from either Aden or Egypt. To the Arab [illegible] defeat, whilst to the Turkish Nationalists it would be [illegible] for propaganda purposes.

A proposal has also been made for accordin[illegible] consequences for the mission [illegible]

The situation at present [illegible] but there may [illegible] too much loose sand on the road for this. At present all higher [illegible] mission has not yet become sufficiently threatening to demand it.

Personality

[illegible] he Imam Yahya lays claim to the ownership of all those parts of [illegible] le the Aden protectorate and Asir; indeed, he probably also includes [illegible] strictes in his aspirations. During the war he maintained a more than [illegible] volent neutrality towards the Turks, and his true feelings towards us are not known [illegible] Certain parts of the Yemen—notably, the Tihamah—were occupied by the [illegible] and since their departure the Imam has endeavoured to extend and strengthen [illegible] influence over them. He sent friendly letters of welcome when he received [illegible]

[illegible] or Asir [illegible] Central Tihamah [illegible] Turks at an early stage of the war.

The Yemen.

The Tihamah, which has to be crossed to reach Bajil, is a level plain wit[illegible] rise inland. Bajil, nearly 40 miles by road from the coast, is only 600 feet [illegible] sea-level. The Tihamah is chiefly soft, sandy, sterile desert. Then follows [illegible] maritime range, which throws out low foot hills towards the coast and occasio[illegible] culminates in massifs rising to 5,000 feet above sea-level [illegible] Yemen plateau, with an altitude of about 7,600 feet.

The climate of the Yemen naturally varies gre[illegible] [illegible] Heavy winds are prevalent from the sea, from north-west in summer and south [illegible] winter. Rain sel[illegible] [illegible] the higher elevations are approached further [illegible] the climate becomes healthy and bracing. Winter fogs are very prevalent on [illegible] maritime range. This zone has two rainfalls—one in early spring, the other in [illegible] summer.

At Sanaa the weather is said to be cool and pleasant all the year round.

Route to Bajil from Hodeidah.—The road is said to be passable for a[illegible] light wheeled transport. For the first mile the route traverses (nort[illegible] sandy plain, which gradually develops into sand dunes covered with [illegible] grazing for camels and donkeys. The going is d[illegible] at mile 10 there is a small wall with slightly sal[illegible] through a belt of tall bush, following a watercourse, then through short scrub up gentle rise to Tanban at mile 15.

[illegible] is merely a collection of mud huts forming a caravanserai for travel[illegible] unpalatable, but not injurious [illegible] 15½ north-east of Tanban is an ex-Turkish post to guard the tel[illegible] the road makes a [illegible] [illegible] is encountered. The road here debouches on to broad, [illegible] gently rising towards the east and covered with coarse grass, grad[illegible] ing to cultivation at mile 26.

At [illegible] [illegible] tall running east, descendi[illegible] K[illegible] down a stony, wady bed (W[illegible] W[illegible] it is dominated by low foot hills on the so[illegible] [illegible] of the town. In ordinary times [illegible] the district being an agricultural one.

Zaranig (or Dharanig). A powerful [illegible] centre is Beit-el-Faqih. Reported to be [illegible] notorious caravan raiders, are [illegible] leanings towards the Idrisi and [illegible]

Abu (or Abuyah). This [illegible] [illegible] from west to east and about 15 miles north to south. Their numbers are estimated at 5,000 to 6,000 men. Shafei with pro-Idrisi tendencies. Sheikh, A[illegible] Beit [illegible] of the first attack on H[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Fqih Abul Qadir of Marawa, friendly towards mission.

Qubrah.—Occupy territory extending from the sea for about 50 [illegible] north of Hodeidah. They can put 3,000 to 4,000 men in the field. Shafei with pro-I[illegible] tendencies.

[illegible]

Abul Hadi. Consistently [illegible]
M[illegible]
Yahya Ali Murayyah. } Chief conspirators in the capture
Ismail Baghawi. }
Khuzam.

Sheikhs Mohammed Zeid and Khuzam wrote to the Idrisi, and the latter thought to have replied advising them to release the mission.

Ramleh, October 11, 1919.

APPENDIX

Since the foregoing note was written two interesting documents have come to [illegible]d. The first is a letter from the Imam Yahya, dated the 19th September, to the Political Resident, Aden. The Imam explains that, agreeably to our request, he put [illegible] the military action he had planned against the Qubrah for the release of Colonel [illegible]acob's Mission, but it is clear from the tone of his letter that he is not prepared to make any compromise with the Qubrah, and that he would, if he could, inveigle us into lending him military aid to secure his overlordship of the Tihamah tribes.

"Some of the Qubrah," he says, "have made mean and foolish demands. It is necessary that we should close every door to their requests, to show indifference, and to shut the doors against the cupidity of the impudent Qubrah. If the matter remains as it is, then there is no alternative but to take action and make a common display against the Qubrah to [illegible] to extricate the mission."

The second document is a letter written by an Aden merchant, Abdul Kadir Mackawi. It is an illuminate commentary on our Yemen policy, and deserves more than a cursory perusal.

"The question of the future government of the Yemen," he writes, "has not yet been settled, and the province is in a state of anarchy and chaos. The Imam [illegible] [illegible]ering the Sunni (Shafei) countries, and it seems that he intends to rule [illegible] [illegible] of Yemen. In my last letter I described the attitude of the Sunnis towards the Imam, and I need not repeat here what I wrote in that letter. The Imam's rule over the whole of Yemen will in a short time be an accomplished fact. The Sunni[illegible] are unable to resist his troops, and their attempt at [illegible]tance is followed by the [illegible] of the population. The Sunnis were willing to acknowledge his suzerainty and pay him all tithes, taxes, &c., if the civil administration, in accordance with their [illegible]ies, is left to them. The I[illegible] [illegible] conditions [illegible] surrender, and the places conquered by him are now gov[illegible] [illegible]rdance with the Zeidi codes and regulations. The Arabs of Yemen cannot understand why Great Br[illegible] insisted on the withdrawal of the Turks and would not accept a mandate for [illegible] as it has done in the case of other countries. Such a mandate, at least for the Sunni [illegible] with the approval of the Allied Powers, [illegible] Imam by a delegation consisting of the represent[illegible] would most probably not have been opposed by the Imam, especially if he saw that [illegible] were determined to carry out their decision by all means. The Imam would think [illegible] the demands of the combined Powers."

[illegible] the subject of the capture of the mission, Abdul Kadir Mackawi asserts that [illegible] change of attitude of the Qubrah sheikhs, after promising a safe-conduct to Colonel [illegible]acob, was due to propaganda of Mahmud Nadim and his fellow intriguers, who misrepresented the aims and motives of the British Government, and attributed to it all the evils that have fallen upon the Arabs. The blockade of their ports and the removal of the Turks (their protectors against the Imam), which nearly reduced them to starvation and their country to anarchy, and the arrival of Colonel Jacob on a mission to the Imam to hand over to him, as they were told, the Shafei country and its people, [illegible] support to the Turkish propaganda.

"Now," continues Abdul Kadir, "the silence of the British Government on the [illegible] and their omission to counteract the effect of these reports left a bad impression [illegible] the minds of the people and strengthened the case of the Turks friends. These [illegible] were under the impression that after all the sufferings and troubles caused by the [illegible] and the war, a new era would dawn upon their country on the departure of [illegible]rks, as the British Government would become their future ruler and protector, or [illegible] [illegible]rks' withdrawal, in the lurch. If anything has done more to alienate the sympathy and good feelings of the Arabs of Yemen it is that blockading business.

"The sympathy and good feelings of the Arabs of Yemen is an asset not to be [illegible] [illegible] from anarchy [illegible] done to restore British prestige and credit, and to remove from the minds of the Arabs the impression that Great Britain is working with the Imam against them." [illegible]

[illegible] that it would be a mistake to give him even only our moral support in his efforts

[illegible]

H. GARLAN [illegible]
Acting Director, Arab Bureau.

Ramleh, October 12, 1916.

[149679] No. 146.

[illegible]

[illegible] s, and assert Sig[illegible] y put forward, be [illegible]

[illegible] ded which seemed to him to militate against the [illegible]

and out more on the subject.

I have, &
GEORGE W. BUCHANAN

[150511] No. 147

[illegible] *Office*
November 10.)

Your Excellency,

Paris, N[illegible] 1916

[illegible]

I have &
E. ISAI

Enclosure 1 in No. 147.

M. Clemenceau to His Highness Emir Feisal

Altesse,

Paris, le 2 novembre 1919

VOUS avez bien voulu me signaler, par votre lettre du 25 octobre dernier l'
quiétude que vous a fait éprouver la décision prise par la Conférence de la Paix
15 septembre dernier relativement à la relève des troupes anglaises par les t
ses dans une zone définie en Syrie et en Cilicie

Vous craignez que l'exécution de cette décision ne soit interprétée par les A
troubles dont vous voudriez dégager votre responsabilité

vue d'éviter ces éventualités, votre Altesse propose de constituer une
argée d'étudier les modalités de l'évacuation des troupes anglaises, de
administration provisoire de nature à sauvegarder l'unité du pays, à con
l'harmonie entre les différentes zones occupées et d'assurer les droits des habitants

J'ai pris connaissance de vos vues avec beaucoup de sympathie et je tiens à
déclarer d'une manière générale que le Gouvernement français n'a jamais c
d'être sincèrement désireux d'assurer à la Syrie, comme à la Mésopotamie et
autres pays d'Orient délivrés par la victoire des Alliés, le régime de liberté, d'ordre
de progrès, conforme aux principes libéraux de sa politique, qui sont en même t
ceux de la Conférence de la Paix

e persuadé que la confiance établie entre les Arabes et leurs Alliés,
permettra de régler leurs relations confo
leurs traditions, aux vœux des populations et à la liaison de leurs intérêts.
Gouvernements français et anglais resteront à cet égard aussi étroitement u
dans la paix qu'ils l'ont été dans la guerre

La question que vous voulez bien poser aujourd'hui est moins étendue et
ait d'une grande simplicité. Il ne s'agit en effet que de faits, sans que
puisse être modifié. Ni la condition politique de la Syrie, ni ses frontières éven
ne sont en question. Vos inquiétudes et celles que la population pourrait ép
doivent donc être faciles à dissiper. Dans les régions où les soldats françai
prennent la place des soldats anglais, j'ai la certitude que nos chefs militaires
rassurer les populations et maintenir l'ordre. Il vous appartient, avec votre
autorité, d'agir de même à Damas et à Alep. Je suis tout prêt à venir à votre pre
appel pour vous aider à maintenir l'ordre s'il venait à être troublé par des agi
qui ne pourraient que compromettre les intérêts des Arabes et diminuer la
que la Conférence est prête à leur accorder

Un simple exposé des faits vous montrera que la nomination d'une Com
ne ferait actuellement que compliquer la
la décision du Conseil suprême

Dans ces conditions, toute garantie est donnée au point de vue de l'avenir, la qu
politique est intégralement réservée, l'administration locale n'est pas
ne décision n'est prise quant aux frontières. L'ensemble des intérêts dont
vous préoccupez si légitimement reste confié aux décisions de la Conférence de la P
La nomination d'une commission pour étudier les modalités de l'évacuation et mod
l'administration actuelle du pays serait non seulement inutile, mais contraire
décisions du Conseil suprême

Je suis, d'ailleurs, tout disposé à envisager avec vous, au point de vue de la
les questions qui vous préoccupent, en tenant compte de nos grands intérêts

Veuillez agréer, &c.

G. CLEMENCEAU

Enclosure 2 in No. 147

His Highness Emir Feisal to M. Clemenceau

Conférence de la Paix, Secrétariat de la Délégation du Hedjaz, Paris, le 5 novembre 1919

Excellence,

constater dans la réponse que votre Excellence a bien voulu
envoyer, en date du 2 novembre 1919, une nouvelle confirmation de la sympathie que
le Gouvernement français n'a cessé de témoigner à mes nation et une preuve manifeste
son désir d'assurer à la Syrie comme à la Mésopotamie et autres pays arabes libérés
un régime de liberté, d'ordre et de progrès.

Les Arabes qui ont combattu pour obtenir leur indépendance ne peuvent pas se
féliciter de ces nouvelles assurances, qui viennent leur confirmer les déclarat
antérieures et les promesses réitérées des Puissances alliées. J'en suis d'autant plus
satisfait, moi-même que je n'ai cessé dès la première heure de travailler à l'inaugration
de cette politique d'entente et de confiance réciproque qui a contribué à la défaite de
l'ennemi et assure la libération du pays.

t dans le but d'
confiance que je me suis permis d'exprimer dans ma dernière lettre dat
sur l'opportunité de former une commission chargée d'étudier les moda
et aux vœux de la population
la bienveillance avec laquel
de bon devoir d'attirer sur

que la question de sa relève est extrêmement simple,
ront et qu'elle ne met en question ni la condition
tions éventuelles de la Syrie. En effet, elle aurait été très simple
d'un simple retrait de troupes d'occupation, et si un régime de l'on
instrument qui assurerait la cohésion entre

Si la condition politique et les frontières éventuelles ne sont pas en question
dans la vie publique du peuple et l'intérêt de l'administration du pays sont gra
mettre à exécution l'accord secret de 1916 qui parta
et contre lequel nous n'avons cessé de protester. D'ailleurs
mémoire suffit pour démontrer qu'il ne s'agit nullement d'
retrait de troupes, mais d'une délimitation de sphères d'
spoir et en somme du règlement du sort futur de notre pays suivant
, il est vrai, n'a pas accepté l'ensem
n'en reste pas moins acquis que c'est le point de vue qu
sur quoi je n'ai pas manqué d'attirer l'attention du Gouverne
et c'est à la suite de mes protestations et après des conversations
que j'ai pu faire adopter mon point de vue concernant la constitution de la
commission.

Ce sont ces graves conséquences de l'avenir qui entretiennent cette atmosphère
signaler à votre Excellence et que rien ne saurait calmer tant qu'une nouvelle solution
ne sera pas intervenue.

Mon expérience personnelle et ma connaissance du peuple arabe m'autorisent à
est un peuple conscient de ses droits et de ses devoirs, dont la conduite est inspirée
et cette conscience de lui-même qui l'ont décidé à participer à la guerre contre ses
frères de religion au moment même où la victoire était encore incertaine. Ce peuple
tu, comme vous il n'a pas hésité à se sacrifier pour la conquérir. Tous ceux qui
ont été en contact avec lui ont constaté cette suprême résolution, témoin la Commission
ne d'Enquête qui s'est rendue en Orient. Votre Excellence, sûre que tout
nt qui pourrait se produire dans les régions occupées par les troupes françaises
étouffé, se montre encore toute prête à venir à mon premier appel pour m'aider
maintenir l'ordre s'il venait à être troublé par des agitateurs dans la région qui m'est

Que votre Excellence me permette de [illegible] les événements qui [illegible] se produire, et auxquels j'ai fait allusi[illegible] nullement le fait d'agi[illegible] conscients. Le mouvement qui se produ[illegible] inévitablement dans le pays est [illegible] mouvement essentiellement national où il serait un peu délicat de faire ap[illegible] troupes étrangères, dont l'interventi[illegible] pas comprise par le peuple [illegible] D'ailleurs, le sentiment développé [illegible] le peuple de Syrie est directement inspiré p[illegible] les déclarations officielles des hommes d'État alliés et pour le triomphe du [illegible] grandes nations, la France à leur tête, ont soutenu la plus terrible et la plus [illegible] des guerres.

Les grands chefs de l'armée française, qui ont forcé l'admiration du monde [illegible] comme en défendant en même temps leur patrie, les principes immortels du D[illegible] de la Liberté, seraient eux-mêmes dans l'embarras pour tirer l'épé[illegible] si, en réclamant son indépendance, ne demande que le droit et la liberté pour [illegible] ces mêmes chefs héroïques ont si valeureusement combattu.

Le Conseil suprême, en prenant acte du changement prévu dans la situation [illegible] Syrie, sans m'avoir entendu, m'a imposé une responsabilité grosse de [illegible]

Les Arabes se sont toujours attachés à mériter la confiance des Alli[illegible] [illegible] les principes que ceux-ci ont proclamés qu'ils fondent leurs espérances [illegible] la réalisation de leurs légitimes aspirations. Il dépend beaucoup de [illegible] Excellence que cette espérance ne soit point déçue et que leurs convictions ne [illegible] point ébranlées.

Quant aux inquiétudes qui m'assiègent et à l'insistance que je témoigne, elles proviennent nullement de préoccupations personnelles. Guidé par le constant souci [illegible] servir ma nation et d'être loyal vis à vis de nos Alliés, j'estime de mon devoir de [illegible] sous les yeux de votre Excellence la situation telle qu'elle se présente dans la [illegible] telle que d'aucuns voudraient la présenter. J'ai dans mon âme et conscience [illegible] l'effervescence qui va agiter tout le pays. Encore une fois le sort de [illegible] tout les [illegible] relations entre les Arabes et leurs Alliés et d'écarter [illegible] danger de nature à menacer l'existence de notre jeune nation, une porte à i[illegible] [illegible] de soumettre la question à un nouvel ex[illegible]

[illegible] pour me faciliter ma t[illegible] [illegible] habilités qui pèsent sur moi.

En terminant, je remercie votre Excellence des dispositions favorables qu'elle témoignées en se montrant prête à envisager avec moi, au point de vue de l'avenir, [illegible] qui me préoccupent. Je me permets de lui réitérer les déclarations que j'ai faites à M. Berthelot concernant mon vif désir d'arriver promptement à [illegible] définitif pouvant assurer, avec la liberté et l'indépendance, le progrès et le développe[illegible] du peuple arabe.

Veuillez agréer, &c.

FAISAL

Enclosure 3 in No. 147

Note to the Supreme Council of the Peace Conference

I WAS called in September from Damascus by his Excelle[illegible] Minister of Great Britain to discuss the Syrian Question with the Great P[illegible] In London, his Excellency handed me an *aide memoire* involving certain [illegible] the present administration in Syria. He said that similar copies were han[illegible] representatives of France, America, and Italy. I understood from the co[illegible] ence and interviews which ensued that the said *aide memoire* was not based on [illegible] agreement between Great Britain and any other Power, but it is simply a stateme[illegible] showing the decision of Great Britain taken for reasons of economy as to [illegible] withdrawal of her troops from certain Arab provinces. The whole question [illegible] supposed to be a provisional military arrangement, neither administrative [illegible] political taken for the maintenance of order until the final decision of the [illegible] Conference as to the future government of the country.

Having carefully read this document and having closely observed the [illegible] situation in the Arab provinces since the Treaty of Truce was signed with [illegible]

[illegible] I came to the conclusion that the execution of this project would not only e[illegible] disagreement with the rights of nations, but would also be detrimental to the [illegible] of the country and its people, and destructive to public peace [illegible] the East. I am persuaded that the Great Powers with interests in the East will suffer harm in proportion to their respective interests. The two Powers cannot have been aware of the troubles which may arise from any alteration in the *status quo* established since the occupation, for this agreement will alter the provisional administration established since the occupation without making any suitable [illegible] in lieu of it.

When the British Government informed me of this plan, which they called a [illegible] project," based on the Sykes-Picot Treaty of 1916, I protested, and put [illegible] The British Government, having realised the [illegible] situation accepted the proposal to appoint a Committee of American, [illegible] French, and Arab delegates to consider the questions involved in the [illegible] evacuation and to establish a united provisional administration [illegible]

[illegible] Premier did not approve the suggestion and expressed the desire to see [illegible] Furthermore, the French Government also refused to agree, as they [illegible]

[illegible] the French Government [illegible] the arrangement, and again proposed a mixed [illegible] Premier in his reply declines to accept a [illegible] because he says that he cannot go against a decision taken by the Supreme [illegible] adding that French troops are ready to maintain order in their zone and to assist me to do the same in my own district on my first call. I believe that M. Clemenceau is under the impression that the movement of which we are afraid [illegible] be due to "agitators," and not a spontaneous outburst of national feeling. I [illegible] the Supreme Council and public opinion throughout the civilised world [illegible] of suppressive measures against perfectly legitimate national move[illegible] that could only result in bloodshed. The Supreme Council, I understand, has taken no decision in the matter, having merely "noted" the fact of the agreement [illegible] September 15th, 1919, and communicated to me by the French Government. [illegible] presumably believed that the suggested project was simply to relieve troops [illegible] not entail any political or administrative change in the occupied enemy [illegible] now administered in the name of the Allies. It is clear, therefore, that the [illegible] should be given fresh consideration and discussion by the Supreme Council. I beg herewith to briefly expose some of the principal reasons for my objections to the proposal which will plunge the people into despair as to their future.

1. I find it difficult to understand that the project is a purely military one. It seems to me that it contains many economic and political points that should only be decided by the Peace Conference. The fact of taking away the supreme power of administration from a single head and the division of the country into three different [illegible] is surely a very important change in the present administration, and cannot [illegible] a military measure. Such matters as the railway arrangements and zones [illegible] influence, &c., &c., do not come within the measures to be taken for the preservation of order until a final settlement of the Syrian Question by the Peace Conference.

2. According to the proposed arrangements the Arab provinces are to be divided into three districts, one under British administration, another under French, and [illegible] under the Arab Government. This is to say that the Syrian nation, which has always been looking forward to a unity of administration, is now to be split up and [illegible] put under a separate Government. The harm resulting therefrom is a [illegible] lostered and encouraged by ignorant officials, or even competition between [illegible] tribal chiefs, who increase and encourage disturbances, any incidents which have come through one distinct administration. Troubles will begin on the [illegible] and will spread into the heart of the country.

[illegible] that portion left to the Arab Government is said to be [illegible] independent Arab province but is again divided into different zones of influ[illegible] one under the British and the other under the French. Any assistance required [illegible] one of these two sub-divisions should be asked for from the Power which exerc[illegible] influence over it. Has ever a nation in the history of the world been able to [illegible] any progress under such obstructive circumstances? This arrangement [illegible] undoubtedly dishearten the people and create disaffection among th[illegible] Allies and will do everything in their power to defend the un[illegible]y. They are a weak nation and they will be unable to resist for l[illegible] but they will nevertheless meet death for their just cause. Who will then [illegible] responsible before the civilised world for such a sacrifice? No one can pers[illegible] people of the country that they are wrong in their fixed ideas. Every one who [illegible] had experience of the prevailing feeling amongst the people can say that pu[illegible] order can never be maintained without bloodshed.

3. The withdrawal of British troops is proposed to be made on a ruling w[illegible] is not recognised by the Arabs nor by the United States Governme[illegible] on entering the war that they would not recognise any secret agreement [illegible] to the Sykes Picot agreement of 1916 which dealt with the country as if it were [illegible] private estate or a mere parcel of goods at a time when her you[illegible] from Syria to the desert and offering their lives for her independence. Any [illegible] based on a ruling not recognised by the Peace Conference cannot be executed w[illegible] a special discussion from that Conference.

4. The Commander-in-Chief, when the Allied troops occupie[illegible] to withdraw my agents from the coast and made a declaration to the Syrian p[illegible] that he proposed to occupy the country and establish a unified [illegible] name of the Allies. His administration thus formed would remain active un[illegible] time as the Peace Conference gave its last decision. The Syrians considered [illegible] declaration as a pledge given by the Allies, and their country as being placed [illegible] trust in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief acting on behalf of the Allies, [illegible] establishing on[illegible] single administration which he promised to maintain as above stated. I take it that no change in the fundamental basis of this arrangement can be [illegible] before the proper time comes or before another administration based on the [illegible] principles is established. Great Britain recognises this pledge but says it was [illegible] anticipated that such a long delay would pass before such a decision should be [illegible] by the Conference. Is this delay the fault of the Arab Syrian nation or have [illegible] committed any disloyalty which deserved such a punishment? We have al[illegible] shown complete loyalty to the Allies ever since we rose against the Turks, and [illegible] least we expect is the fulfilment of a promise given by the Commander-in-Chief.

5. The over-excited feeling now prevailing in the Arab provi[illegible] r Moslem provinces of the Ottoman Empire in Asia, caused mainly by [illegible] foreign interference is no longer a secret. Any person having the slightest [illegible] ledge of what has been going on in the Syrian province is undoubtedly convinced [illegible] there will be trouble, and in many places if the *status quo* of the present admi[illegible] tion is changed.

I therefore beg you in the name of humanity and the interests of peace, in the name of the Arab nation and in the name of the multitudinous interests of F[illegible] Italy, Great Britain, and America in the eastern world, that no new doors be [illegible] for further troubles, of which we all may see the beginning, but of which the [illegible] cannot be foretold. The incidents of Smyrna and other places are still fresh i[illegible] memory.

I very much fear that the mischief will spread throughout the Moslem w[illegible] The people will think that there is a definite intention to persecute Islam. You [illegible] still remember that the rising of the Arabs headed by my father the King, has g[illegible] the first blow against the hated principle of fanaticism. The Arabs attacke[illegible] Moslem Turks because they were oppressors and joined the Allies believing that [illegible] were fighting for right and justice irrespective of religion. I personal[illegible] [illegible] around me from every direction and every religion. Our unity was national and religious. A great number of men who are working with me now in this na[illegible] cause do not belong to my religion. This must prove to you how distressed I [illegible] if this high ideal is debased to religious conflict through misunderstanding, mismanagement and imprudence.

You must agree with me that it is in the interests of all to preserve the [illegible]

[illegible] only during the short period of time previous to the final decision of the Peace Conference rather than cause trouble to occur for no logical reason. I am therefore of the opinion that the Great Powers should be informed of the serious situation as [illegible] it, so that immediate steps be taken for the interested Allied Powers and [illegible] in arms to consider the interests of each Government according to the ideal justice for which we have fought together.

I conclude by emphasising my request to be allowed to lay in person a full state[illegible] of my case, which touches my country more closely than it does any other, for it will be on me and my people that the results of any action whether for good or evil will fall.

FEISAL.

November 6, 1919.

151212

No. 148.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received November 12.)

(No. 2001.)

My Lord,

Constantinople, October 28, 1919.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith for your Lordship's information some notes which have been prepared in this High Commission on the Nationalist move[illegible]t in the Samsoun area.

I have [illegible]

J. M. de ROBECK, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure in No. 148.

Notes on the Nationalist Movement in the Samsoun Area.

[illegible] out the last hope of existence. This has remained the sentiment of the vast mass of the people, the desire for peace and security, oblivious of the cost.

[illegible] ural, Constantinople began to consider how best to retrieve as much [illegible]ble from the ruins. One by one parties appeared representing a few poli[illegible] each working for power. At this time the imposition of any peace terms [illegible]ve been easy.

This phase lasted till the 15th May, when the Greeks landed at Smyrna. The result of this was like breaking open an ants' nest: temporary stupefaction, much [illegible]ing about, and a few hardy souls spitting acid at the invaders.

A period of resistance followed. The Central Government pinned its hope to the ultimate good will of the Allies and the influence of the mass of the Moslem world. In opposition appeared the Military Party, which hoped to save Turkey by its own [illegible]. They realised that Constantinople and the Central Government were [illegible] Among this party was Mustafa Kemal Pasha.

It would appear that the Central Government was not without sympathy with [illegible] Military Party. A system of army inspectorates with large powers was devised, and early in May Mustafa Kemal was sent as inspector to Samsoun.

The Turks were excited. They had been caught napping at Smyrna. There was good reason for believing that an Armenian State was to be formed, and many talked of a Greek Pontus State. The military were determined to be prepared to prevent another coup.

Mustafa Kemal at once set to work to rouse his area. He made Amassia [illegible] from Allied control, his headquarters. From here he sent emissaries as far [illegible] as Kharput and Diarbekir. Backed by Refat and Hamid Bey he proceeded to put down brigandage and enlist the brigands in his new national army.

[illegible]vement appeared to be revolutionary and dangerous. The Greek and [illegible]n authorities wailed in chorus, ably backed by the American missionaries [illegible]ing massacre. Apparently Mustafa Kemal saw the same and took steps to [illegible]nt such an eventuality.

On the 19th June Mustafa Kemal moved his headquarters to Kavsa, where he

was joined by Raouf Bey and [illegible] dently of the Central Government

Up till then the leaders had acted much like naughty schoolboys fearing the [illegible] at any moment. Meeting with no opposition from the Allies, and realising [illegible] futility, and perhaps the complicity, of the Central Government, they came out [illegible] concentrating on Erzeroum, and Mustafa Kemal moved his headquarters to this [illegible]

Once more the Greeks, Armenians, and Americans wailed of massacre, but events have shown that the Nationalists realised that it was to their own inter[illegible] protect Christians

On moving to Erzeroum, Mustafa Kemal left the General Officer Com[illegible] the 3rd Caucasus Division orders to resist the landing of foreign troops. [illegible] latter proceeded to do, and practically issued an ultimatum that if the newly [illegible] Gurkha battalion landed at Samsoun he would not be responsible. As usual, [illegible] Turks feared that the arrival of a British battalion meant that a Greek [illegible] ing along behind. The General Officer Commanding, however, had gone [illegible] than his orders, and he was replaced by strong action from Constantinople. [illegible] Gurkhas landed without any incident

On the departure of Mustafa Kemal the kazas of Kavza and Amassia [illegible] but the organisation remained. The position was by no means assisted by [illegible] ting attitude of the Greek Bishop of Samsoun

Mustafa Kemal's intrigues were now spreading far and wide. He was in [illegible] contact with the Kurds, and information received from Armenian and [illegible] ted sources endeavoured to indicate that he had some understanding wi[illegible] A certain tinge of anti British feeling appeared in the propaga[illegible]

Colonel Rawlinson, who visited the area, reported on the 21st July that the [illegible] did not realise their defeat, and a recourse to arms would probably be necessary

Erzeroum has now become the centre, with Konia as a minor centre. [illegible] Amassia and Erzeroum were some 8 000 men and 2 000 men, and a military zone w[illegible] declared. The Congress of Erzeroum was announced, and what was to all [illegible] and purposes a temporary Government independent of Constantinople was f[illegible] Plans were discussed by the Central Government to destroy the movement by [illegible] Then plans were made to come to terms with the Nationalists. These however [illegible] through meeting with considerable opposition from members of the Government an[illegible] the Allies.

On the 7th August the Erzeroum Congress published its decisions. This [illegible] gress only represented the eastern vilayets. It proclaimed itself loyal to the [illegible] and the Turkish Empire, but attacked Damad Ferid's Government as unable to pr[illegible] Turkish interests. It decided to protect Christians, but to resist by force all en[illegible] demanded that the Turkish nation should decide its own destiny. While loyal to [illegible] Sultan, it severed all connection with the Central Government

On the 12th August the Vali of Angora announced his adherence to the N[illegible] movement, and it was found that Mustafa Kemal was in close touch with the [illegible] of the Nachivan district. An alarmist report stated that Mustafa Kemal had [illegible] 15 000 men with a plentiful supply of officers and non-commissioned officers, a[illegible] in case of fighting 30 000 Kurds might be expected to join him. It wa[illegible] becoming apparent that, provided neither the Allies nor the Central Gov[illegible] employed force, the Nationalists had no intention of fighting

[illegible] arly in September a new Congress was called at Sivas, which became the [illegible] of gravity. This Congress professed to represent all Turkey. It issued [illegible] declarations against the Central Government. It maintained that it stood for [illegible] interests of the Turks, while Damad Ferid stood for those of the Allies

On the 11th September a Gurkha escort between Samsoun and Amass[illegible] politely refused permission to proceed into the interior. It was decided, in view [illegible] the situation, to stop for the time being the repatriation of refugees

The movement now extended outside the Samsoun area westwards down the ra[illegible] way. On the 12th September Angora was in the hands of the Nationalists, and [illegible] Kara Hissar more or less under their control

The Sivas Congress ordered all communications with Constantinople to be [illegible]

It was very evident that the movement was the work of a clique, and had [illegible] to touch the mass of the people, who sat docile, praying for peace and security. [illegible] the 15th September the control officer, Samsoun, reported that the local pop[illegible] were hoping for Allied intervention against the Nationalists. The movement st[illegible]

[illegible] British [illegible] from [illegible]

[illegible] British [illegible]

[illegible] time being as much interested in the protection of the Christians as the Allies [illegible] ves, and that the carrying out of the terms of the armistice was the Nation[illegible] the hope of salvation. They argued the effete and corrupt Government of Constantinople had never represented the Turks. It has ruined Turkey. We repre[illegible] Turks and we will show you that we can rule.

At one time the Nationalists intended to mobilise Christians. On the 12th [illegible] the ages of 20 and 37 within the Samsoun, Baffra, Amassia and Allatcham areas. On the 25th September the Sivas Congress found this unwise and decided to call up only Turks for the present.

On the 26th September the Armenian quarter of Samsoun was surrounded and searched for arms. A number of Armenians were beaten. This led to a panic, and all who could prepared to leave for Constantinople

On the 1st October Damad Ferid Pasha's Government, bound hand and foot by [illegible] continued to rule

A report from the Commander in chief of the 9th October stated that all was quiet and satisfactory at Samsoun, and that trade was reviving. The Nationalists were in complete control. Brigandage round Samsoun had stopped, but still con[illegible] tinued round Trebizond. The Christians were frightened, and the Nationalists looked on the withdrawal of British troops as a sign of weakness

The Mutessarif of Eski Chehir having been murdered on the 10th October another was appointed. His declaration is interesting. He declares that he [illegible] been appointed by the Sivas Government as representing the nation. He will up[illegible]

Briefly, the position may be summarised as follows: born in Constantinople, bred to Erzeroum, the Nationalist movement had spread across until it controls the whole of Anatolia except the Greek area, and has a considerable hold in Thrace. It has [illegible] ested the sympathies of some of the Kurds, Arabs, and Tartars. The Central Government has become no more than the borough council of Constantinople and the [illegible] between the Natio[illegible] ince the armistice, [illegible] Thrace, the state of the [illegible] ng of the Greeks at Smy[illegible] interference in internal affairs while keeping a stranglehold on the Central Govern[illegible] ment, combined to produce this result. There were dangers of Christian massacres, brigandage was on the increase. For the moment the Nationalists have checked this [illegible] some areas conditions have improved. The Allies have either shown considerable [illegible] a force to be counted with [illegible]

[illegible] the picture will appear. The Nationalists are organising, gaining morale, drilling, recruiting, collecting funds, and endeavouring to rouse a torpid people to resist [illegible] disintegration of Turkey or the imposition of foreign control. They have been [illegible] understand one argument alone—the dragoon. Each day makes the imposition of unwelcome peace harder

Reports show certain outstanding features both in the Samsoun and the whole [illegible] affected. The [illegible] protecting the Christians and resent outside assistance and interference

There is a strong and rapidly growing stronger feeling of resentment against the [illegible] presentated by the efforts of a mission sent to this area by the French authorities [illegible] so weak to enforce their will. The local population are hardly touched by the move- [illegible]

152068 No. 119

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received November 14.)

(No. 2013.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, October 30, 1919.*

WITH reference to your Lordship's despatch No. 601 of the 8th October, [illegible] paragraph 7 of my letter to your Lordship No. 1930 of the 18th October, I have the honour to forward herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a [illegible] dated the 20th October, which I have addressed to his Excellency the United [illegible]

I have, &c.

J. M. DE ROBECK, *High Commissioner.*

No. 11[illegible]

[illegible] Rear-Admiral [illegible], to Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck.

SIR, [illegible]

I HAVE [illegible] tinuously, in the United States Naval Radio Press [illegible]

3. The items which recently attracted my notice have dealt with stories [illegible] Allied Powers mentioned above [illegible] Turkey as between that country and the Allied Powers, who are still in a state [illegible] her. I feel convinced that your Excellency will agree that the repe[illegible] ar mendacious or harmful statements can serve no useful purpose and can, in fact, only be most undesirable at such a time as the present [illegible]

I have, &c.

J. M. DE ROBECK, *High Commissioner.*

151221. No. 1[illegible]

[illegible] Sir J. de Robeck to Admiral [illegible]

[illegible] received from the General Officer Commanding-in-chief, Army of the Black Sea [illegible] showing the present military situation and resources of the Turkish F[illegible]

I have, &c.

J. M. DE ROBECK, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure in No. 150.

General Sir G. Milne to Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck.

[illegible] with a map (B) * showing approximate distribution of the Ottoman regular forces.

2. As regards irregular forces, I attach a schedule (C) showing [illegible] which have been called up to prevent advances by the Greeks in Asia Minor. [illegible] gnisation is being carried on in order to record and enrol those [illegible] wherever inspectors could be made it has stood this test [illegible] to the armistice, but it has been estimated at 600,000 [illegible] serve on the mobiro war.

To sum up, the position in Turkey in Europe appears to me satisfactory. In [illegible] west of a line drawn north and south through Sivas, the Ottoman army is weak [illegible] ent. No unidentified guns, for instance, have appeared opposite the [illegible] at Smyrna, as would certainly have been the case had such existed. The [illegible] the schedule is undoubtedly mainly at Erzerum, whence all

* Not reproduced.

efforts to retrieve it have failed. I trust that in a few weeks it will once again be immobile until May 1920 by reason of snow. I attach an estimate, (F), of the armament now available at Erzeroum and other places in Anatolia, which may be regarded as available for the Nationalists.

11. It is further pointed out for your information, that during [illegible] war rifles have continuously leaked from the Ottoman army by re[illegible] dishonesty. It must be accepted as a principle that in Asia Minor if one can rule soldier one can find a rifle for him. That being so, I am agreeably surprised to [illegible] definitely that there is a difficulty in providing rifles for the bands, which are armed with many different patterns, involving great difficulties in the supply of ammunition.

I trust these observations and estimates will be of value to yourself and your colleagues.

I have, &c.
G. F. MILNE, *General*
Commanding-in-chief, Army of the Black Sea.

SCHEDULE (A).—*Strength of the Ottoman Army*

Army Corps.	Situation.	Strength, including Division.	Divisions.	Situation.	Approximate Strength.
	Adrianople	2,700	49th ..	Kirkkilisse	[illegible]
			60th ..	Qoochan	[illegible]
					[illegible]
					[illegible]
XI	Konia	3,000	11th ..	Niglde	[illegible]
			[illegible]	Karaman .. .	[illegible]
	Diarbekr	4,900	2nd ..	Siirt	[illegible]
			[illegible]	Mardin	
X	Panderma	2,600	53rd .	Tekfourdag	[illegible]
			[illegible]	Panderma	[illegible]
	Erzeroum	15,500	3rd Caucasian		[illegible]
			[illegible]		[illegible]
					[illegible]
					[illegible]
			[illegible]		[illegible]
XX	Angora				[illegible]
					[illegible]
	Constantinople ..	3,000	1st	Israil	[illegible]
			1 Nizib Cademan	Constantinople	[illegible]
	Total Strength ..	..	..	..	[illegible]

SCHEDULE (C).—*Turkish National Bands*

(In the neighbourhood of Smyrna.)

		Comprising	British Intelligence Officers	Greek Headquarters
[illegible]	Aivali	Kirmasti	2,000	.
		[illegible]		
		Kara[illegible]		
		[illegible]		
		[illegible]		
		[illegible]		
		[illegible]		
		M[illegible]		
[illegible]	. .. ..	Salihli	2,000	1,700
		Sari		
		Buge		
Asia	.. .. .	Denizli	12,000	7,000
		[illegible]		
		[illegible]		
[illegible]	. .. ..	Sokia	Nil	600
		Aydinlik		
			[illegible]	[illegible]

2. Estimates given by Greek Headquarters have often proved to be exaggerated also.

3. Since the Greek forces in Asia Minor have been placed under the orders of General Milne, it has been reported that the National leaders at Akhisar ordered some reinforcements to be sent in [illegible] from the National bands are said to be daily decreasing in numbers. This sector is [illegible] Ottoman regular troops (the 172nd Regiment), who are collecting the rifles [illegible].

4. At present there is no sign of a decrease in numbers on the Asia front. No doubt the bands there are largely recruited from the dispersed population.

SCHEDULE (D).—*Ottoman Artillery*

	At [illegible]	[illegible]	Allowed.	Stocks not handed over with owing
[illegible]	[illegible]	1,028	24 heavy 72 medium	200
[illegible]	[illegible]	140	16[illegible]	[illegible]
	[illegible]	1,[illegible]		[illegible]

Not included in the "At Armistice" column are a certain number of Russian guns, [illegible] of Erzeroum.

T

SCHEDULE (E).—*Ottoman Machine Guns.*

At Armistice.	Handed over.	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

SCHEDULE (F). [illegible]

Guns and Machine Guns.

1. Excluding the [illegible] IIth Army Corps area (Diarbekr) and the XVIIth Army [illegible] rna), both of which Army Corps have been only partially disarmed, there does [illegible] be any appreciable number of machine guns available to the Nationali[illegible] the allowance to the regular army, except in [illegible] e XVth Army Corps [illegible]

2. The XIVth Army Corps (Panderma), however, has still more than 100 m[illegible] guns to hand over, according to information received. But as none of these have ta[illegible] up in front of the Greeks it is possible to hope this discrepancy is an error [illegible]

[illegible]ies.—No estimate possible [illegible]

[illegible]—Exclud[illegible] on in the depots in Turkey in Europe, in the Smyrna area, and the quantities stored at Derinje and Ismiet (which include very large amount sent from Rutania), there is :—

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	34 000
[illegible]	[illegible]	5 000
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	5,600 cases of shells (Also some quantities [illegible] and [illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	(and much more) 11 [illegible]	[illegible]

5. There are definitely the following at Erzeroum and Van :—

Armament available at Erzeroum—

Heavy guns	[illegible]
Field and mountain guns ..	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Total shells ..	[illegible]
Small arms ammunition .. .. rounds	[illegible]

* This includes a number of guns claimed by the Turks to be unserviceable, and never included in their returns.

At Van—

Heavy guns ..	[illegible]
Mountain guns ..	21
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Total shells	[illegible]

6. The XIIIth Army Corps ammunition has been concentrated at Diarbekr—amount unknown, but probably considerable.

7. There are various small depots of ammunition not greatly affecting the result.

(1132) No. 151

Sir E. Crowe to Earl Curzon.—(Received November 12.)

No. 2123. Confidential.)

My Lord, *Paris, November 10, 1919.*

WITH reference to my telegram No. 1537 of the 8th November, recording the [illegible]ngs at the Supreme Council on that day, I have the honour to inform your [illegible]p in detail of the attitude adopted by me when the discussion on the report of Smyrna Commission was resumed on the 10th November by the Council.

2. I began by [illegible] missioners (see Mr. Balfour's despa[illegible] in dra[illegible] than the Council real[illegible] W[illegible] had in mind, the invest[illegible]k troops and [illegible] taken contrary [illegible]r allied naval officer by the occupation of certain towns [illegible] xercises and rons-acres. The Commission, after investigating [illegible] to the Council. The latter di[illegible]ect, however, [illegible]uld report as to whether the Council were justified in [illegible] to occupy a certain area round Smyrna, or as to whether [illegible] should be allowed to continue to hold this mandate, until the whole question of Turkey should come before and be settled by the Peace Conference. The drafting of a report [illegible] those [illegible] a purely military commission [illegible]

[illegible]refore, that the report of the Commission might with advantage [illegible] d virtually as falling into two separate parts: first, the facts [illegible] he action of the Greek troops and the allegations against them, together with [illegible] assignment of responsibility for the facts, secondly the more general conclusions as to the future attitude to be adopted towards the Greek occupation. Taking the [illegible] part first, I pointed out that this question had really been already settled by [illegible]ncil themselves, and I recalled the following facts: As explained by M. Venizelos [illegible] Council's sitting on the 8th November, he had on the 23rd June taken [illegible]bility before the Council for ordering the Greek troops to make advances in [illegible] d urgent reports which he was receiving as to [illegible] Between the 18th and 23rd June M. Venizelos had [illegible]written four letters to M. Clemenceau on this matter, to none of which he received an answer and he [illegible] from this that the Council did not disapprove his action [illegible]

[illegible]zelos and M. Tittoni were brought to make an agreement regarding the dividing line between the Greek and Italian zones of occupation. This agreement had been [illegible]d by the Council on the 18th July, and communicated to General Milne, who [illegible] to the Smyrna incidents. General Milne had since [illegible]ed a certain line which he thought the Greeks could hold, except that in the [illegible]l by the boundary of the Smyrna sandjak and the Venizelos-Tittoni line [illegible]le including Aidin and the railway as far as Keusedik) General Milne suggested [illegible] that the Greek troops should advance from Aidin as far as the Kochak C[illegible]

advance which might lead to further fighting, or that the angle should be occupied by Allied troops

[illegible] d by Greek, Frenc [illegible] r the Greeks could be [illegible] ce with Turks [illegible] s had already been settled by the C[illegible] M. Venizelos had, moreover, emphasised in conversation with me and informed Council on the 8th November that the Greek army was now sufficiently strong to the zone delimited by General Milne, and he was confident that they could [illegible] to do so.

5. At this juncture I took the opportunity of pressing M. Clemenceau to [illegible] his decision not to send a French battalion to the Aidin area, in which I was [illegible] supported by Mr. Polk, who pointed out that the alternative offered by G[illegible] Milne, i.e., advance of Greek troops from Aidin to Kochak Chai (reoccupation b[illegible] Turks was unthinkable) might render the Council responsible for further [illegible] between the Turks and the Greeks. I was also supported by General Bunoust, the president of the Smyrna Commission who was present, and who felt convinced that [illegible] Turks would not attack again in the Aidin section if French and British t[illegible] present. M. Clemenceau finally promised to give me a [illegible] to-morrow, the 11th November, but did not hold out much hope that French [illegible] could be sent. He was quite ready to assent to General Milne's alternative [illegible] that the Greeks should remain in occupation

[illegible] returned to what might be termed the first part of the Con[illegible] While in no way wishing to call in question the spirit of impartiality a[illegible] sincerity with which the commissioners appeared to have conducted their enquiry, [illegible] appreciating fully the value of the work which they had done, I [illegible] from sympathising with the reason which M. Venizelos had advanced on [illegible] vember to explain his inability to accept the conclusions of the comm[illegible] report, i.e., the fact that, without the knowledge or approval of the Supreme [illegible] neither the names of the Turkish witnesses nor their evidence had been co[illegible]

[illegible] actual facts as regards the excesses and massacres, as recorded in the Com[illegible] report, could be substantially accepted. Moreover, M. Venizelos himself, I venture think, accepted them in the main. He had himself caused enquiries to be held and guilty punished, as the report itself pointed out, and General Bunoust, [illegible] present, confirmed this. Lastly, I observed that for a considerable period order [illegible] been re-established and reigned both in Smyrna and the neighbourhood, though [illegible] course on the fringes of the Greek occupation, where their troops were in [illegible] the Turks. Even here it might be hoped that the result of General Milne's work might effect a material change for the better.

7. My views appeared to be generally accepted by the Council and it was that a letter should be written by M. Clemenceau to M. Venizelos, saying that, the Council sympathised with M. Venizelos' attitude in the matter of the proc[illegible] adopted by the Commission, they were impressed with the serious facts brought to notice in the Commissioners' report, facts the accuracy of which seemed substan[illegible] be proved, and concluding by urging prudence and restraint on the Greeks, repeating that their occupation of the area was provisional pending the final [illegible] of the Peace Conference regarding Turkey.

8. I venture to transmit for your Lordship's confidential information a copy [illegible] memorandum written by Mr. Philip Kerr for Mr. Balfour's information in July [illegible] d of Four, and a *dossier* of F[illegible]

[illegible] future to think tells materially in M. Venizelos' favour as regards various [illegible] on which the Greek troops were said to have advanced without the authority Council or of the S.N.O. at Smyrna. Much of this evidence was not of available to the Smyrna Commission, and as it refers to proceedings of the [illegible]

[illegible] il of Four, which are supposed to be and remain absolutely secret, I could not [illegible] bring it to the attention of the Council now. A copy of a further memorandum [illegible] Mr Forbes Adam comparing *in extenso*, as regards two cases of alleged unauthorised [illegible] by the Greeks, the Commission's report with the evidence of M. Venizelos, as [illegible] Mr K[illegible] and bringing the matter up to date, is also enclosed. These papers [illegible] serve to give further reasons which led me to adopt the attitude before the [illegible] ncil which I have set forth al[illegible]

I have, &c.
EYRE A. CROWE.

15,671

[illegible] party in London. [illegible] n attended, by appointment, to see me in the Foreign Office. He was [illegible] companied by M. de Fleuriau. Our conversation, which lasted for more than an [illegible] covered all the more important questions connected with the Near and [illegible] East.

After a mutual exchange of friendly sentiments and sincere intentions, M. Pichon [illegible] d to describe the situation as it was in Paris.

[illegible] information which he gave about the state of negotiations with the E[illegible] was much more sanguine than that which had been reported to us by our own [illegible] ts. I could not help thinking that it was considerably coloured by hope. He [illegible] nothing about the suspension of negotiations between the Emir and M. Clemenceau; [illegible] the contrary, he described their correspondence and intercourse as being of the [illegible] amicable character. He said nothing of the appeal of the Emir to the Peace [illegible] nce, although at the moment I had that appeal in my possession. He said [illegible] about any difficulties arising out of the military evacuation, which had already [illegible] d; he say anything about the prospect of danger in the wider field [illegible] as a whole. Instead, he represented the Emir as gradually receding from the [illegible] in which he had at first taken up, as having put forward extravagant pretensio[illegible] were now being watered down, and as realising by degrees that he had take[illegible] f much too seriously, and probably might not find the support, even in his own [illegible], upon which he relied. M. Pichon evidently desired to give me the impression [illegible] negotiations with Emir Feisal would ultimately eventuate in the manner [illegible] e French desired.

[illegible] did not dispute this rosy estimate of the situation, although it was far from [illegible] ording with the information I had received from Paris. The important thing [illegible] y mind, was that the French and the Emir should not split asunder and shoul[illegible] ue their conversations to a point at which some sort of agreement might be [illegible] d.

The French Foreign Minister was emphatic in his declaration that any suspicion [illegible] r intentions and attitude had been removed, and in his satisfaction at the evi[illegible] that effect which we had supplied, both to his own Government and to the Emir [illegible] e clearly did not think that the case was one in which we, at any rate, were likely to [illegible] arm[illegible]

While [illegible] danger [illegible] I so manage matters that our two nations were brought [illegible] t not into collision, while he remained outsi[illegible] t on to say that, America having disappeared from the scene as [illegible] the settlement of the East, and all chance of an American mandate for any [illegible] of the Turkish Empire having, in his opinion, vanished, there remained only [illegible] to be considered and reconciled, namely, [illegible] From this point of view, he was authorised to say that his [illegible] nt were prepared to enter into confidential discussions with us as soon as we [illegible] Either M. Clemenceau would come here alone, or he would come with [illegible], or he would depute the latter. In any case, conversations must take place, [illegible] an understanding must be arrived at, before the Peace Conference addressed itself [illegible] e Turkish question.

[illegible] with gratification both the necessity of such an interchange of views [illegible] lity of a meeting with M. Clemenceau. I pointed out to M. Pichon

that, quite apart from the larger question of peace with Turkey, there were ma[illegible] connected with the Emir Feisal's case which could be settled only by some suc[illegible] discussion. There was, for instance, the question of the eastern boundary line of [illegible] coastal area in Syria which we were now evacuating, in order that we might be r[illegible] by the French. This [illegible] matter been more [illegible]

[illegible] appeared prematurely upon the scene, might be fraught with serious danger. [illegible] thought that the military frontier ought to be the limit of provisional military [illegible]tion by the French. Then, I said, there were in addition such questions as the d[illegible] of the subsidy to Emir Feisal between the French and ourselves; the control of railways; the replacement of British by Arab troops in the areas into which the [illegible] were not to advance; the risks of risings or disorders there; and the future bound[illegible] of the protected areas in the Syrian State: all of which questions must be consid[illegible] and agreed upon by the French and ourselves. They were [illegible] of them sources o[illegible] possible mischief, and the sooner they were examined and composed, the better.

But, I went on to say, there was a much larger issue than the mere settlem[illegible] three questions by negotiation or otherwise between the French and ourselves [illegible] was a much larger question than even that of the mandates for Syria, Meso[illegible] and Palestine—although of course it was highly desirable that these mandates be arranged, and that we should all settle down to work in those countries as soon possible. I referred to the peace with Turkey itself, and here I desired to go a gre[illegible] deal beyond the suggestion of the French Minister, and to submit to him a proposal on behalf of His Majesty's Government. I understood that the proceedi[illegible] the Conference in Paris dealing with the Peace Treaties, so far as they had at p[illegible] gone, and the matters arising out of them, were likely to be brought to a close [illegible] the end of the present month. There seemed to be a general desire that the Con[illegible] in its present form should then dissolve. Why, I asked, should it not meet [illegible] perhaps in another form and in another place, to deal with the Turkish qu[illegible] The idea which had hitherto seemed to find favour was this: that the Co[illegible] having completed its present labours, would take a holiday; that, when the F[illegible] elections were completed, it would meet again, probably in Paris; and that, some [illegible] in the early part, possibly not till the spring, of next year some sort of agre[illegible] about Turkey might, it was hoped, be reached [illegible]

[illegible] postponement. By next spring, I said, there might very likely be no [illegible] government to deal with at all. It was more than possible that there would be no one to accept the sort of treaty w[illegible] Allies would desire to im[illegible] It was even conceivable that the d[illegible] would then be one [illegible] the few parties on the scene with a se[illegible] war upon the Allies, and dare them to [illegible] the case, I did not see how we were to conquer Asia Minor, or who to do it; and the ignominious result might be that the weakest and [illegible]

I asked, should not the Conference meet at an early date next month? It mi[illegible] well meet after the conversations with the French statesmen in London. For the [illegible] agree to send a representative here. In these cir[illegible]stances, would it not be desirable to arrange at once that the Eastern question be reserved for London, and taken up and determined here? My own imp[illegible] that, if this idea were favourably regarded, a settlement might be arrived [illegible] month, or not much more. The Conference, if it met in December, might, if [illegible] adjourn for Christmas, meet again early in January, and complete its work [illegible] middle of that month.

I enumerated to the French Foreign Minister the main headings of the [illegible] which would have to be decided. They were, it seemed to me, the follow[illegible] future of Turkey-in-Europe and the setting up of some form of adm[illegible] control in Constantinople, whether or not the Sultan was left in Stamboul [illegible]

[illegible] y was to have any foothold in Asia Minor or not; the question whether a man[illegible] [illegible] mandate were given or accepted, some form of international [illegible] would not be required; the supervision of the Caucasus, the [illegible] and the future of Kurdistan. These were matters that required [illegible] questions the solution of which had to some [illegible] been prejudged, such as the fate of Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia. Upon [illegible] ter questions, the kind of understanding between France and ourselves which [illegible] Pichon had predicated was most desirable. If we could attain it at the conversations [illegible]

M. Pichon explained to me in reply that this was an entirely new proposal, whic[illegible] [illegible] the way. For instance, he described to me the system of elections going on simultaneously or in rapid sequence in almost every electoral area and for almost every [illegible] or five different places and capacities. France would not [illegible] [illegible]pations till the middle of January, and it might therefore [illegible] [illegible]sult for French statesmen to go abroad for a discussion. Nevertheless, he promised put forward the suggestion, with which I told him that M. Cambon had for long [illegible] warm sympathy, and he would let me have an early reply [illegible]

[illegible] any such plan, and I impressed upon him that the proposal I had put [illegible]

CURZON OF KEDLESTON

Foreign Office, November 12, 1919.

152008

No. 153

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received November 14.)

(No. 2045.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 2, 1919*

I HAVE the honour to forward to your Lordship a report on the political situation [illegible] Samsoun area by the control officer at that place, which has been communicated [illegible] by the General Officer Commanding-in-chief, Army of the Black Sea.

2. I would invite your Lordship's attention specially to the sixth paragraph of this report, as it bears [illegible] that the security of the Christians in the interior of Turkey is dependent upon the goodwill of the Turks, and that, if it is proposed to impose drastic and "humiliating" peace terms on this country, it is essential that the Powers should, in the first place, take adequate [illegible]

I have, &c.

J. M. DE ROBECK.

High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 153.

Report on the Political Situation in the Samsoun Area.

THE situation in the Samsoun sanjak is good. When the news of the change Cabinet arrived it created very little interest among the population.

The Mutessarif, Hamid Bey, has gone off on a supposed brigand hunt to Unya and Fatsa, and Lieutenant Popplewell is paying a visit to the same plac order to discover the real object if not that given, of the Mutessarif's visi

Military officers, of whom several have arrived recently fro Constantinople, of the latter, notably a certain Riza Pasha, who appe agitator, still talk of very little but politics and the future of Turkey, and themselves the saviours of the country, comparing the present u the Constitution.

The very few really intelligent Turkish inhabitants look up distrust, and ask for nothing better than a British protection for the country common people do not think, but will follow any lead that is given to th treat military service is not required of them.

The military party has well organised a gendarmerie of surrendered Turkish Laz brigands; but beyond these and the few troops that it already possesses inhabitants against a European force although the inhabi did join in a massacre of Christians with great pleasu

There is a very strong anti Christian feeling, that is held within bounds by military party and by important civil officials, who do not consider the present mo suitable one for such a feeling to express itself in action. But, if this cont were taken away, and the slightest encouragement given to the people, massacres in th interior would take place without fail. Four Greeks were killed recently by Tur at Ladik.

The departure of the British troops from Samsoun encouraged to a co tent the supporters of the Sivas movement, who published the statement that al forced this evacuation. Local C U P Turks were also inclined to become obnoxious than usual, but the visit of the "Iron Duke" and a few words of decided them to be

The Sivas Congress is not so violently anti British as it was so believe that the anti British feeling was chiefly due to fear that the Br would take offensive action against them. The anti British element is ch old C U P. men and escaped prisoners. Halil Pasha and Kotchuk Djem among them.

Generally speaking, the most satisfactory solution of the Turkish question that possibly be obtained by the Turks is considered to them to be the evacuation of Sm cession of territory to Armenia. Retention of Smyrna by the Greeks is be a possible danger, and cession of territory to Armenia a certain danger of an u

Control Officer, Sa

October 16, 1919.

152025] No. 154.

Vice Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received November 14.)

(No. 206.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 4,*

I HAVE the honour to report that a few days ago I visited the Sublime order to return the visit of Mustapha Reshid Pasha, the Minister for Foreign A There was nothing of particular interest in the conversation, except that opportunity to question him as to the accuracy of a report I had seen in that n paper, to the effect that Mustapha Kemal had telegraphed to the Gov demanding that the new Parliament should be summoned to meet at Brousa, at Constantinople, so that in conducting their deliberations they might be free certain undesirable foreign influences. His Excellency hastened to assure me knew nothing of any such message. I suggested that if the idea were would imply the practical transference of the capital to Brousa, but Reshid

ined that the constitution provided for the event of the Parliament being held in part of the country, and on my further enquiring whether the Sultan would proceed Brousa to inaugurate the new Chamber, he hastened to reply that the basic law ded for this eventuality also. His Excellency was evidently much perturbed at uation I had made to him, and which I have no doubt whatever is correct—a fact it has received confirmation by the present moment that Mustapha Kemal has such a proposal, and in very strong terms.

2. I have the honour to enclose herewith a memorandum which has been written Mr. Hohler on the question of the expulsion of the Turks from Constantinople. I am entirely in concurrence with his views.

I have, &c.

F. M. DE ROBECK,

High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 154.

Memorandum by Mr. T. B. Hohler.

idea of convening the Turkish Parliament at Brousa is perhaps one which be contemplated with favour. We here are in entire ignorance of the real Conference, but it must be permitted to believe that the Turkish Empire will be down to Asia Minor, and not even very probably to the entirety of that; that rule; whilst compliance with an interpretation of the Wilsonian principles may result in the formation of Greek and Kurdish independent States in the West and in the East, two pages of petty prov

2. Th

Pera and Galata have remained comparatively unscathed, but those districts of a cosmopolitan crowd, which gives its character to the town far mor the Turkish population comprised largely of refugees huddled together in

ion which have become exposed by the flames. It seems unsuitable that the of a third-rate kingdom in Asia should still possess so great a capital, the very of which is beyond his means as is being proved at this very time; it is as if a ndowner, whose farm and buildings were in complete dilapidation, should endeavour to occupy and to maintain from family pride some noble old historic castle. Again, if there is any certain lesson to be derived from history, it is that the Turk is incapable of governing even himself, to say nothing of other races, and it is necessary to go no further than Constantinople to obtain at once abundant proof of his

3. I

which

the Turks would be hurt by seeing these places fall from their control, but not those piety or religious fervour

4. It is frequently stated, though there is considerable difficulty in determining with how much truth, that the Turks do not know or will not admit that they have been conquered. It is highly desirable that they should not be left with the shelter of illusion in this respect, and nothing will bring it home to them with [illegible] deprive them of their capital. The Sultanate is now become a very tawdry holiday show, and the present sovereign, a man apparently of high principles and aspirations though of weak character and little courage, and who is entirely averse to the work of the Nationalist party who have brought him into his present position, sits trembling [illegible] bereft of all such brilliancy as still existed [illegible] life. The house of Osman [illegible] would seem to be no prince who [illegible] for ruling people. But from its very [illegible] of conspiracy [illegible] the scheming which will inevitably grow up among [illegible] States which are about to come into being in Asia as a result of the disruption of the Turkish Empire is likely to find a [illegible] soil in Constantinople than if the seat of the Sultanate, and perhaps also of [illegible] are to be transferred to the clearer atmosphere and more peaceful [illegible] Brussa, the early capital of the Turks. It appears to me there is danger of over-estimating the shock to Mussulman feeling at large by the expulsion of the Turks from Constantinople, and I believe there is greater risk, in reality, in leaving them there to brood over their fallen greatness; they understand no treatment but that of force, and they are fairly prepared now to receive a violent shock, and it can hardly be detrimental that the Mussulmans at large should be given [illegible] to perceive that it is entirely disadvantageous to stand against the British Government.

5. The difficulties that beset the question of the Government of the town, should it be taken from the Turks, are obvious, and whilst there seems to be no solution save that of placing it under an international régime, the example of Tangier stands as a warning [illegible] should not [illegible] human ingenuity—if indeed it prove impossible to place it under a single mandatory—to devise some scheme by which an equable and practical administration may be created that will give liberty and justice to the motley population and the varied interests centred here.

[illegible]

[152026 No. 155

Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received November 14.)

(No. 2067.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 4, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith [illegible] report [illegible] R.N.V.R. on the staff of the [illegible] Mediterranean.

2. As the messenger is leaving for England within an hour, there has not been time to copy the report, and one copy only is therefore enclosed.

I have, &c.

J. M. DE ROBECK,
High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 155.

Report on the Situation in Transcaucasia.

"Iron Duke" at Constantinople, November 2, 1919.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to submit the following report on the present political and general situation in Transcaucasia, made as the result of my recent visit to that country.

2. Transcaucasia, that is to say the region bounded on the north by the main Caucasus chain and on the south by the old Russo-Turkish and Russo-Persian frontiers, is at present divided into four separate territories, namely, the three republics of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Russian Armenia (sometimes called the Ararat Republic) and the province of Batum, which is under British military occupation. There are also various small neutral zones, composed of disputed [illegible] The mountainous [illegible] occupation of [illegible] Batum [illegible] province of Batum owes its origin to clause 15 of the Armistice with Turkey, Batum having been at the time of the conclusion of the Armistice in Turkish military occupation.

4. The crucial question in Transcaucasia, a question on which all other [illegible] in the country are dependent, is that of the recognition or otherwise of the [illegible] three republics by the Peace Conference. The question has multitudinous aspects, conditions in the three States differing widely, but there are two facts common to the situation, namely:

(1.) Recognition, if granted, will run counter to the aims of Denikin and Kolchak for an "Undivided Russia."

(2.) Recognition must necessarily be accompanied by a mandate in order to protect the three States both from re-conquest by Russia, and from internecine warfare.

5. Before submitting any observations as to British policy with regard to recognition, I propose to outline briefly political conditions in the three republics severally.

GEORGIA.

Of the three States, Georgia has had the longest continuous independent existence, and perhaps the most pronounced national consciousness. She has a distinct language, script, and an ancient literature, and an independent national Church co-extensive with the kingdom. Kingdom and Church were forcibly absorbed by Russia in 1801, but they never abandoned the hope of recovering independence. When Georgia declared her independence of Russia in 1918, the Church of Georgia similarly renounced its dependence on the Church of Russia, and, while remaining in full communion with the Russian and other Orthodox Churches, has resumed its status of an "autocephalous" and independent Church.

The present Georgian Government is Social Democrat, but anti-Bolshevik. The Georgian people are probably much more conservative than their Government, and it is thought that at the forthcoming elections the parties of the Right will be far more strongly represented than they are in the present Constituent Assembly.

The instinct of the Georgian people is naturally sympathetic to any Power that is [illegible] to the Bolshevists, with whom they have nothing in common. Any manifestation of Bolshevism in Georgia is rigidly suppressed, and the bulk of the [illegible] agents in the country are Russians and Jews, not Georgians. On the other hand, Georgians are in a quandary as regards Denikin. They sympathise with him in his war against Bolshevism, but they cannot but regard him as the principal [illegible]

opponent of their independence. Denikin has made it abundantly clear that an independent Georgia is incompatible with what he is fighting for, namely, undivided Russia, so to the Georgians, the ultimate success of Denikin means the end of their independence, unless some mandatory intervenes to preserve it.

With Azerbaijan, Georgian relations are on the whole cordial, despite some points of difference, mainly commercial. Georgia has, for example, lent the Azerbaijan army a number of her officers, and both countries are united by a common dread of reincorporation by Russia, and to a lesser degree, by a common dislike of their mutual neighbour, Armenia.

As regards the latter, Georgian antipathy is directed against Armenia individually rather than against the Armenian Republic. Georgia is quite capable of making common cause with Armenia and Azerbaijan for the purpose of preserving Transcaucasian independence as against Russia. She probably dislikes the Armenians within her own borders more than those beyond them, the reason being that the bulk of the wealth of the country has found its way into Armenian pockets.

All the best houses in Tiflis are owned by Armenians, and although the Armenian Republic is as a neighbour somewhat of a *mauvais coucheur*, Georgia is inclined to [illegible] sence a means of ridding herself of a number of unwelcome guests.

The Turks the Christian Georgians, who form the overwhelming majority of the race, are unhesitatingly hostile. Moslem Georgians living in Batum [illegible] have bonds of sympathy with the Turks, but carry no political weight. At the [illegible] time, there is said to be a Georgian representative at the headquarters of M. Kemal, the reason doubtless being that Georgia, in her desperate eagerness for independence, is prepared to accept recognition wherever she can get it. This reason also explains Georgia's friendly relations with Germany prior to the German collapse. Germany, aware of the importance of Georgia's geographical [illegible] on the direct route to Persia, Afghanistan, and India, bargained with [illegible] Turkey to secure Georgian independence, which she was the first officially to recognise, and even now Germany is making efforts to capture Georgian sympathy and Georgian trade. Her argument to Georgia is as follows: "Russia and Germany are bound to come together once Russia has been reconstituted. Russia will need German help, and Germany will make the independence of Georgia one of the conditions on which she will afford that help. In return, Germany asks for the monopoly of the concessions granted by Georgia." Quite recently Germany has invited Georgia to send 300 Georgian children to Germany to be educated free of charge in German schools.

Azerbaijan

The national or separatist movement in Azerbaijan is of much more recent growth than in Georgia or Armenia. It was, in fact, unheard of until 1917. Georgia took the lead in the idea of separation from Russia, and from the [illegible] of the Tatars of Baku than of any similar group of Tatars elsewhere. But the idea of independence has by now taken deep root, and the Azerbaijanis, while [illegible] friendly to the Russian people, and while anxious for economic reasons to be on good terms with Russia, who is their natural customer, would be prepared to fight [illegible] than go back to the old régime of incorporation with a centralising Russia.

The members of the two principal political parties in Azerbaijan, the Musavat [illegible] sympathetic so far as his fight against Bolshevism is concerned, suspicious as [illegible] his Pan Russian aims.

Relations between Azerbaijan and Denikin [illegible] latter's policy in Daghestan. Azerbaijan [illegible] that Denikin has now occupied that region, and has proceeded to conscript the Moslem population (which under the Tsarist régime was exempt from conscription) has [illegible] abetting. Towards the end of October Denikin notified Azerbaijan that he [illegible] not tolerate the Azerbaijani flag on the Caspian, and this, together with the [illegible] in Daghestan, has caused much alarm at Baku, where it is feared that an [illegible] by Denikin may be impending.

The natural dislike of the Azerbaijanis to the Armenians is made use of by the Turks and the Kurds, who do their best to incite them to attack Armenian villages and massacre their inhabitants. This they do in the belief that, the smaller the number of Armenians in the world, the smaller will be the territory to be [illegible]

There is a certain amount of sympathy for Turkey in Azerbaijan, but the feeling, due largely to pan-Islamic propaganda, is sentimental rather than practical. It is discounted to a considerable extent by the fact that three-quarters of the Moslems of Azerbaijan are Shiahs, and only one-quarter Sunni, and the Azerbaijanis, who are a practical people, are well aware that Turkey is not in a position to do anything for them. This does not prevent them from making use of Turkish officers to stiffen their army.

It should be added that the republic of Azerbaijan has no connection with the [illegible] Azerbaijan are Tatars also, but there is no question of their withdrawing from Persian rule and joining the republic.

Armenia

The Republic of Armenia, as it exists at present, lies entirely within what was formerly Russian territory, but it is understood that three schemes for its ultimate boundaries have been propounded. These schemes are:—

(1.) Nubar Pasha's project of a vast Armenia running from the Black Sea and Persian frontier to the Mediterranean at Alexandretta. In this area the Armenians form only about 3 per cent. of the total population.

(2.) The "Six Vilayets" scheme, namely the existing Armenia with the vilayets of Sivas, Erzerum, Kharput (Mamuret-el-Aziz), Diarbekr, Bitlis and Van.

(3.) The so-called "Erivan project," namely existing Armenia with the vilayet of Erzerum, that part of the vilayet of Trebizond east of Kerasund, and roughly the portions of the vilayets of Van and Bitlis north of the 30th parallel of latitude.

[illegible] which corresponds [illegible] the [illegible] is said [illegible] the [illegible] of the present Armenian Republic.

The President of Armenia, M. Hatissian, is a wealthy Georgian Armenian, who [illegible] a successful Mayor of Tiflis, and has with commendable patriotism left [illegible] business in order to devote himself to the new Armenia. In politics he [illegible] party, which controls and even terrorises the Government. The [illegible] showed more boldness in the field in leading the Volunteer Bands against the Turks, and thereby securing such independence as Armenia has already won. But in politics their influence is pernicious. They are intensely socialistic, they [illegible] by threats and blackmail they are [illegible] the prosperous *bourgeois* Armenians of Tiflis, Baku, Rostov, Batum, &c., [illegible] ion they would lose their political supremacy and their monopoly of [illegible] ment posts. It is evident that the Dashnakists prefer a small and chaotic [illegible] controlled by themselves to a settled Armenia which would attract the [illegible] and more constructive elements of the Armenian race.

6. The one point upon which all persons with whom I spoke in Transcaucasia were unanimous—such persons including British officers, British civilians with long [illegible] ity of their anti-German feeling. [illegible] came in contact that whether Bolshevism [illegible] not a positive [illegible]

Again, it is evident that reconstituted Russia will make every effort not only to recover Transcaucasia, but also to resume her pre-war activities in Persia. At this very moment M. Sazonof is said to be seeking to obtain for Russian interests [illegible]

of the future will find it difficult to forgive the Anglo-Persian agreement. [illegible] is admitted, the wisdom from the British point of view of detaching Tr[illegible] from Russia, and from German influence, can scarcely be doubted, not so much on account of the wealth of the country, as on account of creating a buffer between a more or less Germanised Russia on the one hand, and Persia, Mesopotamia, [illegible] India on the other. In other words, the strong desire of the Transcaucasian [illegible] for independence of Russia coincides with what seem to be the true interests [illegible] British policy.

The existence in some form or other of an independent Armenia is presum[illegible] foregone conclusion. Georgia has already been assured of the sympathy of H[illegible] Majesty's Government, the completion of the Transcaucasian buffer by the inclusion of Azerbaijan would not seem, therefore, to involve any departure from a[illegible]

[illegible] three States are to be recognised it will be necessary, as stated [illegible] should be placed under one mandatory Power, both to preserve them [illegible] reconquest by Russia and to prevent them from becoming a second Balkans. It would not seem desirable that the mandatory should be Great Britain, for whoever takes [illegible] of Russia. Moreover, we have no need to contr[illegible] [illegible]h, namely, the oil, can have no other market than Russia. The United States, with her well known sentimental interest [illegible] Armenians and her less widely advertised but equally keen interest in Ca[illegible] would seem from the British point of view the most desirable mandatory, [illegible] being best able to bear the brunt of Russian hostility. But if she can be ind[illegible] accept the mandate it should not be a nominal American mandate in w[illegible] of the work as performed by British officers lent to the United States for the [illegible] In such a case the blame for any mistakes would tend to fall on the British [illegible] the kudos for success to be monopolised by the mandatory Power.

8. It cannot be said that the Americans at present officially employed in the Caucasus have given those with whom they have worked or come in contact a [illegible] favourable impression of American methods. Colonel Haskell, the Allied H[illegible] Commissioner, who is said to have been the nominee of Mr. Hoover, has an [illegible] not only Transcaucasians, but his own subordinates, by his tactlessness, his [illegible] bearing methods, and his disinclination to remedy his ignorance of local conditions by consulting persons acquainted with the country. It is believed in Tiflis that [illegible] departure is due to General Harbord's recommendation for his recall. Colonel R[illegible] U.S.A. is at present replacing him as Acting High Commissioner.

The unofficial relief organisation known as the A.C.R.N.E. (American Comm[illegible] for Relief in the Near East) has lately been taken over by an official mi[illegible] known as the N.E.R. (Near East Relief), which is controlled by the United S[illegible] army. The army officers who have been sent out in charge of this organisation [illegible] to have made themselves very disliked by the natives, and there is also a good deal of friction between them and the remaining volunteer workers belonging to the A.C.R.N.E. They have the reputation of being extremely dictatorial and h[illegible] [illegible] thing of native habits or ways of thought. The officers I met in Armenia bea[illegible] this reputation. Their organisation of relief work, judging from what I saw of [illegible] Erivan, and from what I have heard there and elsewhere in Armenia, leaves to [illegible] be desired. They appear to combine relief work with business; their flour is [illegible] [illegible] cent., and their staff includes experts in oil and cotton. An English mining engineer long resident in the Caucasus told me that he had recently been invited by a N.E.R. officer to undertake on his behalf the Georgia agency for the purchase of wo[illegible] [illegible]

It is only fair to say that several of the Americans realise their lack of qual[illegible] tions to deal with Eastern races, and openly express the hope that if the United [illegible] accepts the Transcaucasian mandate she will be able to rely on the loan of Brit[illegible] officers with Eastern experience.

There is an impression in Tiflis that General Harbord's recommendation is in favour of an American mandate for Transcaucasia, provided that it is accompanied by the mandate for Turkey.

9. The Italian missions in the country are nothing more or less than comm[illegible] agents for Germany, a fact of which everyone in Transcaucasia is fully aware. [illegible] purpose is to obtain timber, mining and railway concessions from the three republics.

I learned from a reliable source in Baku that at the time when the question of an Italian mandate for the Caucasus was under consideration the Italian terms as [illegible] Azerbaijan included the following:—

(1.) The forced substitution of Italian paper lire for the local currency at the rate of 40 roubles to the paper lira.
(2.) The collection by Italy of all royalties on oil exported from Baku.
(3.) The appropriation by Italy of 50 per cent. of the shares of each of the oil companies working at Baku.

10. Another instrument of German propaganda is to be found in the wireless stations at Tiflis and Baku, which take in daily viâ Moscow a large quantity of German press news. The news, which appears to be just as offensive to the *Entente* as it was in war time, is published in full in the local newspapers. The stations are worked by the Georgian and Azerbaijan Governments respectively. When I enquired why no British press news was apparently taken in from Basra, it was stated, with what truth I cannot say, that it was because Basra messages were made too quickly [illegible] can be taken in without difficulty.

In addition to the Georgian Government W/T Station at Tiflis the Italian mission has at Tiflis a receiving station.

The Armenian Government has a station at Erivan which is not yet in working [illegible]

11. From the material point of view, as also in the interests of British trade, it is desirable that the fate of the Transcaucasian States should be settled as soon [illegible] possible. There are good openings for British capital in the country in the [illegible] suspended. The great need of the country is exchange on Europe, which [illegible] sent indeterminate position it cannot obtain.

The absence of a controlling authority able to deal with the conflicting interests of the three republics is also responsible for much overlapping in railway adminis[illegible] and for mutually invidious treatment as regards the importation of goods [illegible] each of the three States insists on separately managing its own section [illegible] Transcaucasian railways. There are unwise and vexatious Customs [illegible] the train personnel changes at each frontier, and there is no pooling of the [illegible] rolling-stock. This inability to combine in a direction where combination [illegible] all concerned would no doubt be at once corrected [illegible] Similarly the mandatory Power would prevent Georgia [illegible] putting, as she is doing at present, every obstacle in the way of supplies [illegible]ring Armenia, such supplies having to pass in transit through Georgia. She would also no doubt put a stop to the present practice whereby the politicians in [illegible] up the prices of the necessaries of life, thus unconsciously encouraging Bolshevism.

12. The present position of the oil industry at Baku is briefly as follows:—

Some 160 firms are working in the district, but 85 per cent. of the total output is controlled by four groups, namely: Nobel Brothers, the Shell group, the Lianosoff group, and the Russian Société Neft, who in turn have certain working agreements between themselves in connexion with output, the use of the Transcaucasian pipe line, employment and payment of labour, &c.

The most powerful group is Nobel Brothers, who are not only producers, but also refiners and distributors on a large scale, and who, besides dealing with their [illegible] products, purchase from other producers, and have controlling [illegible] [illegible]anies working in other parts of Russia. Nobel Brothers have their own fleet [illegible] [illegible]g tankers and river barges, the latter including motor-driven craft [illegible] up to 5,000 tons of oil in bulk.

[illegible] Nobels are a Swedish family established in Russia, but the bulk of the [illegible] or was until quite recently, German. I heard, however, at Baku that [illegible] no definite details as to the deal were obtainable locally.

The Shell group, besides its own produce from the former Rothschild [illegible]anies at Baku, controls that of other companies at Grozni and in Transcaspia [illegible] numerous refineries, and through its subsidiary, the Société Mazut, which has [illegible] storage in all the principal Russian towns, as well as steamers and tank [illegible] in normal times does a large distributing business throughout Russia.

The Lianosoff group is financed by Russian banks with the assistance of the Russian and General Oil Trust, an Anglo-French concern. Quite recently Nobel Brothers have bought up a large number of the shares of this trust, which they now control to a certain extent.

The Russian Société Neft, originally a small distributor of naphtha produced in Russia, and then a producer in the Baku district, has within the last six years expanded into a powerful group, with the aid of French capital provided through Messrs. Louis Dreyfus and Co., of Paris.

The Standard Oil Company has lately made an unsuccessful attempt to acquire a footing in the Baku district.

The overwhelming bulk of the Baku oil products is consumed in Russia. It cannot, except as regards lubricants, and to a certain extent, kerosene, compete further west with Roumania, Galician, and American products. The mazut is sent to Russia *via* the Volga, where it is used for fuel on the railways, &c. The bulk of the kerosene goes to Russia for home consumption, although a certain quantity is sent abroad *via* Batum, whither it is conveyed by the pipe-line. Baku oils are exceptionally rich in lubricants, of which large quantities are shipped abroad. On the other hand they give but small percentages of benzine and paraffin.

As no Baku oil now passes into Bolshevist Russia, storage accommodation at Baku is taxed to its utmost, and unless the Russian market is opened up before long the producers will be faced with the alternatives of letting the oil run to waste or of closing down production. There are now stored at Baku 3,500,000 tons of oil, and the impossibility of procuring the necessary materials prevents the storage accommodation from being enlarged.

[illegible] would inevitably ensue. The labour employed at the Baku oil fields amounts to 80,000 men, representing almost the entire industrial labour of Azerbaijan; if these men were to be discharged, or were put on reduced wages owing to unemployment, the resulting industrial upheaval would have the most serious effects both on the oil-fields and on the country generally. The labour is composed almost equally of Tatars, Persians, and Armenians.

The normal output from the Baku area up [illegible] and 600,000 tons monthly. Since then it has dropped [illegible] and 350,000 tons. This decrease is partly into [illegible] machinery.

The Baku-Batum [illegible] with pumping stations at intervals of [illegible] line has not been [illegible] demand [illegible]

[illegible] pledged to the Azerbaijan Government by the [illegible] advances required by them for [illegible]

[illegible] at Baku is at present nearly at a standstill. [illegible] communication is that provided by the Mercury Company with Petrovsk, [illegible] Lenkoran, and the Persian port of Enzeli. Dockyard activities [illegible]

14. A word should be added as to the future of Batum province. [illegible] is, of course, most anxious to take it over, but he could only do so (assuming we were to evacuate it) at the cost of war with Georgia, and probably with Azerbaijan and Armenia as well. The fate of Batum is linked with that of Transcaucasia generally, and if it is decided to recognise the Transcaucasian republics, Batum must be united with the State of which ethnologically and geographically it is a part, namely Georgia. The only other possible claimant is Armenia, who might wish to control one end of the Transcaucasian railway, but ethnologically such a claim could not be substantiated.

As regards the armies of the Transcaucasian States, Georgia has an army of about 60,000, with over 3,000 officers. She has, in fact, more officers than she can at present employ.

The Azerbaijan army is thought to consist of about 20,000 regulars, with perhaps twice that number of irregulars.

The Armenian army consists of 20,000 regular troops, but only has uniforms for 1,000.

Each of these armies possesses several competent native generals who have seen [illegible] as generals in the old Russian army.

A certain number of Russian officers of Russian nationality is also employed in the Armenian army.

I have &c.

H. C. LUKE, *Lieutenant Commander, R.N.V.R.*
Political Officer.

152298

No. 156.

India Office to Foreign Office.—(Received November 15.)

Sir,

India Office, November 14, 1919.

I AM directed by the Secretary of State for India to forward for submission to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, a translation of a note read by Ahmad-ibn-Thunayan [illegible]

Mr. Montagu would suggest that, with Lord Curzon's concurrence, the questions raised in this note might be considered at an early [illegible] Committee on Middle Eastern Affairs.

The hope was expressed at the interview that [illegible] answer to Ahmad-ibn-Thunayan as from [illegible] to be held before the departure [illegible]

I. D. W. [illegible]

Enclosure in No. 156.

Note read to India Office and Foreign Office Joint Conference on behalf of Ibn Saud by Ahmad-ibn-Thunayan, November 1, 1919.

(Translation.)

As [illegible] the subjects of Ibn Saud and Shereef Abdullah, His Majesty's Government sent an official representation through their consul at Jeddah to the effect that Ibn Saud [illegible] of His Majesty's Government committed [illegible]

[illegible] has troops from the Hedjaz, His Majesty's Government would treat him as an [illegible] and sever relations with him and discontinue his subsidy. Ibn Saud [illegible] the tenour of this representation and said: "What has caused His Government to write thus?" seeing that he had frequently informed His Government of the attitude of the Shereef and his acts of aggression against [illegible] of Nejd, and had gone so far as to request the despatch of a [illegible] difficulties existing between him and the Sh[illegible] and His Majest[illegible] the aggression [illegible]

[illegible] Government had sent Mr. Philby by air to meet Ibn Saud, and had se[illegible]

Now the requests of Ibn Saud are as follo[illegible]

[illegible] ence in his internal affairs, and the realisation of all the provisions mentioned in

the preliminary agreement and its ratification anew on both sides with a view to giv[illegible] effect to it.

If you honour [illegible] patent to north [illegible] and that which is [illegible] prophet: "Whose benedicteth the [illegible] Turaba, and Kunfuda, and Basha, [illegible] have done before and freq[illegible] if it is not sent the above are our boundaries, as we [illegible] with the instructions of Ibn Saud, and whose transg[illegible]

4. The q[illegible] Nejd. This [illegible] but if it i[illegible]

[illegible] enhancement of the original temporary subsidy and continuance in perpetuity for the rehabilitation of his territories from the ruin caused by internal wars and during their occupation by the Turks, and on their being by Ibn Rashid for a period of twenty fifty years.

5. The question of the demarcation of the boundary and of the despatch of Mr. Philby to Ibn Saud as desired by the latter as political agent empowered for the solution of this problem and other kindred problems, and for the purpose of [illegible] discussion with Ibn Saud, as he has some knowledge of our conditions and those of neighbours, whether States or cities, seeing that he has been long in Arabia.

[152998 No. 157

Colonel C. E. Wilson to Major Young.—(Received at Foreign Office, November 18.)

My dear Young,

I SEND you the following remarks w[illegible] [illegible]ing Hussein's probable abdication [illegible] considered opinion of Emir Abdulla the [illegible] of influence in the Hedjaz I have met, is that should Hussein abdicate [illegible] something very like general anarchy in the Hedjaz, and I think it probable that unanimous opinion is correct. Such a state of affairs would not be good for [illegible] Imperial interests. It is unlikely that the Akhwan would remain quiet, [illegible] would probably attempt a serious invasion of the Hedjaz.

In my humble opinion, the Akhwan movement is the most troublesome [illegible] the Arabian situation; the longer the Indian Government supports Ibn [illegible] have up to date, the longer will be the series of difficult situations which will [illegible] His Majesty's Government, whether Hussein abdicates, dies, or remains in his [illegible] position.

Hussein and the Arab chiefs believe that the Indian Government is subord[illegible] His Majesty's Government, and it is difficult for them to understand why the Moslem Power in the world should support a sectarian movement which aims at overthrow of orthodox Islam.

Denys Bray (Political, Simla) in a private letter to me, dated last July, wr[illegible] "The lifting of the Akhwan menace was indeed a relief. Had it materialised, effect in India would, of course have been appalling."

I am prepared to believe that Ibn Saud personally is loyal [illegible] a "whole hogger" in wishing to convert Islam generally to Wahabism [illegible] ion of the Akhwan was probably carried out with a view to political, rather [illegible] gious, aggrandisement but we must take facts as they are, and Ibn Saud [illegible] of the really fanatical Akhwan; thus, support given to the former is [illegible] support given to the Akhwan movement.

Hussein holds that there is no difference between "orthodox" Wahabism and Akhwan movement; I do. The latter is essentially a fanatical movement of a militant and aggressive nature.

I submit it is important for us to do all we can to keep Hussein from abdicating for the present, and a definite declaration on His Majesty's Government's part that they recognise Khurma, Turaba and Basha as being within the legitimate boundaries of the Hedjaz would probably keep him going, and I suggest that I be given some such message to deliver to him from His Majesty's Government. At the same time, Hussein should be asked to depute a responsible representative to go to Cairo (I would try and get Abdulla sent) to meet a representative of Ibn Saud there to fix on a boundary. I entirely disagree with Philby that a boundary commission should [illegible] any permanent result.

Should something on these lines be approved, I would suggest that a message be sent to Hussein saying that I will be leaving for Jeddah shortly and will discuss the whole situation with him, including His Majesty's Government's proposal for dealing [illegible] the Hedjaz Nejd boundary question.

Hussein has frequently expressed his intention of visiting England when peace with Turkey is concluded if he has not previously resigned. I suggest that I be given [illegible]ity to tell him that His Majesty's Government would welcome a [illegible] am inclined to think that if Hussein came here the result would be [illegible] "off his chest," and it would prove a cool education [illegible] England would also tend to keep him fro[illegible] of the general situation in the East, would, I think, be harmful for us at the [illegible]

[illegible] reference to Cheetham's suggestion that we should get Hussein to nominate [illegible] his successor, I have given a lot of thought to the situation which might possibly be created in the event of Hussein's abdication, and think I told you that the [illegible] as King, &c., if he makes good his position. I cannot recommend this course but [illegible] it has many obvious drawbacks, though less serious than approaching Hussein [illegible] own Prince.

[illegible] not impossible, to separate [illegible] Emirate of Mecca and the latter appointment be[illegible] Caliph may move on our part in appointing or trying to [illegible] Sherif of Mecca is likely to be resented by Moslems [illegible]

[illegible] best policy is to do everything in reason to k[illegible] case until the Turkish treaty is signed, and t[illegible]

[illegible] trusted His Majesty's Government, but his belief in our intentions has been severely strained owing to the way in which we have hitherto [illegible] with the Khurma question. If we take a sympathetic line with him now, [illegible] as well as we can, and give him confidence, we retain his trust, and need have no fear that he will not carry on relations with foreign countries exclusively through us.

[illegible] you can spare the time I should much like to have a talk with you [illegible] Government's views.

Owing to my intimate and [illegible] should like to [illegible] and, indeed, than[illegible]

[illegible] years underrated, and that he can be made as useful to us in peace [illegible] the last three years of the war.

Sincerely yours,

C. E. WILSON.

[153432] No. 158.

Correspondence between Sherif of Mecca and His Majesty's High Commissioner, Cairo. (Received at the Foreign Office, November 19.)

Communication from Sherif of Mecca to Mr. Storrs, Oriental Secretary to British Representative, Cairo.

To the dear honourable, may God protect him.

I PRESENT to your dear honour my affectionate regards and respects, and [illegible] will to your best to make the enclosed note, containing the p[illegible] effective, as you are capable of doing [illegible] not be anxious about the ideas of the people here, because they are closely bound your Government by community of interests

Do not be at pains to send aeroplanes or men-of-war to throw reports [illegible] rumours, as was done before, because the matter is now decided

What we desire to beg you is to open the way for the Egyptian Government send the charitable offerings of corn for the Holy lands, *i.e.*, Mecca and Med which were stopped since last year

For verily, the sending of this grain for this year and last would be an imp[illegible] factor in laying the foundations of our mutual advantage

This should suffice for a person of your grasp.

In conclusion I offer you my best salaams and respects.

July 14, 1915 *2nd Ramadan* 1333.

Kindly do not trouble to send any correspondence until you see the result of [illegible] the bearer only, and, if you should think fit, give him a written token to make it for [illegible] to reach you when we find it necessary

It is all right

Enclosed with foregoing

To his Honour

WHEREAS the whole of the Arab nation without any exception have de[illegible] in these last years to live, and to accomplish their freedom and grasp the rein[illegible] their Administration both in theory and practice, and whereas they have found [illegible] felt that it is to the interest of the Government of Great Britain to support them [illegible] and them to the attainment of their firm and lawful intentions (which are based [illegible] the maintenance of the honour and dignity of their life) without any ulterior m[illegible] whatsoever unconnected with this object.

And whereas it is to their (Arabs') interest also to prefer the assistance of [illegible] Government of Great Britain in consideration of their geographical position [illegible] economic interests, and also of the attitude of the above mentioned Gove[illegible] which is known to both nations and therefore need not be emphasized.

For these reasons the Arab nation sees fit to limit themselves, as time is [illegible] to asking the Government of Great Britain, if it should think fit, for the a[illegible] leaving out all things considered secondary in comparison with these, so that it [illegible] all means necessary for attaining this noble purpose, until such time as [illegible] occasion for making the actual negotiations —

Firstly England to acknowledge the independence of the Arab cou[illegible] bounded on the north by Mersina Adana up to the 37° of latitude, on which d[illegible] falls Birejik, Urfa, Mardin Midiat, Amadia Island, up to the border of Persia [illegible] the east by the borders of Persia up to the Gulf of Basra, on the south by the [illegible] Ocean, with the exception of the position of Aden to remain as it is, on the [illegible]

[illegible] Red Sea, the Mediterranean Sea up to Mersina England to approve of the proclamation of an Arab Khalifate of Islam

Secondly—The Arab Government of the Sherif to acknowledge that England [illegible] have the preference in all economic enterprises in the Arab countries whenever [illegible] tions of enterprises are otherwise equal

Thirdly—For the security of this Arab independence and the certainty of such preference of economic enterprises, both high contracting parties to offer mutual [illegible] to the best ability of their military and naval forces, to face any foreig[illegible] which may attack either party Peace not to be decided without agreement of both parties.

Fourthly—If one of the parties enters upon an aggressive conflict, the other [illegible] to assume a neutral attitude, and in case of such party wishing the other to [illegible] forces, both to meet and discuss the conditions

Fifthly.—England to acknowledge the abolition of foreign privileges in the [illegible] countries, and to assist the Government of the Sherif in an international Convention for confirming such abolition

Sixthly—Articles 3 and 4 of this Treaty to remain in vigour for 15 years, and if either wishes it to be renewed, one year's notice before lapse of treaty to be given [illegible] agreed and united for the attainment, at all costs and lands, of this noble object, [illegible] in a period of 30 days after receiving this intimation; and if this period should lapse before they receive an answer, they reserve to themselves complete freedom of action Moreover we (Sherif's family) will consider ourselves free in word and deed from the bonds of our previous declaration which we made through Ali Effi

[Undated and unsigned.]

(2.)

Sir H. McMahon to His Highness the Sherif Hussein (telegram), dated August 30, 1915.

After compliments and salutations.

We have the honour to thank you for your frank expressions of the sincerity of your feeling towards England We rejoice moreover that your Highness and your people are of one opinion, that Arab interests are English interests and English Arab. To this intent we confirm to you the terms of Lord Kitchener's message, which reached you by the hand of Ali Effendi, and in which was stated clearly our [illegible] the independence of Arabia and its dependants, together with our approval of the Arab Kaliphate when it should be proclaimed We declare once more that His Majesty's Government would welcome the resumption of the Kaliphate to by an Arab of true race. With regard to the questions of limits, [illegible] such details in the heat of war, and while, in many portions of them, the [illegible] and regret, that some of the Arabs in those very parts, far from assisting us, are [illegible] inform us how and where they should be delivered We are moreover arranging for this [illegible] and helped on any journey he may make [illegible]

Friendly reassurances Salutations.

(Signed) A. H. McMAHON.

(3.)

English Translation of Letter from the Sherif of Mecca to Sir H. McMahon, His Majesty's High Commissioner, Cairo, dated September 9, 1915 [29th Shawal, 1333].

To His Excellency the Most Exalted, the Most Eminent—The British [illegible] Commissioner in Egypt; may God grant him Success

WITH great cheerfulness and delight I received your letter, dated 19th Sha[illegible] 1333 (30th August, 1915), and have given it great consi[illegible]eration and regard, in spite the impression I received from it of ambiguity and its tone of coldness and hesit[illegible] with regard to our essential point.

It is necessary to make clear to your Excellency our sincerity towards the illus[illegible] British Empire, and our confession of preference for it in all cases and matters and [illegible] all forms and circumstances. The real interests of the followers of our rel[illegible] necessitate this.

Nevertheless, your Excellency will pardon me and permit me to say clearly [illegible] the coldness and hesitation which you have displayed in the question of the limits [illegible] boundaries by saying that the discussion of these at present is of no use an[illegible] time, and that they are still in the hands of the Government which is ruling [illegible] ought be taken to infer an estrangement or something of the sort.

As these limits and boundaries demanded are not those of one person who[illegible] should satisfy and with whom we should discuss them after the war is over, but [illegible] peoples have seen that the life of their new proposal is bound at least by these [illegible] their word is pledged on this.

Therefore they have found it necessary to first discuss this point with the [illegible] whom they now have their confidence and trust as a final appeal, viz., illustrious British Empire.

Literal translation of the above passage.)

"And therefore they saw the discussion in it first the place of their con[illegible] and trust the axis of final appeal now, and that is the illustrious British Emp[illegible]

Their reason for this union and confidence is mutual interest, the necessity of regulating territorial divisions

and

the feelings of their inhabitants, so that they [illegible] life, so not to meet her (England?) or any of her allies in opposition to their re[illegible] which would produce a contrary result, which God forbid

(Literal translation of above passage as follows)

"the feelings of its inhabitants to know how to base their future and live for[illegible] to meet her or one of its allies in front of their resolution when the thing[illegible] a contrary result, which God forbid."

For the object is, honourable Minister, the truth which is established on [illegible] which guarantees the essential sources of life in future.

Yet within these limits they have not included places inhabited b[illegible] of words and titles

[illegible] whether you are satisfied with us as has been or angry

With reference to your remark in your letter above mentioned, that some of [illegible] people are still doing their utmost in promoting the interests of Turkey your [illegible] (*i.e.*, "Perfidious") would not permit you to make this an excuse for the tone of [illegible] and hesitation with regard to our demands, demands which I cannot admit that [illegible] a man of sound opinion, will deny to be necessary for our existence; nay, they [illegible] essential essence of our life, material and moral.

Up to the present moment I am myself, with all my might, carrying out in my country all things in conformity with the Islamic law all things which tend to benefit [illegible]

[illegible] order to reassure your Excellency, I can declare that the whole country, [illegible] those who you say are submitting themselves to Turco-German orders, [illegible] ing the result of these negotiations, which are dependent only on your refusal or acceptance the question of the limits, and in your declaration of safeguarding their religion first and then the rest of rights from any harm or danger.

Whatever the illustrious Government of Great Britain finds conformable to its [illegible] is subject communicate it to us and specify to us the course we should [illegible]

In all cases it is only God's will which shall be executed, and it is God who is the real factor in everything.

With regard to our d[illegible]

[illegible] the said grain is from the special Wakfs, and has nothing to do with [illegible]

If you think it should be, let the grain of the two years be transported in a special [illegible] to Jeddah in an official manner, in the name of all the natives as usual, and [illegible] of the steamer or the special "Mamur" detailed as usual every y[illegible] on his arrival at the port, will send to the Governor of Jeddah asking for [illegible] of the grain at Jeddah, or a responsible official to take over the grain, and [illegible] necessary receipt signed by the said Mamur, that is, the Mamur of the [illegible] himself. He should make it a condition that he would accept any receipt but [illegible]

[illegible] steamer or the "Mamur" (detailed with the grain) should [illegible] in is anything contrary to this arrangement, he should warn [illegible]

[illegible] tee detailed with him, which is known as the committee of the grain for the festivals, will take over the grain in the proper form.

[illegible] we accept my best regards and salutations.

If you choose to send a reply to this, please send it with bearer.

29th Shawal, 1333 [September 9, 1915].

(4.)

Letter from Sir H. McMahon, His Majesty's High Commissioner, Cairo, to the Sherif of Mecca, dated October 25, 1915.

To the Sherif of Mecca (with titles).

October 25, 1915.

I HAVE received your letter of 29th Shawal with much pleasure, and expressions of friendliness and sincerity have given me the greatest satisfaction.

I regret that you should have received from my last letter the impression that I regarded the question of the limits and boundaries with coldness and hesitation; such was not the case, but it appeared to me that the moment had not yet arrived when they could be most profitably discussed.

I have realised, however, from your last letter that you regard this question as of vital and urgent importance. I have therefore lost no time in informing the Government of Great Britain of the contents of your letter, and it is with great pleasure that I communicate to you on their behalf the following statement, which I am confident you will receive with satisfaction.

The districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Hama, Homs, and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab, and should be excluded from the proposed limits and boundaries.

With the above modification, and without prejudice to our existing treaties [illegible] Arab chiefs, we accept those limits and boundaries and, in regard to those portions [illegible] in which Great Britain is free to act without detriment to [illegible] interests of her ally France, I [illegible] empowered in the name of the Government [illegible] Great Britain to give the following assurances and make the following reply to your [illegible]

Subject to the above modifications, Great Britain is prepared to recognise [illegible] support the independence of the Arabs within the territories included in the li[illegible] and boundaries proposed by the Sherif of Mec[illegible]

[illegible]eat Britain will guarantee the Holy Places against all external aggression [illegible] will recognise their inviolability.

When the situation admits, Great Britain will give to the Arabs her advice, [illegible] will assist them to establish what may appear to be the most suitable forms [illegible] government in those various territories.

On the other hand, it is understood that the Arabs have d[illegible] [illegible]t Britain only, and that such E[illegible] formation of a s[illegible] necessitate spe[illegible] foreign aggression, [illegible] to the welfare o[illegible] interests.

I am convinced that this declaration will assure you beyond all p[illegible] the sympathy of Great Britain towards the aspirations of her traditional friends [illegible] Arabs, and will result in a firm and la[illegible] will be the expulsion of the Turks from the Arab countries and the [illegible] Arab peoples from the Turkish [illegible] which for so many years has pressed heavily upon them.

I have confined myself in this letter to the more vital and [illegible] and if there are any other matters dealt with in your letters which I have [illegible] mention we may discuss them at some convenient date in the future.

It was with very great relief and satisfaction that I heard of the safe arrival of [illegible] Holy Carpet and the accompanying offerings, which, thanks to the clearness of [illegible] directions and the excellence of your arrangements, were landed without trou[illegible] mishap, in spite of the dangers and difficulties occasioned by the present sad war. [illegible] God soon bring a lasting peace and freedom to all peoples.

I am sending this letter by the hand of your trusted and excellent [illegible]kh Mohammed Ibn Arif Aravfan, and he will inform you of vario[illegible] [illegible]rest, but of less vital importance, which I have not mentioned in this letter.

(Here follow the usual compliments.)

[illegible] McM[illegible]

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(5)

Translation of a Letter from the Sherif of Mecca to Sir H. McMahon, His Ma[illegible] High Commissioner, Cairo, dated 27 el Hijj, 1[illegible] November 5, 1915.

[illegible] TRANSLATION.

(In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate.)

To his Excellency the most exalted and eminent Minister who is endowed wi[illegible] highest authority and soundness of opinion. May God guide him to [illegible] Will!

I RECEIVED with great pleasure your honoured letter, dated 15th Zul[illegible] (24th October, 1915), to which I beg to answer as follows:—

1. In order to facilitate an agreement and to render a service to Islam, and [illegible]ne to avoid all that may cause Islam troubles and hardships—seeing me[illegible] that we have great considerat[illegible] Government of Great Britain—we renounce our ins[illegible] vilayets of Mersina and Adana in the Arab Kingdom. But the provinces of [illegible]

and Beyrut and their sea-coasts are purely Arab provinces, and there is no difference between a Moslem and a Christian Arab; they are both descendants of one fore[illegible]

We Moslems will follow the footsteps of the Commander of the Faithful, Omar Ibn Khattab, and other Khalifs succeeding him, who ordained in the laws of the [illegible] [illegible]at Moslems should treat the Christians as they treat themselves. He, [illegible] with reference to Christians "they who have the same privileges and [illegible] as it accords with the general interest of the whole nati[illegible]

2. As the provinces of Irak are parts of the pure Arab [illegible] the seat of its Governments in the time of Ali Ibn Abu Tal[illegible] Khalifs who succeeded him; and as in them beg[illegible] as their [illegible] are the first [illegible] and near, and their traditions cannot be forgotten by them. Consequently we cannot [illegible] the Arab nations or make them submit to give up such a title to nobility [illegible] to render an accord easy, and take [illegible] mentioned [illegible] in that [illegible] have [illegible] the Ji[illegible] them [illegible]

[illegible] Moslems of [illegible]

[illegible] influence, will direct their efforts to [illegible] shown in our action have already been stated.

5. When the Arabs know that the Government of Great Britain is their Ally, who [illegible] Turks [illegible] y, and that she will support and will effectively defend them, then to enter the [illegible] Arabs [illegible]

6. Our letter dated the 29th Shaual 1333 (9th September, 1915) saves us the trouble of [illegible] your honoured last letter [illegible] O exalted Minister! that you will not interfere with internal affairs [illegible] supports is expected. We have done our utmost in making concessions in order to [illegible] ing both parties. We know that our lot in this war will [illegible] Arabs [illegible] your [illegible] [illegible] tion which I see in the Arabs for the attainment of their objects I were [illegible] preferred to seclude myself on one of the heights of a mountain, but they, the Arabs, have insisted that I should guide the movement to this end.

May God keep you safe and victorious, as we devoutly hope and desire.

(Unsigned.)

Dated 27 el Hijj 1333 (November 5, 1915).

Letter from Sir H. McMahon, His Majesty's High Commissioner, Cairo, to the Sherif of Mecca, dated December 14, 1915.

To Sherif Hussein:

(After customary greetings and acknowledgment of previous letter.)

I AM gratified to observe that you agree to the exclusion of the vilayets of Mer[illegible] and Adana from the boundaries of the Arab territories.

I also note with great pleasure and satisfaction your assurances that the Arabs [illegible] determined to act in conformity with the precepts laid down by Omar Ibn Khat[illegible] and the early Khalifs, which secure the rights and privileges of all religions alike.

In stating that the Arabs are ready to recognise and respect all our treati[illegible] Arab chiefs, it is of course understood that this wi[illegible] the Arab kingdom, as the Government of Great Bri[illegible] which already exis[illegible]

With regard to the vilayets of Aleppo and Beyrout, the Government of Great Britain have taken careful note of your observations, but, as the interests of our [illegible] France are involved, the question will require careful consideration, and a [illegible] communication on the subject will be addressed to you in due course.

The Government of Great Britain, as I have already informed you, are [illegible] give all guarantees of assistance and support within their power to the Arab ki[illegible] that their interests demand, as you yourself have recognised, a friendly and [illegible] administration, in the district of Bagdad, and the adequate safeguarding of [illegible]

[illegible] any peace in terms of which the freedom of the Arab [illegible]

As an earnest of our intentions, and in order to aid you in your efforts in our cause, I am sending by your trustworthy messenger a sum of 20,000*l*.

(Customary ending.)

(Signed) H. McMAHON.

(7.)

[illegible] Majesty's High Commissioner, Cairo, dated January 1, 1916 (25th Safar, 1334).

(In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate!)

To his Excellency the eminent, energetic, and magnanimous Minister [illegible]

WE received from the bearer your two letters, dated 9th Safar (17th Decem[illegible] 1915), with great respect and honour, and I have understood their contents. [illegible]

Your honour will have realised, after the arrival of Mohammed [Faroki] [illegible] and his interview with you, that all our procedure up to the present was [illegible] everything was the result of the decisions and desires of our peoples and that [illegible] but transmitters and executants of such decisions and desires in the position they (o[illegible] people) have pressed upon us.

These truths are, in my opinion, very important, and deserve your honour's [illegible] attention and consideration.

[illegible] stated in your honoured communication concerning [illegible] Irak, as to the matter of compensation for the period of occupation, we, in order to [illegible] really and veritably, and in order to give her evidence of our certainty and assurance in trusting her glorious Government, leave the determination of the amount to the perception of her wisdom and [illegible]

As regards the northern parts and their coasts, we have already stated in our previous letter what were the utmost possible modifications, and all this was only done so to fulfil those aspirations whose attainment is desired by the will of the Blessed and Supreme God. It is this same feeling and desire which impelled us to avoid what may possibly injure the alliance of Great Britain and France and the agreement made [illegible]ween them during the present war and calamities; yet we find it our duty that the [illegible] Minister should be sure that, at the first opportunity after this war is finished, we shall ask you (what we avert our eyes from to-day) for what we now leave to France in Beyrut and its coasts.

[illegible] to care to negotiate with any other Power but you [illegible] impossible to allow any derogation that gives France, or any other Power, a span of land in those regions.

[illegible] to the declarations which you gave in the conclusion of your honoured letter. Therefore, the honourable and eminent Minister should believe and be sure, together with Great Britain, that we still remain firm to our resolution which Storrs learnt from us two years ago, for which we await the opportunity suitable to our situation, [illegible]ly in view of that action the time of which has now come near and which [illegible]ny drives towards us with great haste and clearness, so that we and those [illegible] are of our opinion may have reasons for such action against any criticisms or [illegible]ibilities imposed upon us in future.

[illegible] our expression—"we do not want to push you to any hasty action which might [illegible] may ask for when necessary, such as arms, ammunition, &c.

[illegible] you my great veneration and respect.

(Unsigned.)

Dated 25th Safar, 1334 [1st January, 1916].

(8.)

[illegible] from Sir H. McMahon, His Majesty's High Commissioner, Cairo, to the Sherif of Mecca, dated January 25, 1916.

([illegible] customary greetings.)

Cairo, January 25, 1916.

WE have received with great pleasure and satisfaction your letter of the 25th Safar [illegible] January, at the hands of your trusty messenger, who has also transmitted to us [illegible] verbal messages.

We fully realise and entirely appreciate the motives which guide you in this [illegible]nt question, and we know well that you are acting entirely in the interests of [illegible] Arab peoples, and with no thought beyond their welfare.

We take note of your remarks concerning the vilayet of Bagdad, and will take the [illegible]ion into careful consideration when the enemy has been defeated and the time for [illegible]al settlements arrives.

[illegible] parts, we note with satisfaction your desire to a[illegible] anything which might possibly injure the alliance of Great Britain and France. It [illegible] as you know, our fixed determination that nothing shall be permitted to interfere [illegible] the slightest degree with our united prosecution of this war to a victorious conclusion. Moreover, when the victory has been won, the friendship of Great Britain and France will become yet more firm and enduring, cemented by the blood of Englishmen and Frenchmen who have died side by side fighting for the Cause of Right and Liberty.

In this great Cause Arabia is now associated, and God grant that the result of our mutual efforts and co-operation will bind us in a lasting friendship, to the mutual welfare and happiness of us all!

We are greatly pleased to hear of the action you are taking to win [illegible] over to our joint Cause, and to dissuade them from giving any ass[illegible] enemies, and we leave it to your discretion to seize the most favourable moment [illegible] further and more decided measures.

You will doubtless inform us by the bearer of this letter of a[illegible] we can assist you, and your requests will always receive our immediate c[illegible]

You will have heard how El Sayed Ahmed el Sherif el Senusi has been lega[illegible] by evil advice into hostile action, and it will be a great grief to you to know that [illegible] has been so far forgetful of the interests of the Arabs as to throw in his lot with [illegible] enemies. Misfortune has now overtaken him, and we trust that this will show him [illegible]

[illegible]

Wit[illegible]

(153212) No. 159.

Sir E. Crowe to Earl Curzon.—(Received November 19.)

(No. 2155.)

SIR E. CROWE presents his compliments to Lord Curzon, and transmits h[illegible] copies of notes from the Hedjas and French Delegations respecting Syria.

British Delegation, Paris
November 17, 1919

Enclosure 1 in No. 159.

Secretary-General of the Hedjaz Delegation to Secretary-General of the Peace Conference.

LE Secrétaire général de la Délégation hedjazienne a l'honneur de communi[illegible] au Secrétariat général de la Conférence de la Paix la note ci-jointe de Son Al[illegible] Royale le Prince Faysal, à l'adresse du Conseil suprême.

Le 6 novembre 1919.

Note au Conseil suprême de la Conférence de la Paix, Versailles.

Au mois de septembre dernier, son Excellence le Premier Ministre de la G[illegible] Bretagne m'a fait venir de Damas afin de discuter la question de Syrie avec [illegible] grandes Puissances. A Londres, son Excellence m'a remis un aide-mémoire, où il [illegible] question de certains changements dans l'administration actuelle de la S[illegible] copies de ce document, me dit-il, ont été remises aux représentants de la Fran[illegible] l'Etats-Unis et de l'Italie. Au cours de la correspondance et des entrevues qui sui[illegible] [illegible] Bretagne et une autre Puissance quelconque, mais qu'il s'agit uniquement [illegible] déclaration indiquant la décision prise par la Grande-Bretagne, pour raisons d'éco[illegible] au sujet du retrait de ses troupes de certaines provinces arabes. Toute la question [illegible] censée n'être qu'un arrangement militaire à titre provisoire, qui n'est pas d' [illegible] administratif ni politique, et qui a pour but le maintien de l'ordre, en a[illegible] Conférence de la Paix prenne une décision définitive sur la forme du Gouve[illegible] donner au pays.

[illegible] générale des provinces arabes depuis la signature de l'armistice avec la Turquie (et, comme vous ne l'ignorez pas, je suis bien placé pour juger les affaires de mon pays).

[illegible]

[illegible] mon peuple, la paix gêner le sen trouvant en même temps profondément troub[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] deux Puissances n'ont pas dû se rendre compte des troubles qui pourraient résulter de toute modification apportée au *statu quo* établi depuis l'occupation, car cet accord [illegible] l'administration provisoire établie depuis l'occupation sans prendre aucune [illegible]

[illegible] que a porté ces [illegible] r l'accord Sy[illegible] de 1916 [illegible] rment les raisons de mon attitude [illegible] de la gravité [illegible] rin ante et [illegible] gime actuel [illegible]

[illegible] ent français refusant d'accepter, ainsi qu'il nous en a informés lui-même, la [illegible] britannique, sauf en ce qui regardait l'évacuation des troupes britanniques [illegible] 1er novembre. Les deux Gouvernements, ne consultant que leurs propres [illegible] dans la question, n'ont pas accordé toute l'attention voulue à l'effet produit sur [illegible] tions de la Syrie. Comme je suis responsable de la sécurité et du bien-être [illegible] j'ai également porté à la connaissance du Gouvernement français les [illegible] pêchant de souscrire à cet arrangement, et j'ai à nouveau proposé la [illegible] commission mixte. Le Président du Conseil des Ministres français, dans [illegible] décline toutes mes propositions, parce que, dit-il il ne peut aller à l'encontre [illegible] décisions du Conseil suprême, il ajoute que les troupes françaises sont prêtes à maintenir l'ordre dans leur zone d'occupation, et à m'aider à en faire autant dans ma propre région, au premier appel de ma part. Je crois que M. Clemenceau a l'impression que le mouvement que nous redoutons sera le fait d'"agitateurs," et non l'explosion spontanée du sentiment national. Et je doute que le Conseil suprême et l'opinion publique du mon[illegible] civilisé approuvent des mesures qui, tendant à réprimer des mouvements nationaux absolument légitimes, ne peuvent avoir d'autre résultat qu'une effu[illegible]

[illegible] à ce sujet, ayant simplement "pris note" de l'accord du 15 septembre 1919, tel qu'il m'a été communiqué par le Gouvernement français.

Le Conseil, selon toute apparence, croyait que le projet qu'on lui soumettait n'impliquait simplement la relève des troupes et n'entraînait aucun changement d'ordre [illegible] que ou administratif dans les territoires ennemis occupés et qui sont maintenant [illegible]

[illegible] est évident que le projet proposé n'a pas été approuvé par les autorités intéressées [illegible]

[illegible] demande la permission d'exposer rapidement moi-même quelques-unes des raisons des [illegible]

[illegible]

1. J'ai peine à comprendre que le projet soit purement militaire. [illegible] conferme plusieurs questions économiques et politiques qui ne devr[illegible] [illegible] par la Conférence de la Paix. Le fait même d'enlever le pouv[illegible] une seule direction et diviser le pays en trois zones différentes, dans lesquelles chacune [illegible] système différent, est assurément un changement très important porté à l'administr[illegible] actuelle et ne saurait être appelé une mesure militaire. Des affaires telles que le [illegible] des chemins de fer et les zones d'influence, &c., ne peuvent être comprises [illegible] les mesures à prendre pour le maintien de l'ordre, en attendant un règlement [illegible] de la question syrienne par la Conférence de la Paix.

2. D'après les arrangements proposés les provinces arabes devront être divisées en [illegible] districts: Un sous l'administration britannique, un autre sous l'administration [illegible] et le troisième sous le Gouvernement arabe. Cela revient à dire que la nation

syrienne, qui avait toujours compté sur une administration unique, devra maintenant morcelée et chaque partie soumise à un Gouvernem[illegible] résulterait sera un coup mortel porté au pays. Des discussions ent[illegible] de régions différentes, suscitées et encouragées, selon toute probabilité, [illegible] fonctionnaires ignorants, ou même par les rivalités entre des adm[illegible] se multiplieront et neutraliseront tout le bien qui aurait pu résulter d'une administ[illegible] distincte.

Des perturbations commenceront sur les frontières et s'étendront jusqu'au cœur du pays.

De plus, la portion laissée au Gouvernement arabe est appelée province indépendante, mais elle se trouve divisée en différentes zones d'influence, dont [illegible] est soumise aux Britanniques et l'autre aux Français.

Si l'une quelconque de ces deux subdivisions venait à avoir besoin de secours, il le faudrait le demander à la Puissance qui exerce son influence chez elle. Y a-t-il [illegible] eu une nation dans tout le cours des siècles qui ait jamais pu faire des progrès d'entraves pareilles? Cet arrangement découragera sans aucun doute le peuple [illegible] créera du mécontentement chez lui. Il éprouvera de la méfiance à l'égard des [illegible] et fera tout ce qui est en son pouvoir pour défendre l'unité de son pays. La nation [illegible] table et ne pourra résister longtemps, mais, néanmoins, elle affrontera la [illegible] défendre sa juste cause. Qui alors sera responsable devant le monde civi[illegible] sacrifice? Personne ne saurait convaincre le peuple de ce pays que ses idées [illegible] sont erronées. Tous ceux qui ont pris connaissance du sentiment général qui [illegible] parmi ces populations diront que l'ordre public ne pourra jamais être maintenu [illegible] effusion de sang.

3. Le retrait des troupes britanniques s'effectuera, dit-on, d'après une [illegible] qui pourtant n'est reconnue ni par les Arabes, ni par le Gouvernement des États-U[illegible] qui a déclaré à son entrée en guerre qu'il ne reconnaîtrait aucun accord secret, je [illegible] comme un simple privé, ou comme un simple ballot de marchandise au moment où la jeu[illegible] du pays se répandait de Syrie jusqu'au désert et donnait sa vie pour sauver [illegible] indépendance. Toute mesure basée sur une décision qui n'a pas été reconnue [illegible] Conférence de la Paix ne saurait être mise à exécution sans une discussion [illegible] la part de cette Conférence.

4. Le général en chef, au moment de l'occupation de la Syrie pe[illegible] peuple syrien qu'il se proposait d'occuper le pay[illegible] au nom des Alliés. Son administration, [illegible] au moment où la Conférence de la Paix prendrait une décision définitive.

Les Syriens ont considéré cette déclaration comme une garantie donnée par [illegible] Alliés et ont estimé que leur pays était placé sous la garde du commandant en [illegible] agissant au nom des Alliés, et organisant une administration unique qu'il avait [illegible] de maintenir comme il est dit ci-dessus. Elle comprend qu'aucun changement [illegible] les bases fondamentales de cet arrangement ne pourra être apporté avant le [illegible]

5. La surexcitation, causée principalement par l'intervention imprudente [illegible] étrangers, qui règne dans les provinces arabes ainsi que dans les [illegible] musulmanes de l'Empire ottoman en Asie n'est plus un secret. Toute perso[illegible] peu au courant de ce qui s'est passé dans la province de Syrie est, sans aucun d[illegible] convaincue qu'il y aura des désordres dans beaucoup de localités, si on apporte [illegible] modifications au *statu quo*.

En conséquence, je vous supplie, au nom de l'humanité et dans l'intérêt de la [illegible] au nom de la nation arabe et au nom des innombrables intérêts de la France, [illegible] l'Italie, de la Grande-Bretagne et de l'Amérique dans le monde oriental, de ne pas [illegible] la porte à de nouveaux désordres dont nous pourrions tous voir le commencement, [illegible] dont il est impossible de prévoir la fin. Les incidents de Smyrne et autres lieux [illegible] encore présents à notre mémoire. Je crains beaucoup que le mal ne se rep[illegible] bout à l'autre du monde musulman. Le peuple pensera qu'il existe un plan bien [illegible] persécuter l'Islam. Vous pourriez-vous rappeler encore que la révolte des Arabes [illegible] par le Roi mon père a porté le premier coup au principe exécré du fanatisme. Les [illegible] que les Turcs musulmans parce qu'ils étaient des oppresseurs, et ne sont [illegible] de distinction entre les religions. En ce qui me concerne, j'ai pendant la guerre [illegible] le fanatisme partout et toujours. Les Arabes de toutes les religions se sont groupés autour de moi, venant de toutes les directions. Notre unité était nationale et non pas religieuse. Un grand nombre des hommes qui trav[illegible] pour cette cause nationale n'appartiennent pas à ma religion. Ceci vous prouve à quel [illegible] je serai découragé si cet idéal si élevé est abaissé jusqu'à une guerre de religion par [illegible] de malentendus, de mauvaise administration et d'imprudence.

Vous estimerez avec moi qu'il est de l'intérêt de tous de main[illegible] plus grand [illegible] pendant le court délai précédant la décision définitive de la C[illegible]rence de la [illegible] plutôt que de laisser des troubles prendre naissance sans raison logique. En conséquence, je suis d'avis que les grandes Puissances soient informées du sérieux de la situation telle que nous la connaissons, de façon que des mesures immédiates soient [illegible] afin que les Puissances alliées intéressées et leurs frères [illegible] examinent les intérêts de chaque Gouvernement d'accord avec l'idéal de justice po[illegible] quel nous nous [illegible]

Je conclus en demandant avec insistance à être autorisé à présenter moi-même au [illegible] quel autre, car c'est sur moi et sur mon peuple que les conséquences de toutes [illegible] prises, soit pour le bien, soit pour le mal, retomberont.

FAYSAL.

Enclosure 2 in No. 159

Note by the French Delegation.

[illegible] nce ne paraît pas répondre à la situation présente et ne semble pas susceptible [illegible] suite immédiate. Son double but essentiel est en effet :

1. De revenir sur la décision prise par la Conférence le 15 septembre relati[illegible] à la relève des troupes anglaises par les troupes françaises en Syrie ;

2. De demander à être entendue sur le fond de la question concernant l'a[illegible] tion des populations de la Syrie.

Touchant la relève, aucune modification ne paraît ni utile, ni possible. En fait, [illegible] l'exécution de la mesure est commencée depuis le début du mois et se poursuit [illegible] des conditions qui indiquent que les inquiétudes de l'Émir Faysal ne sont pas [illegible]

La décision de la Conférence a nettement marqué que la relève n'avait que le [illegible] arrangement purement [illegible] l'occupation militaire indispensable.

Au point de vue de l'avenir, la décision de la Conférence a marqué que la solution [illegible] des questions de mandats et de frontières n'était pas préjugée par les mesures [illegible] comme partie du problème général de paix avec la Turquie, au moment où [illegible]

Le Gouvernement français a déclaré verbalement et par écrit à l'Émir Faysal que [illegible] y donnant. Il a ajouté que, dans ces conditions, un mouvement indigène ne serait [illegible] juste.

Il a eu soin, pour ôter tout prétexte aux agitateurs, de porter à la connaissance [illegible] populations syriennes le sens exact des décisions du Conseil suprême et de l'exécution [illegible] relève, en affirmant la volonté commune des Alliés d'assurer aux pays d'Orient [illegible] par leur victoire le régime de liberté, d'ordre et de progrès promis aux populations [illegible] de leurs désirs, de leurs vœux et de leur intérêt.

[illegible] ns ces conditions, il ne semble pas qu'aucune modification puisse être apportée [illegible] question et est en cours d'exécution.

[illegible] ble pas, davantage, opportun que le Conseil suprême entende la Dél [illegible] problème syrien, qui ne peut être détaché de [illegible]

Paris, le 13 novembre 1919.

[153849] No. 160.

Admiralty to Foreign Office.—(Received November 21.)

(Confidential.)

Sir, *Admiralty, Nove[illegible]*

I AM commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to [illegible] herewith, for the information of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, [illegible] notes which were made by the Commander-in-chief, Mediterrane[illegible] and forwarded by him with a letter of the 19th October, in connection with his cruise in the Black [illegible] in October.

2 Copies of the enclosures forwarded with this letter (with the exception [illegible] Enclosures 1 and 6) have also been forwarded to the War Office, and the latter part [illegible] Enclosure 3 to the Department of Overseas Trade.

I am, &c.
(For Secretary),
ALEX. FLINT.

Enclosure in No. 160.

Notes made by Commander-in-chief, Mediterranean, in connection with his Cruise in the Black Sea, October 1919.

[illegible]

Left Constantinople 1700, 5th October.
Arrived Samsoun 0900, 7th October, left 1800
Arrived Trebizond 0900, 8th October, left 2200
Arrived Batum 0800, 9th October, left 1700, 11th October.
Arrived Novorossisk 1200, 12th October, left 1700, 13th October.
Arrived Sevastopol 1000, 14th October, left 0700, 16th October
Arrived Yalta 1130, 16th October, left 0700, 17th October.
Arrived Constantinople 0900, 18th October

ON the 7th October, I [illegible]

The Mutessarif of the independent sanjak of Samsoun was absent f[illegible] quarters, but the "Commandant de Place," who acted for him in his [illegible] came off to call on me accompanied by Captain Perring, High Comm[illegible] representative.

The Commandant de Place, a major, is a member of the C. U. P., [illegible] f the Nationalist movement. I impressed upon him that the Allies, [illegible] with the internal politics of Turkey, expected the T[illegible] within their respective districts.

In the afternoon, after returning the commandant's call at the Konak (G[illegible] ment offices), I received deputations from the local Greeks and Armenians, [illegible] of Bafra (acting for the Metropolitan of Samsoun, now [illegible]. While the Greek Bishop gave [illegible] which his flock was being [illegible] of Mustafa Kemal's followers should the terms of peace be found to alienate any of the Anatolian territory from Ottoman rule.

On the 8th October, 1919, I proceeded in "Iron Duke" to Trebizond. The V[illegible] Ghalib Bey, had been absent for the last seventeen days at Erzerum (which [illegible]

controls his vilayet), having b[illegible] summoned thither by Mustafa Kemal. His representative, the Defterdar (Treasurer) of the vilayet, who is a puppet in the hands of [illegible] military (Nationalist) [illegible] red at calling on me, intimating that he [illegible] ered the first visit to be [illegible] m to [illegible]

[illegible] war strength of 60, [illegible] was relatively quiet (though Christians had even lately been murdered within its limits). [illegible] tians in the village was pr[illegible] The withdrawal [illegible] and the Black Sea had been interpreted by the Nationalists as a sign of weakness, and had rendered them more truculent in [illegible] attitude towards the Christians. I think that the Christians are largely to blame—through an untimely attitude of provocation—for i[illegible] the same time I co[illegible] their apprehensions far from groundless.

I also saw the commandant of the local troops, Major Ali Riza, who, as the representative of the Military and Nationalist authorities at Erzerum, controls the [illegible] of the civil officials. I represented to him the warning previously given to [illegible] military Control Officer, Captain Crawford, in his task of recovering the Russian military material still in the hands of the Turks at Trebizond.

Visit to Tiflis.

[illegible] visit to Mr. Wardrop, our representa[illegible] on Thursday, the 9th October. Br[illegible] journey, and he came to see me off at the [illegible] Gamlua-chidze who is one of the leading men in [illegible] Batum the previous day from Tiflis in compa[illegible] and the American Mission. He gave me the pleasure of his company [illegible] for over two hours. He expounded his views on the situation in Georgia in a [illegible]

[illegible] Tiflis is interesting but slow, and owing to my making the [illegible] at night [illegible] in the early morning that we had an opportunity of [illegible] the country. Our train arrived at Tiflis at about 10 A.M., where I was received [illegible] als, in spite of the fact that [illegible] ernment that my [illegible] was purely unofficial, and was [illegible]

I drove with Wardrop to his house: [illegible] fine building, the property of a Georgian who made his fortune in Persia. The house [illegible] situated at the south side of the town and next to the War Office.

[illegible]

[illegible] Commoner at lun[illegible] indomitable, but I would [illegible]

War [illegible] appear to have [illegible] red [illegible] shman has approached [illegible] were a number of his friends to meet me and my staff. The latter [illegible] ated of Commander Birkett, and Lieutenant-Commanders Luke and Bowlby.

After lunch [illegible] had only been started one month, a description of it is not necessary.

On returning to Tiflis, it was almost time for dinner, and among the people Wardrop had asked were the Foreign Minister, the Minister of the Interior and War, the Under-Secretary for War, and some half-dozen other representative people.

I had a conversation with the Foreign Minister before dinner, a Prince Melikof [illegible] the interpreter. The Foreign Minister did not appear to be a particularly [illegible] person, and I understand that he is rather inclined to the advanced ideas

bordering on Bolshevism. At dinner I sat next to the Minister of Interior and W
and Mr Gambas-chidze interpreted for us. The Minister is understood to be the
of the Government, and he has recently shown it when the Bolsheviks att
to assassinate General Baratof. He shot two, and arrested and put in gaol some
of the fraternity

General Baratof has lost his left leg below the knee, but is considered
progressing favourably

primitive me
attempted. Oil
it. Roads are few and bad, the railway is worn out,
r

the way of trade is the exchan

The present value of the rouble is so low that little or nothing can be
impressed on me continually that this was due to the uncertainty of the
and if Georgia was recognised by the Allies as an independent State,
the rouble would at once rise.

country might easily become a tourist resort for others than Russians.
climate on the whole is good, and the country beautiful, and with improved roads a
conveniences it would be hard to find a more de holiday resort

It is plain that the average

Few speak English, but
hundred boys to England to be educated there
previously the Germans had made an offer to the
Georgian boys free of cost if they were sent to Germany

Mr Gambas-chidze impressed on me how anxious they all
boys should receive their education in England. The fe
country is very favourable to the British.

They appear to be genuinely sorry that the British troops were withdrawn
Batum where they had become great favourites. (About ninety officers and men
Georgian wives and took them away.)

France is not liked. The French military mission has made a d

The Italians are looked on as intriguers and German agents
politically. No doubt there is a liking for the Germans, it being considered tha
Turks
country is grateful.

The Russian is not liked However, failing a better arrangement with
or England, or independence, she would be prepared to come to an arrangement
Russia for some form of federation

The Turk is not disliked. The Armenian is loathed, bein
already formed

Georgians
Armenians send all their best men to fo
propaganda, leaving none who are capable of directing the
the reason for the present deplorable condition of many Armenian districts.

The friendly relations with the Azerbaijan Government is largely due to
personal influence of Wardrop.

Regarding the American mission, Georgians doubt their intention of taking
form of mandate for Armenia, but they would gladly get a footing in Ge
realising its possibility.

Haskell, the representative of the Allied Relief Commission in the Caucasus,
to have been a failure and quarrelled with many people. General Harbord
mission were appreciated, but it was realised that they have really little time to
to study the conditions and possibilities of Georgia and its people

Rumour at Tiflis says that Harbord will replace Haskell. Generally the
feels that if the final terms of peace which deal with this part of the

, his country has a bright future. They point out the growing importance
entral Asia with the trade which must develop therefrom; Georgia
road between Persia and Europe, it must benefit by such

Not the least interesting were the views I heard on the Bolsheviks. There are
many hundreds in Georgia, where they are extremely active. Wardrop receives letters
threatening his life, also many of the leading people of Tiflis. The Bolshevik is trying to
stir up trouble on the northern boundary It is said that if they can make Denikin
send his troops to attack Georgia and Azerbaijan, this will divert him from his true
objective, which is Moscow. Bolshevik letters indicate that if Denikin drives them
Moscow they will
where they consider that they will be able to continue their struggle against Britain,
who is looked on as the chief enemy of Bolshevism.

The Georgians say that Bolshevism is purely a Jewish movement, controlled in
from Germany by the "international Jew," but the real directors of the move-
ment are in the eastern part of the United States.

what they want is a few small ships f
the
sailors but pirates by profession.

I advised them against having a navy, but rather to put their money into merchant
ships, which would, by showing their flag, be doing more to make their country known,
than would the patrolling of their coasts by a gunboat.

n "Iron Duke" on the evening of the 11th October and arrived at
Sunday, 12th October.

General Denikin had also at that moment
"Korniloff" on his way back to Taganrog. This was unexpected by me, nor
was I anxious to meet General Denikin so soon, but, as things turned out, I am glad
the chance occurred.

2. Major General H. G. Holman, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., head of the British
Military Mission, and Captain Charles A. Fremantle, D.S.O., R.N., naval member,
came on board shortly after anchoring, having arrived from Taganrog a few hours
previously

I learnt from General Holman th Denikin expected to leave by train almost
, accordingly
and his staff on board the cruiser, which was alongside the railway jetty, and
back with me to "Iron
" for lunch

M., satisfied, I think, with his visit. General
conferences, and the result of the
conversations with these officers
is summarised herewith.

(a.) Denikin has at this moment a "fighting" strength of about 220,000 men and a "feeding" strength of about 500,000. His principal, if not his only anxiety is the supply of food and clothing to his men and the inhabitants of the districts freed from the Bolsheviks.

He well knows that unless he can ensure a measure of both of these the Volunteer Army will not be looked upon as an Army of Liberation.

(b.) The Bolsheviks have recently taken to a policy of destruction when they retreat. Railways are torn up, rolling-stock removed or wrecked, telegraphs dismantled, houses razed, and crops destroyed, and thus, with every successful advance of Denikin, the economic burden imposed upon him becomes the greater.

Assuming his ability to reach Moscow this winter, it is very questionable whether he *ought* to; Moscow is starving (so it is reported), and the Bolshevik legacy will be one of famine, pestilence, and general misery. There is little fuel, no heating arrangements for buildings of any size, and the people will have to herd together in confined spaces, where one fire can warm as many as possible. Unless help is forthcoming, Central Russia will, for the most part, perish, and this should not be laid to Denikin's account.

(c.) It is generally agreed that the peasants want peace—How, indeed, could they want anything else? To be loyal and law abiding, they must be fed. They will espouse the cause of any side that can give them food and quiet.

(*d.*) Hardened as we have become during this war to widespread calamities, I cannot help feeling that if the facts were known assistance from G Britain would be generally approved to save a people who are ne [illegible] as nor bourgeois, but women, and children who have lived through a period of untold horro [illegible] he of starvation only at the end [illegible]

It is not necessary to import food. There is abundan [illegible] of the South. A million tons of grain could even be exported, but w [illegible] required is means of transport and a better administrative service. [illegible] latter is slowly improving under General Holman's direction. [illegible] now convoyed by British officers, and "the stuff gets to the army, [illegible] ds the former, General Holman asks for 1,000 locomotives and a reinforcement of railway and "Q [illegible]

(*e.*) I asked whether the character and fun [illegible] naval part of the m [illegible] might not be changed with advant [illegible] instead of a Naval Mission [illegible] the field make it a mission at Sevastop [illegible] lines of our Naval Mission to Greece. General Holman undertook to [illegible] Denikin on this point, without in any way committing the Admiralty [illegible]

(*f.*) The nucleus of the Russian Black Sea fleet is to-day at sea [illegible] growth will be slow, it will nevertheless soon become a force ex [illegible] influence on the Roumanian, Bulgarian, Georgian, and Anatolian [illegible] If, through a naval mission, some form of British control can be [illegible] over policy and operations, we [illegible] the future [illegible]

A detail in this conne [illegible] rank, and a commodore means far more to them than a captain.

(*g.*) As regards the Caspian, I heard good reports of Captain Sergeief [illegible] tion. He has also been recently reinforced with officers and men.

(*h.*) Admiral Gerasimof, whom I met, is General Denikin's naval adviser [illegible] suitable for many reasons, chiefly age, health, and inertia.

At the outbreak of the revolution he was at Reval (?), [illegible] being shot in the head, was nearly beaten to death by the Bolsheviks. He is not entirely sympathetic to the British, and I think General Holman, who is on intimate terms with Denikin will seek a way of getting [illegible] replaced by a more energetic and knowledgeable officer [illegible]

I endeavoured to [illegible], after the ice had imposed a truce on naval operations by sea and river, their efforts should be directed to training [illegible] and men at Sevastopol for the spring. The old naval personnel scarcely exists [illegible] will have to start from bed rock with young men, and are not likely to succeed wi [illegible] ensuring their ideas as to the relations between officers and men. It is in this [illegible]

Concerning Denikin's western front, General Holman gave me to understand that the volunteer army would not try to cross the Dniester. Denikin was content to leave the question of Bessarabia [illegible] The Ukraine, he said, wants self-government under Russia, not and [illegible] Petlura was looked upon as an impostor, a brigand, a mere "killer of Jews." His force was estimated at 15,000 men.

Britain it was stated had expressed to General Keyes his goodwill towards Denikin and his intention to back Petlura no longer, so that generally speaking the situation with Roumania appeared very much easier.

4. Having only forty-eight hours [illegible] with M. Wardrop [illegible] I was interested to hear the views of Denikin and General Holman concerning [illegible] Azerbaijan, and Daveghestan.

General Holman furnished me with circumstantial evidence of many hostile [illegible] against Denikin's southern front, the most serious being those which threaten his to Petrovsk and his oil supply at Grozni.

Denikin acquits the Georgian people of any hostile desire, but the [illegible] Government, he is convinced, is not innocent. Germans and Turks are angin [illegible] the mischief, aided by Bolshevik elements scattered throughout the Caucasus.

It will be difficult, but I think not impossible, to bring about some solution [illegible] These "countries" cannot exist side by side in a state of independence. [illegible] must fall as prey to the Turks or the Russians eventually. Their Governments [illegible] self-elected, an assembly merely of self-assertive men.

[illegible] it clear t [illegible] these people that the Turks are beaten, the [illegible] is beaten and the Bolsheviks in process of being beaten, that they will be [illegible] independence if steps are now taken to evict or restrain such e [illegible] nts and [illegible] such independence shall endure until [illegible] sol d, just government [illegible] as been founded [illegible] en I believe Denikin could devote h [illegible] self wholeheartedly to his northern [illegible] stead of dissipating strength to keep his rear secure. [illegible]

second, good propaganda; the third, a conference at some central spot at which representatives of the Great Powers could state an agreed policy and show what advantages [illegible] accrue to these so called republics by conforming to it.

[illegible] Denikin mentioned that he had many Kubans fighting for him, and [illegible] that the people as a whole were for him, but the Kuban Government [illegible] treacherous.

6. General Holman has already reported that in a number of cases very unsatisfactory officers have been sent out to join his mission. At such a time and in such a place it appears to me inexcusable to send officers who are unable to maintain British [illegible] The damage such officers do is out of all proportion to the actual offence [illegible] tted and (this much can be said on their behalf) they are probably quite unaware of it.

I am sure the Admiralty will bear this in mind when naval officers are required for similar service.

7. As there has been a general impression that Denikin has in his entourage [illegible] r of officers of German sympathies, I enquired of General Holman as to this. [illegible] said that amongst some Russian officers, especially the younger ones, such [illegible] undoubtedly existed, and it is because these officers feel that they have [illegible] h, and are still going through, many of the trials that the Germans endured—[illegible] their own, persecuted by the "common people." Amongst the older officers [illegible] g towards Germany. They knew well enough that once in Germany's [illegible] al or military grip there would be no escape for their country. [illegible] neral Holman considered that the Italian, French, and United States missions [illegible] kin were purely commercial. A Polish mission has recently been added in [illegible] sions from Denikin.

[illegible] ted character of our military mission is understood and appreciated, [illegible] won for Great Britain an influence in Russia that should not be allowed [illegible]

[illegible], General Holman paid tribute to General Denikin himself. He spoke [illegible] absolute straightforwardness and unswerving policy. Expediency is unknown to [illegible] He will make no promises that he cannot fulfil, and he is ready to fight down all [illegible]

[illegible] my short acquaintance with him leads me to believe that this estimate is correct. [illegible] unsophisticated, unpretentious, and when he speaks an hour [illegible] unimpressive in appearance, but has a sense of humour.

10. These observations are not, in the main, such as will immediately concern th [illegible] point of view of an outsider, however constructed beforehand, may be of value. [illegible] here, for instance, such a remark as "Holman is more Russian than the Russians." Wardrop is more Georgian than the Georgians," and so I have thought it worth while to report my impressions, having in the last three days had the opportunity of conver [illegible] at great length with both of these officers, also with General Sir G F Milne.

[illegible] Sevastopol at 0800 on the 14th October, "Iron [illegible] proceeding up harbour [illegible] fast to buoy which gave her ample room to swing. The weather was fine throughout my stay. The following Admirals were present in port:—

Vice-Admiral Nenukof, Commander-in-Chief of the Black Sea Fleet.
Vice-Admiral Sablin, Admiral of the Port.
Rear-Admiral Boubnof, Chief of Staff to Admiral Nenukof.

The usual official calls were exchanged that day. On the 15th October [illegible] panied by my staff, I was shown over the fortifications and all the points of [illegible] including Malakof, Redan, Panorama, &c., and also we motored out to have a

[illegible] Vice-Admiral Nenukof entertained us and all the pri[illegible] and in the evening I returned their hospitality by [illegible]

[illegible] Admiral Sabin strikes me as tac[illegible] Admiral Nenukof [illegible] their present positions by Admiral Koltchak. Admiral Nenukof is rather old, has [illegible] look of the sea about him, is untidy in appearance but quite alert mentally [illegible] English very fairly, and on all naval questions he seemed to me to have sound [illegible] The combination of Nenukof and Boubnof should be good. Nenukof, a thoughtful [illegible] experienced head; Boubnof, a young officer (only 40), full of ideas, a great student [illegible] history, especially the history of our service, which he knows intimately [illegible] humane and high principles. I formed a great opinion of Admiral Boubnof. [illegible] the Russian navy was not short of officers, as more ships had been [illegible] required for them lost, but that a great deal of weeding out would [illegible] necessary as many of the officers of the old regime were unsatisfactory.

The new Russian navy that Admirals Nenukof and Boubnof ar[illegible] be modelled on British lines. The men are all to be volunteers, and a suffic[illegible] seems to be assured, and a careful selection will be made. Their pay is going to b[illegible] No man will be selected whose antecedents and present political opinion are not [illegible] suspicion. Selection will be confined to a good class, i.e., a class above the p[illegible] class, by which I understand the artisan and shop-keeper classes.

As regards the officers of the new navy, on the day of "Iron Duke's" [illegible] first day of the examination of cadets at the Naval College was taking [illegible] hoped shortly that 400 cadets will be in residence at the College, and the [illegible] is well qualified to do so, having been a gunnery officer in the past and head of [illegible] War College. He is keenly interested in naval tactics; he was severely wounded at [illegible] the battle of Tsushima while serving in the "Orel." He married a da[illegible] Admiral Rodjestvensky. The Russian officers are keen and enthusiastic about the [illegible] navy, and appear to realise that in order to become efficient and avoid future out[illegible] they must establish quite a new relationship between their officers and the [illegible] T[illegible] a point which I took the liberty of impressing on them more than [illegible] for if they are unable to create a feeling of loyalty they will be building on the sand.

Admiral of cruiser "Koruiof" stated that he carried 88 officers, his com[illegible] [illegible] as far as the stock of uniform [illegible] and carried out the more important and responsible duties of seamen, such as [illegible] layers, anything to do wi[illegible] and gun room with the o[illegible] but can now do [illegible] ships, despite the lack of paint, are far more presentable than the French ships. [illegible] we passed town I noticed how steadily their crews stood to attention on all occasions.

In Captain Erazart they have an energetic head of the Submarine Service, [illegible] commands great respect for his attack on the "Goeben" in the Black Sea, for which [illegible] was awarded our D.S.O.

Great pleasure was expressed at the prospective return of the "Volya" [illegible] [illegible] acrimonious.

I feel sure that the conversations with these officers have done good, and that the sight of a ship like the "Iron Duke" in their inner harbour, as well as the behaviour and appearance of our ship's company in the town, had a wholesome effect.

[148099] No. 161.

[illegible] Mr. [illegible]

My dear Ambassador, [illegible]

THE question of permitting investigati[illegible] territories of Palestine and Mesopo[illegible] your recent conversation with me of the 31st ultimo has had careful consideration, and I now send you my promised reply.

As regards operation tha[illegible] of oilfields, building of roads, &c., the view wh[illegible] questions in general affecting [illegible] enemy territo[illegible]

That the provisional character of the military occupation does not warrant the [illegible] of decisions by the occupying Power in matters concerning the future economic [illegible] of the country.

Accordingly, our policy has been to prohibit the initiation of any new undertakings, [illegible] taken advantage of, before the war.

This view has equally governed our attitude in regard to [illegible] private individuals or firms may wish to undertake in occupied enemy territo[illegible] and our action in prohibiting this class of [illegible] has been further ruled by the [illegible] ple that nothing should be done which might in any way compromise the future [illegible] of the country, to whom, we consider, should be left the decision as to the methods and measures necessary to be adopted for ensuring the development of the mineral resources of the territory which they will be called upon to administer.

We have also felt that to open the occupied territories to prospectors during temporary military tenure would be most undesirable, as it would inevitably lead to a [illegible] patible [illegible] or.

With regard to the Standard Oil Company, I realise that their complaint arises out of the fact that a representative of the Shell group visited Mesopotamia in the earl[illegible] of this year. I think, however, you already know that the visit of this representative [illegible] Office, and that steps were imme[illegible] his mission had been ascertained. [illegible] behind were not permitted to work any oil in[illegible] only been allowed to stay because their ser[illegible] authorities for the repair and working of certain [illegible] obtain supplies of oil needed for military and transport purposes. [illegible] as soon as there is no further use for their services in this direction.

[illegible] worst way of rectifying it would be to consent to its repetition. So innocent, indeed, [illegible] His Majesty's Government been of any conscious discrimination that we have refused at least eleven applications from British firms and syndicates to carry out investigations and studies in various parts of occupied enemy territory, and to this [illegible] I propose, so long as the existing conditions prevail, unflinchingly to adhere.

Believe me, &c.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON

154611 No. 162.

Mr. Wardrop to Earl Curzon.—(Received November 22.)

No. 59.)

My Lord, *Tyflis, October 23, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to report as follows on my recent journey in Armenia:—

1. On the 14th October, at 3 P.M., I left Tiflis by special train accompanied by Grundy, Commander Birkett, R.N., Lieutenant-Commander Luke (these two

[illegible] ft here by Admiral de R[illegible]k when he visited me on the 10th October [illegible] [illegible]nce Maroica Orbel and [illegible] attached to my mission by the Georgian W[illegible] [illegible]ptain A[illegible]f (of the Armenian army). On leaving the neutral zone of Borchalo, I was welcomed in a prepared speech by the Commissary of Karakla[illegible] behalf of the Ar[illegible] G[illegible]

[illegible] morning of the 1[illegible]

[illegible]ation the President (M. Khatissian), the Ministers, the civil and mil[illegible]tary authorities [illegible] guard of honour was provided. Speeches were made by the President and th[illegible] W[illegible]

with me to the commodious house provided by the Armenian Government for Ca[illegible] Gruccy, and I took up my quarters there and received on my arrival the visits of t[illegible] who had met me at the station.

[illegible] set of the city is pitiful. The streets are ill kept, and the wind e[illegible]ted dust. Everywhere there are wretched refugees in rags [illegible] [illegible]ussed, demoralised. M. Khatissian told me there were 200,000 in the district of Ararat Republic. There are epidemics of typhus, cholera, dengue, malaria, and o[illegible] [illegible] al state of the public health is bad. The Americans are do[illegible] that is possible to relieve this great mass of suffering, and are themselves paying [illegible] toll of illness and mortality. Of the troops on the southern frontier 70 per cent. are sick with malaria and as there was no quinine I immediately telegraphed to M[illegible] [illegible] f he could provide some. During [illegible] short visit I saw [illegible]nt places two men lying on the ground dying of hunger [illegible] exhaustion, [illegible] the appearance of some of the children was very p[illegible] were picking up refuse in the streets and eating it. The shops were bare of [illegible] and almost the only food for sale in fair quantities was fruit and melons. An[illegible] [illegible] streets of pity, slen dinces, and tammy a[illegible]

[illegible] frequent interest a[illegible] at present is more depressing than any place I [illegible]ve ever [illegible]

4. During the afternoon I called and saw the Min sters, the foreig[illegible] and other authorities, and I have already conveyed to your Lor[illegible] [illegible] points of interest discussed with M. Khatiss[illegible] [illegible] one to His Holiness George 5th, Catholicos of Armenia [illegible] strong personality of striking appearance, and I was glad to have the opportun[illegible]

I venture here to suggest that a regular interchange of friendly letters betw[illegible] the hierarchy of the Church of England and the heads of the smaller Chri[illegible] Churches would be greatly appreciated by the latter.

In the evening I was entertained at a di[illegible] M. K[illegible] [illegible] avoid hurting the susceptibilities of the [illegible] foreign present, including [illegible] tatives of America, France, Italy, [illegible] Azerbaijan, Denikin's army, &c.

Following my invariable rule I made no public speech. I will confess [illegible] thought of the hungry people outside spoiled my appetite, and I was a[illegible] M. K[illegible]

Among the guests was Colonel Daly, who has since been appointed Ame[illegible]

5. On the 16th October I walked in the bazaars and streets for some hours [illegible] then drove to Echmiadzin, where I was hospitably received by the monks, including my acquaintance, Bishop Tiran, who has spent some time at Oxford, and speaks E[illegible]ish fluently and correctly.

I was grieved to see how the monastery had suffered since I last visited it nine years ago. There are now only twenty-two monks in residence. All the most valuable church property, including the splendid library, was transferred to Moscow for [illegible] early in the war, and is thus exposed to great risk of destruction or pillage. [illegible] buildings are sadly in need of repair, the fine trees have all been cut down, and [illegible] was formerly the peaceful, well kept abode of cultured scholars is now, to a [illegible] [illegible] one day.

6. In the afternoon Mme. Khatissian (a Russian by birth) held a reception, [illegible]

[illegible]ch I had the opportunity of meeting the chief political leaders, including the two delegates recently arrived from Paris, sent by Boghos Nubar Pasha, and two representatives of the American Armenians. These gentlemen had come to Erivan to [illegible] questions of policy with the Ararat Government, and I have been given to understand that one of their chief aims is to prevent too close a rapprochement between that Government and the Russian Volunteer Army. One of the things that [illegible] the most [illegible] my conversation with the American and Turkish Armenians was their evident disinclination to make any long stay in the Republic as at present [illegible]

7. I may mention that the President lives in a very modest way in a small apartment over an apothecary's shop, though he has a handsome house in Erivan (now given up to refugee work), and the Ministers generally are very poorly housed. The heroic old General, Thomas Nazarbekof, Commander-in-chief, seemed to have only one poor room for himself.

8. At the invitation of the Parliament I was present at their sitting in the [illegible] On my entrance the President made a speech of welcome which was much [illegible] by the House and the public who crowded the galleries. The deputies [illegible] to be serious, well-educated, and business-like; there were three women among [illegible] M. Khatissian sent me in the evening a letter, of which I annex a [illegible]

[illegible] ing of the 17th October I left in my motor-car with Captain [illegible] [illegible]nt-Commander Luke. We were followed by another [illegible] [illegible] Prince M. Orbeliani, and Captain Yablokof (an [illegible] officer in Nakhichevan on Don), attached to Captain Gruccy's office; this [illegible] we afterwards learned, had a series of accidents, and we did not meet it till our [illegible] to Echmiadzin from Novo-Bayazid.

10. The state of the roads was very good, and at various places we found men [illegible] at their maintenance and repair. In the forenoon we approached Elenovka, [illegible] Russian Molokans of the place offered me bread and salt, and made a speech of [illegible] We were then entertained at breakfast by the commissar of the district, [illegible] which we set out along the lake by a good road.

I may here mention that about a week ago Armenia laid the foundation of her naval power by launching at Elenovka, with much ceremony, a motor-boat armed with [illegible] machine gun and manned by a lieutenant, who has under his command forty men.

For a distance of over 20 miles every house was in ruins, as the result of the [illegible] between Armenians and Tartars. [illegible] miles before arriving at [illegible] Bayazid detachments of cavalry and boy scouts (refugee orphans from Turkish Armenia) were drawn up on the road as guards of honour and followed us into the town.

11. The district of Novo Bayazid, in the bleak highlands above Lake Goktcha, at a height of over 6,000 feet, was not able, even before the war, to produce half the food necessary for the inhabitants. There is now a large refugee population, and the [illegible] for the winter are, in spite of the good work of the American relief authorities [illegible] the whole population, turned out to greet us, and there were parades of cavalry and cadets, and the streets were guarded with troops.

At a luncheon given in our honour, numerous speeches were made by the mayor, the well-known guerrilla leader Hamazasp and others. Then, escorted by troops singing patriotic songs, I visited the church and received the blessings of the local [illegible] After seeing a refuge for 600 orphans, I returned to Elenovka and found the [illegible] members of my party there.

12. In the dusk we drove along the lake in sight of the island with the monastery [illegible] and, mounting to a height of about 5,000 feet, crossed the pass near [illegible]ovka and by a splendid zig-zag road descended over 2,500 feet to Delijan, where we arrived about 7.30 P.M., and were hospitably entertained by the family of the Armenian general who built and now looks after the road.

[illegible] natural beauties of Delij[illegible] [illegible] contrast to the ruins and squalor of Erivan and the desolate shores of [illegible] I [illegible] with the local authorities, the homes for the relief of [illegible] elder people busily engaged in the carpet-making

industry established and organised by Captain Gracey some time ago (before he [illegible] service of the Foreign Office), while the orphan children (of whom I saw [illegible] one house with large gardens and meadows on the river bank outside the [illegible] on the property first requisit[illegible]
[illegible] looked healthy and clean, though many of them still had an ex[illegible] terror on their faces very sad to see, and others were scarred and disfigured [illegible] I also saw the prison, the occupants of which, though somewhat crowded [illegible] nourished and as comfortable looking as could be expected; I was told they [illegible] chiefly robbers and murderers.

[illegible] samples were in my presence drawn from flo[illegible] to verify the assert on that heavy su[illegible] [illegible] juries tend to show that possibly the [illegible] The behaviour of the [illegible] O P M. I was [illegible] women and ch[illegible] flowers into my car and cheered.

14. By a fine smooth road, through a well-timbered, fertile country, past [illegible] villages and tilled lands, I arrived at Karaxa before dark. The place seemed [illegible] I ape[illegible], but is a trading centre of some [illegible]

[illegible] led by three A[illegible] [illegible] and depressing k[illegible] [illegible] ago distributed 1,800 [illegible] the railway station, encamped in the open air (like hundreds I had seen [illegible] were crowds of sick, hungry, dirty, exhausted people of all ages.

15. After the comparative comfort of Tiflis and the positive luxury of Baku it [illegible] painful to see the misery of Armenia. Not only have the people reached the [illegible] which has in many cases passed the breaking point, and in all has produced [illegible] likely [illegible] the [illegible] the mouths of those who formerly slandered Russia, and said that it wa[illegible] be measured unresisting, and which justifies their claim to a free political [illegible] they have a decided aptitude.

[illegible]

Enclosure in No. 16[illegible]

M. Khatissian to Mr. Wardrop.

(Translation.)

Erivan, October 16, 1919.

Sir,

THE Armenian nation and the Government of Armenia are devoting all the efforts to the complete organisation of the peaceful life of the State of Armen[illegible] have organised the public institutions: the army, Parliament, the Government, these are working regularly.

But the non-recognition hitherto of the independence of the Republic of Ar[illegible] be the [illegible] enormous hindrance to the regular w[illegible] state in the spheres of finance, politics, and the army.

In view of this, I, in the name of the Government, ask your Excellen[illegible] to [illegible] immediate recognition of the Re[illegible]

The extremely sympathetic attitude of the British Government and people towards Armenia and the Armenians is well known, and we therefore boldly count on England's [illegible] of the desires of the Armenian peopl[illegible]

Your personal attitude towards the interests of Armenia gives me full assurance that my request will find in your Excellency a powerful supporter.

[illegible]

AL. KHATISSIAN,
Minister-President of the Republic of Armenia.

154439] No. 163.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received November 22.)

[illegible]

Constantinople, November 6, 1919.

WITH reference to my letter No. 1935 of the 20th October, relative to the activity of the Italians in Smyrna and its environs, I have the honour to forward herewith for [illegible] lship's information copy of a further letter, dated the 22nd October, which I received on this subject from my representative at Smyrna.

I have, &c.

J. M. DE ROBECK,
High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 163.

Mr. Morgan to Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck.

October 22, 1919.

WITH reference to my despatch of the 14th instant, it is reported to me on good [illegible] and a fervent Italian propagandist, is a frequent visitor.

JAMES MORGAN, *Representative of British High Commissioner, Smyrna.*

154340 No. 164.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 2052.)

(Telegraphic.) *En clair.* *Constantinople, November 10, 1919.*

THE information contained in your telegram No. 1727 gives rise to serio[illegible] [illegible]nga. The already extraordinary prolongation of the armistice has brought [illegible] a state of real chaos which we have managed to palliate so far by a series of [illegible], but it I am correct in interpreting your phrase "for some time to come" [illegible] period of at all events six months, I feel it my duty to point out some of the principal difficulties we must be prepared to meet.

1. *Finance.*—See my telegram No. 1854 and my despatch No. 1775. It has been [illegible] control over Mustapha [illegible] but whilst the [illegible] not the case [illegible] for the support of their movement. Thus to assist the Government [illegible] great emergency is, in a way, to subsidise the Nationalists, whilst not to do so is to upset [illegible] is left of the administrative machinery. Moreover, it appears to me impossible to

grant any loan without controlling it, presumably this control would have to take an international form, which is most cumbrous and I think undesirable. It could hardly [illegible]

[illegible] Government himself, which he wishes carried on [illegible] or to come to Constantinople, he has, as you are aware, sugg[illegible] shall meet at Brousa. The elections which are proceeding are of course the [illegible] and will result in the nomination of practically a pure Committee [illegible] possible that they may be able to raise funds [illegible]

[illegible] d.—The situation is quite unparalleled. Ottoman Courts j[illegible] Ottoman subjects, and Allied troops are subject to Allied courts martial. Re[illegible] this no courts of law exist at the moment of writing. The Turkish Government [illegible] nt to adopt proposed temporary international tribunal, and even this would be quite inadequate palliative. Criminal charges are dealt with in a rough and [illegible] way by the inter-Allied police, but with no real legal sanction; offenders are [illegible] arrested and then released after a few days, as there is no prison accommodation [illegible] no tribunal which can deal with, say, a case of fraud. There are measures which it [illegible] most desirable to enforce in the public interest, such as the prevention of profi[illegible] or the speculation in roubles and shipping, passport or cust[illegible] we can, more or less, impose our decisions on the Porte, we have no legal au[illegible] over foreigners. This absence of law courts, tolerable as it was for a time, [illegible] every day greater disadvantages.

[illegible] *Police and Sanitary.*—In accordance with War Office instructions se[illegible] telegram No. 88 of 14th January) the British military authorities assumed [illegible] of the Turkish police and sanitary administrations, admitting French and [illegible] so that the controls might take on a proper inter-Allied complexion. But to [illegible] our action as regards the police, the French assumed control of the gendarmerie, which we declined to participate. They have, I gather, made very little [illegible] with their organisation, which they appear to have used, under the guidance [illegible] indiscreet general named Poulon, who was employed in the gendarmerie before [illegible] war, mainly as a means of propaganda and of obtaining information. The p[illegible] control under British supervision has given fully as satisfactory results as c[illegible] possibly be hoped for in the circumstances, directing the action of the Turks, [illegible] find the money to meet the expenses, only the cost of the foreigners employed [illegible] borne by the respective Allied Governments. Crime is kept within fairly re[illegible] limits, but the heads of the inter-Allied police have found themselves forced into [illegible] position of being a kind of court of summary jurisdiction, and to give [illegible] of military necessity.

[illegible] in sanitary control of the city and environs was similarly taken over by British military authorities, who adjoined to themselves representatives of the [illegible] Allies, as well as Greek and Russian representatives. This body is called [illegible] Commission sanitaire interalliée, and gives directions to the existing [illegible] municipal organisation. Its control, however, has never be[illegible] as we have furnished no money, and, as the municipality possess no [illegible] (see my telegram No. 2004), they are always able to plead lack of means [illegible] an excuse for not carrying out recommended measures. Plague and typhus [illegible] exist here, and I am advised that, while the former probably presents no great [illegible] we must be prepared to face a considerable epidemic of the latter during the [illegible] the health of the Allied troops has to be safeguarded. The above-mentioned Com[illegible] is responsible for all the work that has been done, but it is immensely ham[illegible] [illegible] of means and competent personnel as well as by the action of General [illegible] d'Esperey. When the headquarters of the Allies were moved here he, as Comm[illegible] en chef, introduced from Salonica a Commission internationale d'Hyg[illegible] of the directors of medical services of the three Allies, to which he added on [illegible] here representatives of the navies and of the two Turkish sanitary admini[illegible] (municipal and quarantine), as well as of other nationalities. The Allied [illegible] Commissioners are also represented. This body possesses properly no executive [illegible] only advisory functions, though the French members are continually trying to ex[illegible] its sphere, and I understand that it issues instructions in quarantine and h[illegible] matters, though the executive remains in the hands of the Turkish Commission [illegible] Défense sanitaire des Frontières. Here, again, effective action is greatly h[illegible] lack of funds (see my telegram No. 1946). You will see that no more unsa[illegible]

state of affairs could well be imagined, but it must continue as long as does the [illegible]

4. *Foreign Relations.*—I am glad to say that my relations with both my colleagues are entirely satisfactory and cordial, even if the attitude of the Italian Government is ambiguous and lends itself to certain suspicions. When the divergence of our views and interests, as well as the natural and instinctive efforts of the Turks to accentuate it, are taken into account, this result may almost be considered as surprising. This [illegible] and seriously menaced by the attitude of [illegible] who is consumed with vanity and a sense of his own importance, and who never loses an opportunity to presume upon his position of Commandant en chef for interfering in every kind of matter, from municipal latrines to the relations of this High Commission with the Turkish Government, none of which depend in the most remote manner upon his responsibilities as Generalissimo. He has [illegible] possible to replace him by some person of a less overbearing and more conciliatory [illegible] It is of course a standing enigma to the world at large here, but especially [illegible] urks, why the Supreme Command in Turkey is not in the hands of that country [illegible] no overthrew the Turkish E[illegible]

[illegible] *Internal Situation.*—As indicated above, this is very obscure. It seems clear that the present Government has not been able to come to an agreem[illegible] with Mustapha Kemal and the Nationalist movement, which appears to be meeting with quite serious [illegible] Committee. Accounts have come to my ears of serious engagements between them [illegible] of Turks are stated to have taken place, the anti-Nationalists being ill-provided with arms. The Christians have not been touched so far. My French colleague learns that the *Entente libérale* were making vigorous attempts to overthrow the present Government, and he seemed to think that I was interested in the movement, but I have most [illegible] y adhered to your instructions, namely, to insist on the maintenance of law and [illegible] and of legally constituted authority, but to take no action which could be inter[illegible] as assistance to any one party, and I have taken special pains to emphasise to [illegible] kish Government and to my colleagues that this and no other is the policy of [illegible] y's Government. It is one which it is not entirely easy to follow; for [illegible] recently several arrests have been effected, and I am at a loss to know whether [illegible] tical arrests, and so contrary to the instructions in your telegram No. 1691 [illegible] ther the arrested were implicated in plots against the present Government, [illegible] that constituted authority.

At all events, the discord existing among the Turks themselves is undoubtedly on [illegible] increase and can only tend to their future weakening. Nevertheless, you must be [illegible] no illusion as to the necessity of a considerable military force if it is desired [illegible] to impose upon the Turks any really onerous conditions of peace or to ensure stable safety to the Christians.

[illegible] It is my duty to submit to you recommendations for meeti[illegible] before doing so I desire to point out to you one factor which underlies the whole [illegible] the Turkish delegates absolutely refused to accept the occupation of [illegible] tinople, a point upon which, I think, you might advantageously consult [illegible] It is a fact which relieves us perhaps of certain responsibilities, but which, certainly impose some obligations. In any case, we have under the armistice no ren[illegible] unciation now for declaring an occupation. Arguments based upon an occupation are invalid.

7. My recommendations, then, are as follows:—

(1.) The presumption I have made is convenient, and is sufficient to justify [illegible] tion in making an advance till the Nationalists are forced to come out into [illegible]

(2.) The situation really can only be met by a declaration of occupation, from [illegible] h I submit we are precluded by considerations of good faith. But apart from [illegible] I can see no sound remedy, and we must get along as best we can, relying upon [illegible] Majesty's Government and the Peace Conference to support such action as we [illegible] be obliged by circumstances to take should the occasion arise.

(3 and 4.) The remedy is clear. It is very necessary to remove General Franchet [illegible], whose existence appears no longer justified by circumstances, or, if it is

[illegible] place him by a man of wider views and who understands more perfectly duties and the obligations of an ally.

8. I venture to hope that the considerations in my despatch No. 1836 will with your Lordship's attentive cons.

9. I am reporting separately on the situation with regard to the native Ch population of Turkey (see my despatch No. 2110/M/2348 of 11th November, 1919).

'154459 [illegible]

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received November 22.)

(No. 2110.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 11, 1919.*

WITH reference [illegible] of the 4th November [illegible] native Christian po[illegible]

2. Owing to the Nationalist movement in Asia Minor, arising out of the occupa[illegible] ng and growing tendency on the part of [illegible] in the interior to make for the sea-coast, where they arrive destitute homeless, to swell the crowds of refugees, for whom it is already impossible to pro adequate food and accommodation in the coast towns and villages.

3. Even at Constantinople, under the eyes of the various committees organised the relief of Armenian and Greek refugees, a recent visit which the Assistant Commissioner paid to an Armenian refugee camp at Haidar Pasha revealed an al indescribable state of affairs. Men, women, and children were huddled into tents there was hardly room to move, the decencies could not be preserved, and in wet weather the whole place was deep in mud. Moreover, there were not enough tents all and several families were camping in the open, sitting on their bundles daytime and sleeping on the bare ground at night.

4. Some explanation of the difficulty in hou[illegible] be found in the destruction caused by [illegible] buildings required for military needs, but it is always the Christian [illegible] has to bear the chief burden of suffering. If this state of things exists in the [illegible]

5. No stronger proof could be given of the anxiety which the present sit[illegible] Armenian Patriarchs recently called jointly upon me, arriving together at the Embassy, for the purpose of drawing attention to the dangers and sufferings of people—an unparalleled instance of fraternity in the history of their chu[illegible] my despatch No. 1923 of the 18th October).

The various relief organisations which are endeavouring to cope with the g mass of human suffering never contemplated the possibility of having to continue operations over another winter, with the fate of Turkey still hanging in the [illegible] and without the material assistance and support of a controlling Christian Power [illegible] policy raised a year ago.

7. The Armenian Committee, which is dependent on voluntary cont[illegible] almost exhausted its funds; the Greek Committee was never ab[illegible] operations beyond Thrace and the Asiatic shore of the Sea of Marmora, and it now its grant from the Greek Government curtailed by a sum of 200,000[illegible]; the Ang Committee for Relief in the Near East is also being obliged to reduce its ex and staff in a very large measure, and it is seen with dismay that the great American political and moral assistance which had been aroused by Pr W[illegible] Enquiry now seem doomed to disappointment.

8. Meanwhile, the needs are [illegible]

The work of the relief officers of this High Commission in obtaining the [illegible]tution of their property to returned refugees, which was proceeding satisfactorily, [illegible] not make itself felt for some months, when Turkish resentment for [illegible] been fanned into a flame by the anti-British propaganda of the [illegible] when the services of the relief officers would be more valuable [illegible] met with obstructions and hostility instead of re[illegible] to Christians have to be left unredressed, [illegible] ll earned prestige and personal influence which they had acquired with all [illegible] he population have been seriously impaired.

10. With regard to the question of the personal security of Christians in Turkey, is true that Mustapha Kemal Pasha proposes to guarantee their safety, provided [illegible] threatening the integrity of the Empire, but after [illegible] be placed in the word of an [illegible] tionalist leader who regards the surviving Armenians and Greeks as so many hostages for the exaction from the Allies of more favourable terms of peace fo[illegible]

[illegible] le of the Near East might be compared to a jelly. Touch it in on[illegible] and the whole trembles. The events at Smyrna have had their repercussion [illegible] ut the length and breadth of the land. The Christians are now bewildered [illegible] fied—bewildered by the seeming change of front, when, after proclaiming [illegible] world our solicitude for their welfare, they see us apparently abandoning them to their fate, and terrified—and justly so—as to what their fate may b[illegible] Britain occupies the unique position in the eyes of both Moslems and Eastern Christians, due, on the one hand to the existence within the British Empire of vast numbers of [illegible] fellow subjects and on the other to our consistently sympathetic attitude [illegible] all downtrodden races, while all alike recognise in her the Power which [illegible] moral effect of what they regard as a betrayal is [illegible] it came from our French or Italian Allies, or [illegible] icans, who are very much of an enigma to them. Despair must [illegible] tion, while the Moslem is encouraged in a fresh course of [illegible]

12. Another result of the indefinite prolongation of the armistice is to increase and emphasise the chaos already existing in Turkey, militarily, politically, and financially. Signs are not wanting that the present Government is as helpless as its [illegible] cessor in establishing its authority over the country, nor can it be otherwise whe[illegible] Allied occupation interferes with almost every branch of administration. To add to [illegible] embarrassments, serious distress is inevitable during the coming winter among th[illegible] many thousand Moslem refugees from the Smyrna area, who are now homeless and [illegible] number of these refugees have been accommodate[illegible] villages vacated by deported Christians, but in their blind [illegible] ns, the Turks had destroyed much which might now have served for the maintenance of their own distressed co-religionists, cutting down olive and mulberry [illegible] and wrecking houses and buildings in the most wanton fashion.

13. Meanwhile it is not to be supposed that German and Bolshevik agents have [illegible] ofle. On this fertile soil they could sow the seed of revolution and anarchy [illegible] with insane hatred of the Allies, which would be bound to bring forth [illegible] ul crop of violence and crime. Every district has its band of bri[illegible] patriots, and even in the vicinity of Constantinople robbery under arms is [illegible] principal victims being naturally the unprotected Christian [illegible] d all these elements of disorder stands Mustapha Kemal and his [illegible] h trained officers, hating and fearing the British, who they know would stand [illegible] a state of things in which their occupation would be gone, and ready to proceed to any length to keep Turkey for the Turks and free from foreign interference—above all, that of Great Britain. A prolongation of the armistice served their purpose well. Every week sees their influence grow as the disorder and distress becomes more acute, and the resulting situation will render the task of imposing terms of peace on Turkey [illegible] ly more difficult when it comes at last to be undertaken.

14. If it must be that the armistice is still to continue for some time to come, it [illegible] mes necessary to consider what immediate steps should be taken to ameliorate, as [illegible] It is hopeless to look to the Turkish Government for this. Representations to the Grand Vizier, notes to the Porte [illegible]

[illegible] the Christians and possesses no funds to carry out the [illegible] but the reverse is now the case. T[illegible] Moslem population, supported by the local author[illegible] it impossible for the Christians to earn their living, and by boycotting terrorism to dr[illegible] them again from [illegible] ly possible [illegible] dy practically exhauste[illegible] misery threat[illegible] of thousands of sufferers. Under these [illegible] Great Britain, who has shattered the fabric of Turkish [illegible] itter times in the surviving Christian population, should [illegible] fate, but assume the responsibility of their relief until their fu[illegible] tant she should do this either alone or in concert with her Allies.

I [illegible]

J. M. DE ROBECK, *High Commiss*

[155741] No. 166.

Earl Curzon to M. Cambon.

My dear Ambassador, *Foreign Office, November 21, 191*

COMMUNICATIONS are passing between our respective military autho[illegible] with regard to the evacuation by the British troops of the coastal areas in S[illegible] defined in the provisional agreement recently concluded between Mr. Lloy[illegible] and M. Clemenceau in Paris. It has been agreed that this is a purely military [illegible]tion, and is not intended to prejudge or compromise the future political and [illegible]trative settlement of those areas by the Peace Conference. It may be well, [illegible] for me to place on record that it is being carried out by His Majesty's Gov[illegible] without prejudice to the future determination of the northern and eastern [illegible]daries of Palestine, which will require to be examined and readjusted in the [illegible] settlement.

I am, yours sincerely,

CURZON OF KEDLESTO[illegible]

154967 No. 167.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received November 24.)

(No. 2114.)

My Lord, *Constantinople* [illegible]

I HAVE the honour to enclose herewith [illegible] and enclo[illegible] "Hurriet vé Itilaf" [illegible] olitical Party, to the Grand Vizier, in which he expounds the reasons wh[illegible] has decided to abstain from taking any part in the election of deputies to the Chamber. It should be noted that the Greek and Armenian communities [illegible] decided before to have nothing to do with the elections.

The elections are now in full swing throughout the country, [illegible] the Constantinople press are filled daily with articles on the subject. [illegible] doubt that in the provinces the usual methods of intimidation and fraud are employed witho[illegible] y pretence of disguise in order to ensure the return of de[illegible] Committee of [illegible] ed, will therefore simply constitute a [illegible] assembly of Committee of Union and Progress and Nationalist partisans and delegates.

I have, &c.

J. M. DE ROBECK, *High Commi[illegible]*

En[illegible] 1 in No. 167.

Memorandum.

[illegible]

THE *Entente libérale* Party has already submitted to you by its *exposés* of the [illegible] September and 13th October its point of view concerning the election of deputies, as well as concerning the real character of the national forces in Anatolia, which, [illegible] by the Union and Progress Committee, have thrown into calamity a big nation of 600 years.

This Committee has ever since filled its safes by plundering and stealing, by speculating and bribing, by killing and deporting, and by using all sorts of oppressive and illegal means. This Committee succeeded to open again its doors by importing great sums from Anatolia, and by collecting in the capital after the Armistice many unionist officers connected with it, as well as by appointing many high officials to [illegible] posts, and this through the organisations made in Constantinople. All our [illegible]ts and our repeated applications to the Government to point out abyss in which the nation is led remained fruitless.

This ominous Committee consists of persons famous for having secured their way [illegible] and most disastrous results, and availing of this they drew innumerable advantages. It consists of persons who have hidden the crime they perpetrated, and by rejecting all [illegible] not meeting any impediment of whatever description, and profiting of the [illegible] party, both verbally and in writing, that all the officers, officials, and gendarmes [illegible] all these [illegible] will influence the elections, and as they had already done before, by using threats and force, they will violate the electoral rights of the nation, and they will thus bring in the middle a body under the name of Parliament which will execute all their aspirations by obtaining in their hands all the destinies of the nation.

We had then pointed the way in which the elections could be safely carried out, and we had requested that measures might be taken to this effect accordingly. But [illegible] of the verbal assurances which the [illegible] of the promises which the Government [illegible] the contrary, the language which [illegible] a fact which proves [illegible] several places against this [illegible]. The [illegible] the national forces [illegible] congress [illegible] to secure the free elections as promised.

Salih Pasha, who returned from Amassia with Kara Vassif Bey, representative of the national forces in Constantinople, had published in the papers that the agreement [illegible] at between them forms in a way a fourth force.

[illegible] telegraph and correspondence of the national movements sent without paying any postal tax.

The [illegible] who were on the [illegible] compelled the country to conclude an armistice under very sad conditions, and consequently were accountable for all this.

The Government is coming into contact for the sake of an understanding with such a commander whose rank was taken away by Imperial Iradé for disobedience.

The Government is appointing as Governors, Valis, Mutessarifs and other official [illegible] who were [illegible] the national forces, without [illegible]

Under the circumstances, we beg to bring to your Highness's knowledge with regret that [illegible] Party which formed the conviction that the political [illegible] the country had become impossible, and which is more interested in the elections

In view of its possessing branch offices everywhere in Anatolia and in Roumeli possibly take part in the elections of to-day pending the return, to its normal the actual condit ons

Consequently, our party considers its sacred duty to demand the protection of [illegible] a bound to punish officially all criminals. We believe that the Government sh satisfy themselves with the convictions brought forth by Salih Pasha in consequence his having been sent to Amasia, but to send a commission chosen by our party have the criminal acts mentioned in the attached list examined on the spot so that legal penalties might be imposed according to the results which would be atta [illegible]

Appendice.

After the writing out and sending of the above [illegible] our President should come to an unde [illegible] Constantino [illegible] [illegible] as possible

List of Criminal Acts.

(Translation.)

1. The arrest of Tevfik Bey, Kaimakam of Cushak, and his imprisonment Sparta.

2. The arrest of Vasfi Bey, Mutesarif of Bordur, during the execution of duties, the confiscation of all his documents, his exile and imprisonment, [illegible]

3. The arrest of Muheddin Pasha, Vali of Angora, and his exile to S [illegible] him killed by bombs.

[illegible] The assassination of Hilmi Bey, Mutesarif of Eski Shehir; letting free the assass after having arrested.

[illegible]

7. They have sent Izzet Effendi, Control Officer at [illegible] land; imprisoned him there for five days, and tortured him.

8. They prevented Halis Effendi, Police Director of Konia, to do his duty, [illegible]

[illegible] police official, to Sivas, and they imprisoned [illegible] the accountant for fifteen days, and the police offic [illegible] ll the 22nd October, 1919.

[illegible]

[illegible] Kaimakam of Eregli, [illegible] and Yozgad.

[illegible] They killed the candidate deputy of the *Entente libérale* Party at Aintab, and [illegible] another candidate to withdraw his name by threatening him.

[illegible] They have sent under escort to Constantinople Moustafa Pasha, Vali of Brousa.

14. They have sent to Sidigazi Esmref Effendi, Mehmed Effendi, and Rus Effendi [illegible] all the way long and they have tortured them in that place.

15. They have gathered and collected from all parts very big sums of money.

[illegible] in Eski Shehir, because he objected to them; [illegible] was [illegible] was also burnt.

17. They threatened by death Mahmoud Effendi, ex-Mudir of the Nahie [illegible]

Ak Hissar in the K [illegible] and obliged him to run away to Constantinople in order to save his life.

18. They condemned to death Hadji Mehmed Ali, President of the *Entente libérale* Party in Eski Shehir; his secretary Burhannedin; and one of the members, Sefiriye Effendi, after killing Subhi Bey, the Mutesarif, the terms came to these three persons, but in the meantime they ran away to Constantinople, seeking refuge to the English.

19. They exiled the Mudir of the village of Fertek as well as Ismail Bey, Kaimakam of Bor, to Nemshehir, the Mudir of Public Instruction at Nigde Araboun and the judge of Onlou Kuhla to Nigde; they thrashed the judge and they threatened the Kaimakam.

[illegible] of Navouza, to evacuate the [illegible] broke his arm and [illegible]

[illegible] Congress of Erzeroum by proclaiming a [illegible], considering it a general centre; Moustak [illegible] in the Congress and the military [illegible] owner of the [illegible] "Selamet," published in Trebizond, strongly objected; they therefore [illegible] his house one night and tried to send him to the court martial of Erzeroum; [illegible] they summoned [illegible] arrived now at Constantinople

[illegible] force thousands and thousands [illegible] and specially 70,000 from Eak Shehir, [illegible] 40,000 from [illegible], and 30,000 from Burhan [illegible]

[illegible] fact that Nail Bey, one of the chiefs of the revolutionary movements, who [illegible] condemned to death for massacres and deportations, has again joined them to-day [illegible] is acting in the name of the national forces

24. They have compelled, using force, Haji Mustafa Effendi, Mufti (religio [illegible] Akshehir, to pull down the placard of the *Entente libérale* Party's premises there, [illegible] is with the assistance of the soldiers with bayonets on the rifles; they imprisoned [illegible] afterwards they threatened him to such an extent that he was [illegible]

[illegible] they are still doing so against the [illegible] ing against them, because they objected and [illegible] actions of brigandage

[illegible] 00 Turkish liras on Kutahia; they [illegible] his occasion they have killed Dilmz [illegible]

[illegible] They have attacked, with a f [illegible] forces in [illegible] on this occasion the rebels of Anatolia attacked Mustafa Bey, of Alashehir, one of the notables of the place; they blew up his house by bombs, and he scarcely succeeded to escape to Constantinople with only one of his daughters

28. The newspaper "Atchik Seuz," published at Castamouni, wrote on the 19th [illegible], under the title of "Candidate Deputies," the following

[illegible] Rights at Castamouni [illegible] persons are [illegible] Sivas [illegible] Yozgad [illegible] Mustafa Kemal [illegible] Vali of [illegible] was [illegible] sent [illegible] tinople by the steam [illegible] It was [illegible] Mehmed [illegible] Vali of [illegible] was opposed to the Nationalists [illegible] National forces and sent under escort [illegible] National forces in Eregli, Bolou, [illegible] Majesty that the Central Government should [illegible] view [illegible] treacherous dealings, and that in case of the resignati [illegible] they

are ready to march on Constantinople perfectly [illegible] *Entente* Powers will remain entirely neutral. All [illegible] of the movement.

30. The fact that Saadeddin Effendi, Kaimakam of Seari, informs by telegram dated the 27th October, 1919, that he invited all honourable personages who do not want to participate in the elections, to appear before him, and then openly th[illegible] them.

Enclosure 2 in No. 167.

Extract from a Constantinople Newspaper.

UN VOTE TYPE.

LA [illegible]ection du vote contesté de Fatih se précise. Il apparaît que c'est une [illegible] de Stambouf—la partie occidentale.

Ces électeurs sont au nombre de 3,000 seulement. La moitié d'entre eux n'ont pas participé à l'opération. En effet, les votes exprimés sont au nombre de 1[illegible] sur ceux-ci, les 1,050 étaient des bulletins imprimés uniformes, avec une signa[illegible] au-dessous.

Les votes imprimés ne sont ils pas valables? [illegible] ne dit rien à cet égard. Mais le préfet Djémal Pacha, chargé, de par ses fonctions, de ces élections, considère que [illegible] que, sur 1,200 votes les 1,050 sont imprimés, constitue comme la manifestation [illegible] organisation (il a dit "une force") destinée à faire prévaloir ses candidatures.

De ceci et de ce qui s'écrit dans les journaux, il est permis de déduire que l'on fait allusion à une action des Unionistes.

Le Conseil d'État, consulté, a déclaré qu'il ne trouve aucune prescription légale à appliquer [illegible] de savoir s'il y a eu manœuvre.

A rapprocher de ce qui précède le cas de ce Véli agha de Pacha-Bagtché, auquel un membre du conseil des anciens de l'endroit avait demandé son cachet pour l'apposer, dit-il, sur une pièce relative à la distribution du pain, et qui s'en servit pour signer un bulletin de vote du Milli-Congrès.

[155758] No. 168.

Earl Curzon to the Earl of Derby.

(No. 1391.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, November 25, 1919.*

M. CAMBON opened his conversation with me this afternoon by raising again the question of the proposed Anglo-French guarantee for the integrity of Belgium.

He seemed to be under the false impression that the British Government had finally and definitely declined to have anything to do with the matter. I pointed to him that this was not the case, and that the decision taken by the Cabinet [illegible] merely this: that they did not wish at the moment to take independent a[illegible] Belgium before the question of the Anglo-American guarantee of the French [illegible] was itself in a less precarious position.

We presently found ourselves simultaneously pointing out to each other a feature of the case which neither of us had fully realised at our last interview, namely, that a new guarantee is not given to the Belgians by Great Britain and France, [illegible] countries; in other words, if Belgium does not get the new guarantee, she will [illegible] to submit upon the old one.

I said that, in these circumstances, inasmuch as, even if we gave the new [illegible] to the Belgian Government, while it might satisfy their desires, it did not seem [illegible] to me that it would at all tempt the Dutch Government to accept the draft treaty [illegible] had been proposed in Paris, I did not quite understand why the Belgian Government were so eagerly pressing the matter.

The Ambassador also was unable to answer this question.

When I asked him whether his Government would prefer to offer the new guarantee or to remain content with the old one he said that he had no [illegible]

instructions on the subject, but that personally he inclined towards maintaining the Treaty of 1839.

I promised to examine the question of the two alternatives and to communicate [illegible] him again about them.

His Excellency then spoke to me in terms of great apprehension about reports [illegible] concerning probable pourparlers between Mr. O'Grady, whom we had sent there, and M. [illegible] of the proposed exchange of prisoners. The French Government had [illegible] listen to anything that M. Litvinoff might say upon the larger question of peace with Soviet Russia, and to send home a memorandum which, it was understood, M. Litvinoff was anxious to submit. This memorandum was said to contain proposals [illegible] regard, among other things, to the blockade and the financial and economic [illegible] upon which the Bolshevist Government would be disposed to make [illegible]

In reply to this I told the Ambassador that Mr. O'Grady's instructions had been [illegible] to the contrary; that he had been deputed to deal with the question of [illegible] and that he was not to encourage or embark upon any wider [illegible] believed that he had been told that, if M. Litvinoff desired to secure the [illegible] be the basis of the rumours which had reached the French Government. There would be nothing improper in such action on Mr. O'Grady's part; but on the larger question I had been very careful throughout to prevent there being any misunderstanding and to confine him within the limits of his instructions. I thought, therefore, that the French Government had been somewhat unduly alarmed, but I would watch the matter very carefully myself.

M. Cambon said that there were also a number of French prisoners confined in Moscow and he asked whether it would be possible for Mr. O'Grady to include in his [illegible] an effort to secure their release.

I said that I thought the best thing I could do was to ask Mr. O'Grady by [illegible] him the facts of the case, with a view to giving help if it were possible to do so.

For this the Ambassador expressed his hearty thanks.

[illegible] had submitted to M. Pichon more than a fortnight ago, concerning the transference to London of the meetings of the Peace Conference in order to deal with the Turkish Peace.

I said that no official reply to this proposal had been received, though I understood that it was not favourably regarded by M. Clemenceau.

M. Cambon said that, during his recent visit to Paris, he had not been able to see M. Clemenceau, who was away in the country, and he had had only one short talk with M. Pichon. The latter had, however, mentioned the objections of the President du [illegible] a labour which, I observed, had been spun out for the best part of a year.

While M. Clemenceau had offered to come with M. Pichon to England in order to reach an understanding with us, and while we should warmly welcome such an interchange of views, I could not share the French view that, even if we did come to an [illegible] wards be got through in a few days. On the contrary the questions which remained for settlement, and which I enumerated to the Ambassador, would probably [illegible] Whom we could spare, or how [illegible] the R[illegible] unreasonable that the latter should now insist on retaining the venue in Paris, and he [illegible] to submit to the slight inconvenience of transferring their [illegible] for a short time to our capital. I contemplated going to Paris myself before [illegible] Clemenceau then.

As regards the situation in America, the Ambassador expressed the opinion [illegible]

[illegible]

League of Nations as embodied in [illegible] by the American Government, the Senate would have been in the least dete[illegible] acting as it might choose on each occasion as it arose under the covenant. The [illegible] he was convinced, would insist on retaining precisely the kind and degree of co[illegible] which it claimed in the reservations.

I did not argue the matter at length, but I pointed out that our view [illegible] reservations was a different and much more serious one, that, so far as I k[illegible] President Wilson himself was not at all likely to take them lying down, and that latest news as to the attitude of America, derived from our Ambassador there and [illegible] from what Mr. Davis and Mr. Polk had said to me here, was that there still remained a possibility of a compromise which might save the covenant of the League and American participation. So long as there was still this possibility, it seemed very much better to work for that end than to throw up the sponge and admit at [illegible] early stage what amounted to practical defea[illegible]

I am, &c.
CURZON OF KEDLESTON

[155729] No. 169

M. Clemenceau to Mr. Lloyd George.—(Received at Foreign Office, November 26.)

Offices of the President of the Council,
Paris, November 9, 1919.

The Prime Minister,

I HAVE to thank you for the perfect clearness with which you have [illegible] your point of view concerning our Syrian negotiations, just as I have myself, [illegible] on the friendly intentions of British policy with regard to France.

You gave us the proof of your intentions when you declared to the Emir [illegible] that you took responsibility for the relief of the British troops by French [illegible] and that you advised him to come here to reach an understanding with the [illegible] Government.

In point of fact, if this procedure had been followed at once at t[illegible] that is to say, at the time of the occupation of Damascus a year ago, the [illegible] would without doubt have been avoided. I am pleased to [illegible] forth there is no chance of their recurring between us, and that the Peace Conference will have nothing to do but to sanction our agreement for the French mandate in Syria and the British mandate in Mesopotamia. Each of us will arrange with the Arab Governments and administrations of our respective mandates [illegible] liberal conditions under which we will respectively give our effective support and assistance in accordance with our agreements.

I have never called in doubt the sincerity of the sentiments of the [illegible] Government, nor have I ever suspected the uprightness of Sir E. Grey, whose [illegible] is just as deeply respected in France as in Great Britain; but in my view, secondary agents on the spot, who do not realise the complexities of the situa[illegible] have let themselves be influenced by the fact of the British occupation of the [illegible] territories.

I do not intend to take up point by point the detailed historical d[illegible] contained in your note of the 18th October, although I continue to regret that [illegible] of 1915, not even the text of which had been communicated to us, just as our [illegible]ments of 1916 had not been communicated to the Arabs—a dangerous on[illegible] 1916 as a secret understanding between us for the partition of the Arab cou[illegible] contrary to the agreements, in too absolute a form, of 1915 with King Hussein.

I interpret in a manner less restrictive than you the rights which result [illegible] French and British Governments with regard to the Arab Governments from [illegible] of the agreements of 1916 and the declaration of November 1918. These will, moreover, be finally defined by the terms of the mandate which the Conf[illegible] alone is qualified to determine.

I must, however, make two points clear:—

The replacement (which I had failed to notice) of the term "protéger" by that of "soutenir," effected several months after the signature of the agreements and accepted by M. Paul Cambon on his own initiative, had as its only object to avoid an ambiguity our intention being not to exercise a protectorate over the Arab federations, but merely [illegible] them our exclusive assistance in every form.

As regards our conversation of December 1918 I cannot admit that I consented [illegible] Palestine. It would have been unprecedented that such concessions should have been [illegible] being on the o[illegible] Asia Minor. Perhaps you have kept the map which I thought it [illegible] communicate to you to this effect.

The case of Mosul has, moreover, this special aspect, that the town is include[illegible] the Arab zone of the French mandate under the same category as Damascus and [illegible] and is claimed by our Arab Allies under the same conditions.

I welcome with the greatest satisfaction the assurance that the Arabs have not [illegible] a single rifle, machine-gun, or gun, contrary to the reports furnished by ou[illegible] spot, [illegible] the Emir Feisal.

[illegible] with the [illegible] Feisal. The negotiations pursued on our side with him at Paris have been very courteous, although they have not yet resulted in an agreement. The essential difficulty lies not in the excessive ambitions of France, but in the absolute designs of the Emir, who does not seem yet ready to understand the necessity for the Arabs to [illegible] Arab States. His general attitude makes as difficult for you as for us the unequivocal [illegible]standing which we all desire, but which demands from each of us equivalent concessions. However this may be, the intermediate phase of the mandate, the utility of which has notwithstanding been confirmed by the Conference, is not yet frankly [illegible]d by him. I would not despair of convincing him.

[illegible] that every attempt to separate the two policies would be in vain. The alliance of [illegible] two peoples, and the depth of the sentiments which bound them after five years of war [illegible] of the world.

Please accept, &c.
CLEMENCEAU

[155730] No. 170

Emir Feisal to the Earl of Derby.—(Received at Foreign Office, November 26.)

My Lord,

Paris, November 21, 1919.

I HAVE the honour to hand your Lordship the enclosed letter for forwarding to the Prime Minister, also a copy of my last letter to M. Clemenceau for the perusal of His Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.
FEISAL

Enclosure 1 in No. 170

Emir Feisal to Mr. Lloyd George.

Sir,

Paris, November 21, 1919.

I HAVE come to realise that the French Government, in spite of continued suggestions for an amicable settlement, intend as a result of your *aide memoire* of the 15th September, 1919, to occupy some of the districts evacuated by the British troops around Damascus, such as Bekaa, Baalbeck, Zebdani and also other places around Homs, Hama and Aleppo.

These districts, as you know, are part of the territory where the British Government undertook to establish an independent Arab State, and in accordance with this they handed over the administration to the Arab Government at the time of occupation. Any violation of the boundary by any Government or in any [illegible] contrary to the wishes of my father the King and the expressed desires of the [illegible] will be considered as an aggression which the Arab army cannot be blamed [illegible] ly resisting. This violation is expressly a breach of international law and [illegible] sacred rights of the people.

In the name of my father the King and his Government I call upon the British Government to immediately help in the difficulties arising from this arran[illegible] which is alleged to be temporary, until such time as the Peace Conference will [illegible] determined the future of the whole country, the littoral as well as the interior.

I again beg to remind the British Government that they cannot ex[illegible] themselves from the responsibility of their agreements with us which we still expect them to carry out.

I reserve to myself the right to bring once more before the Peace Conference our country's cause.

I have, &c.
FEISAL.

Enclosure 2 in No. 170.

Emir Feisal to M. Clemenceau.

M. le Président, *Paris, le 20 novembre 1919.*

J'ai eu l'honneur de recevoir votre lettre du 13 novembre, en réponse à celle [illegible] j'ai adressée à votre Excellence en date du 5 de ce même mois.

J'ai eu le profond regret de voir que ma lettre ne vous a pas paru correspondre à [illegible] britannique de ma demande, concernant la nomination d'une commission, ne vous [illegible] pas semblé tout à fait exacte.

Si ce n'était le souci de vous éviter de longs détails, j'aurais bien voulu donner à [illegible] Excellence de plus amples explications pour justifier mon point de vue et ma façon d'envisager la situation. Néanmoins, je me permets de vous soumettre le passage de la lettre de Mr. Lloyd George, datée du 10 octobre, en réponse à la proposition que je lui ai faite pour la nomination de la commission. Il y est [illegible] textuellement :

> " Ils seraient très heureux d'arranger une réunion immédiate entre vous et des représentants français, anglais et américain, pour régler de la façon la plus amicale, et à la satisfaction de tous les intéressés, les problèmes que comprend le retrait prochain des troupes britanniques de la Syrie le 1er novembre 1919.

Il me semble que le sens de cette lettre ne prête à aucune interprétation équivoque, [illegible] proposition. Aussi dans l'espoir d'obtenir votre assentiment, je me suis empressé [illegible] répondre à votre aimable invitation, transmise par le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères britannique, et je suis venu à Paris, pour m'entretenir et régler en premier lieu avec votre Excellence les problèmes découlant nécessairement de l'opération de la relève.

A cette occasion, je tiens à vous réitérer les assurances que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous répéter. Ce n'est nullement la relève des troupes britanniques, en elle-[illegible] bases et d'après les limites du Traité Picot-Sykes.

En effet, l'opération, telle qu'elle est prévue, entraînera de fait un changement dans les limites et dans l'administration actuelles des zones, et cela ne peut que provoquer une grande effervescence parmi la population, malgré toutes les déclarations antérieures et toutes les assurances qu'on pourrait lui donner. Le peuple qui m'a accordé sa confiance et m'a chargé de la responsabilité de sa direction politique, comme je m'étais chargé de la responsabilité de sa direction pendant la guerre, a le droit d'attendre de moi des garanties effectives et des assurances formelles pour dissiper ses inquiétudes. De mon côté, je crois avoir le droit d'attendre des Alliés leur concours bienveillant pour m'aider à maintenir la confiance réciproque entre eux et les Arabes, œuvre à laquelle je me suis sincèrement consacré, et que j'ai

jusqu'à ce jour menée avec succès. Je suis, cependant, obligé d'avouer que, malgré tous les efforts que j'ai déployés depuis mon arrivée ici, je n'ai pu encore obtenir aucune garantie efficace qui puisse m'autoriser à rassurer la population.

La seule entrevue relativement courte que j'ai eu l'avantage d'avoir avec le Général Gouraud n'a fait que confirmer l'opinion que j'avais déjà des grandes qualités de ce brillant chef de l'armée de la victoire, elle justifie amplement sa réputation et l'opinion exprimée dans la lettre de votre Excellence. Je n'ai [illegible] aucun moment douté de la sincérité et de la noblesse de vos sentiments, ni de [illegible] bonnes dispositions de la grande nation française envers mon pays. Je suis aussi convaincu que le Gouvernement de la République est très désireux de prendre en [illegible] dération les vœux de ce peuple qui s'est rangé aux côtés des Alliés au moment le plus critique de la guerre, et qui a apporté sa modeste contribution à l'œuvre de la victoire en Orient. Aussi je ne fais qu'interpréter les vœux de ce peuple et sa foi dans [illegible] t de justice et d'équité de votre Excellence, en me permettant d'insister pour [illegible] ver à une solution qui puisse lui donner la conviction que son existence n'est [illegible] t menacée.

Votre Excellence m'ayant fait comprendre que la question était du ressort de la [illegible] adresser au Conseil suprême, non pas pour amener une décision définitive, mais [illegible] Conférence règle définitivement le sort de l'Orient.

Je suis toujours d'avis que c'est au Conseil suprême qu'il appartient de [illegible] solution satisfaisante, si toutefois votre Excellence ne juge pas [illegible] dre en considération la suggestion suivante que je me permets de [illegible] is [illegible] dont j'avais demandé la formation, et que j'estime indispensable pour dissiper les inquiétudes et me permettre de pouvoir rassurer la population, et éviter les malentendus. Cette solution consiste :

1. Au maintien des troupes arabes dans les limites de la zone qu'ils occupent depuis l'armistice, des troupes britanniques dans la Palestine et des troupes françaises dans la zone ouest occupée par elles. D'autant plus que rien ne justifie un changement, dans les limites actuelles des zones, avant la décision de la Conférence.
2. La nomination d'une commission composée de trois membres : un français, un anglais et un arabe, désigné chacun par le commandant de la zone respective. Cette commission siégera dans une ville qui sera choisie en Syrie, elle aura pour mission de régler d'un commun accord les différends qui pourraient surgir entre les trois zones et sera chargée de maintenir la cohésion et la liaison entre les différentes administrations.

Je considère que cette solution aura le grand avanta[illegible] de sauvegarder l'unité du pays et de faciliter la tâche des trois Gouvernements. C'est encore le seul moyen de convaincre la population que la mesure adoptée est de caractère purement militaire et [illegible] les doctrines [illegible] la solution [illegible] tive de la question qui reste réservée à la décision de la Conférence.

Le désir que votre Excellence a manifesté de rechercher [illegible] entente [illegible] compte des vœux des populations et de nos intérêts respectifs, m'encourage à [illegible] présente [illegible] de, afin de m'aider à préparer les voies à une entente effective.

[illegible] temps p[illegible] me vois obligé de rentrer [illegible] en Syrie; je serai donc très heureux de recevoir un moment plus tôt une réponse favorable de votre Excellence.

Veuillez agréer, &c.
FEISAL.

No. 171.

Notes of a conversation between the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and the Arab Mission representing the Emir Ibn Saud, 26th November, 1919.

THE Secretary of State received Feisal-ibn-Saud and Ahmad-ibn-Thumaiyan at the Foreign Office on the 26th November, 1919.

After customary greetings had been exchanged, the Secretary of State said that he proposed to review the general situation between King Hussein and Ibn Saud before

replying in detail to the requests pr[illegible] 1st N[illegible] the India Office and Foreign Office [illegible]

His Majesty [illegible] independent rulers of Arabia, he was their frien[illegible] ngagements with him. They were earnestly desirous that the friendly [illegible] established in this treaty should be mai[illegible]

During the past year Ibn Saud had [illegible] into conflict with another of the f[illegible] of His Majesty's Government, His Highness Sherif Hussein, the King of the H[illegible] Without going into the merits of the controversy, he wished to make it clear that was a state of affairs which His Majesty's Government could not vi[illegible] [illegible] ciples of cohesion and unity replace sep[illegible] discord in Arabian [illegible] the first essential to the attainment of this o[illegible] was that the two greatest independent rulers of Arabia should live at peace with [illegible]

His Majesty's Government were delighted to welcome Ibn [illegible] mission which had accompanied him to England but so long as the n[illegible] Ibn Saud and King Hussein remained undecided, they were not prepared to [illegible] specific answers to such questions as those presented by the Arab Mission on 1st November. The outbreak of hostilities between these two rulers had [illegible] considerable disquiet to His Majesty's Government, who had given careful thought the means by which they could be instrumental [illegible]

In the month of June the position had been that Hi[illegible] Khurma and Turaba, and had successfully resisted two a[illegible] reassert his authority in those places. His Majesty's [illegible] Mr Philby by air with the intention that he should make his way [illegible] propose to him that hostilities should cease pending a settlement of the dispute British Commission. One of the conditions which was to have been [illegible] Mr Philby was that Ibn [illegible] that a strip of country should be left unoccupied between the con[illegible] Ibn Saud had, however, in the meantime received a previous message from his Majesty's Government which had induced him to suspend hostilities and return to Riadh. Mr Philby was accordingly unable to deliver the message of His M[illegible] Government, and Ibn Saud had remained in possession of Khurma and [illegible] ever since.

He wished the mission to understand clearly that, on the evidence before [illegible] His Majesty's Government were inclined to accept King Hussein's contention that [illegible] but also of Khurma; but it was impossible for them to make a definite decision [illegible] commission if this had been the desire of both parties. Ibn Saud had always [illegible] to this solution, but King Hussein had objected. His Majesty's Government [illegible] now of opinion that the best way of settling the dispute between the two rulers [illegible] that they should meet personally and talk matters over, either at Jeddah or [illegible] at some other place. They had accordingly suggested to King Hussein that [illegible] should be done, and he would be glad to know how Ibn Saud would be likely to [illegible] a similar proposal.

Ahmad ibn-Thunayan replied that he had no doubt that Ib[illegible] a meeting with King Hussein himself, but he was not authorised to giv[illegible] to this effect, nor could he say anything as to the place of meeting. [illegible] representative in the event of a personal interview between the two rulers [illegible]

The Secretary of State remarked that, so far as he knew, King Hussein had refused to meet Ibn Saud. He had, however, definitely refused to accept arbit[illegible] by a British Commission on the question of Khurma. The intention of His M[illegible] Government was that a meeting should now be brought about between the two [illegible] for a frank discussion of all points at issue between them. This was what he call the first step of the negotiations. It was hoped that such a mee[illegible] in general agreement; if, however, it turned out that the two parties were [illegible] agree, His Majesty's Government suggested that the second step should [illegible] intervention of an impartial British official who would endeavour to decide such [illegible] as remained in dispute. He asked whether Ibn Saud would agree to this [illegible] step.

Ahmad-ibn-Thunayan again pointed out that he had no authority to g[illegible] definite answer, but his personal opinion was that Ibn Saud would accept arbitration

[illegible] British official, provided that King Hussein agreed equally to be bound by [illegible] decision.

The Secretary of State said that His Majesty's Government would of course make it a condition that both parties should accept without question the decision of the [illegible] trator, and that unless both parties agreed to this the proposal would fall to the [illegible]

[illegible] whether His Majesty's Government would guarantee both parties against an infr[illegible] ment by the other party of the agreement arrived at.

The Secretary of State replied that His Majesty's Government could not undertake this until they saw the agreement, but that they would be glad to accept any reasonable agreement arrived at by the two parties, and would use their influence to restrain either party from infringing it in future.

He went on to say that the appointment of a Boundary Commission, which he [illegible] the third step in the negotiations, would [illegible] difficulty of the first two stages had been successfully negotiated, nor would it be necessary at all if, as he himself [illegible] it was found that the first stage had been sufficient. He [illegible] that what he said provided an answer to most of the points raised in the mission's note of the 1st November. At Ahmad-ibn-Thunayan's request, however, he dealt with them [illegible]

[illegible] Saud should demand the [illegible] There was, so far as [illegible] be any necessity for its renewal.

With regard to No. 2, His Majesty's Government did not propose to discuss the disputed boundary with either party. They sincerely hoped that a meeting would [illegible] agreement being arrived at.

As to No. 3, the question of an outlet to the sea [illegible] depend entirely on the relations between the two rulers. If, as he hoped, before the next pilgrimage season commences they had found a solution to their differences the [illegible] would not arise.

[illegible] answer to No. 4, he must disclaim any liability on the part of His Majesty's Government to reinstate the territories of Ibn Saud [illegible] over the past fifty years. He did not consider that it was a suitable moment to discuss [illegible] enhancement of his subsidy at a time when he was not on friendly terms with a [illegible] and ally of His Majesty's Government.

He did not quite understand the last suggestion, that Mr. Philby should be despatched to Ibn Saud as political agent empowered for the solving of the boundary [illegible] and other kindred problems, inasmuch as the proposals now put forward by His Majesty's Government would, he hoped, result in all these problems being solved without British intervention.

With regard to the attachment of a British official to the mi[illegible] journey, this was a matter which would, he understood, be arranged [illegible] to whom he would not fail to represent the mission's wishes.

In conclusion, he impressed upon Feisal-ibn-Saud and upon Ahmad-ibn-Thunayan the paramount necessity of Ibn Saud's establishing friendly relations with the King of the Hejaz. This was the most important point, and all questions of detail should be made subordinate to it.

Foreign Office, November 26, 1919.

15o260 No. 172.

[illegible] November 28.

Paris, N[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Council had seen the draft

[illegible] efore despatch, I should myself have drawn attention to the inaccuracy of [illegible] ontained in the added words.

[illegible] ht it unnecessary to raise the point myself in the Supreme Council [illegible] ire to revive discussion on a subject which generally engenders some heat in the Conference, and also because M. Veniselos himself has, for the same reason, asked me to let the matter drop. He merely desired by this note to me to place on record the true state of things, and I would add that, so far as I can gather from the records available, M. Veniselos's version is entirely correct, the warning as to the provisional nature of the Greek occupation having been given, not at the time when M. Veniselos was invited to occupy Smyrna, but after he had effected occupation.

I have, &c.
EYRE A. CROWE.

Enclosure 1 in No. 172.

M. Veniselos [illegible]

Dear Sir Eyre Crowe, *Paris, November 20, [illegible]*

I HAVE duly received the letter which the President of the Conference addressed to me under date of the 18th November. As I am desirous of avoiding further dispute with him, I shall not forward an official reply to the above letter. I [illegible] taking the liberty, however, of assuring you that the statement which appears in [illegible] at I was "formellement averti [illegible] décision a [illegible] prise par le Conseil des Quatre" of the temp[illegible] occupation of Sm[illegible] is not exact.

When Mr. Lloyd George spoke to me first of the decision regarding the occup[illegible] he made no mention whatever of its [illegible]porary character. And when I appeared before Mr. Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau, and Mr. Wilson in order to discuss matters relating to the carrying out of the occupation, [illegible] was made of its temporary. Only after the occupation had taken pl[illegible] I appeared before Supreme Council. M. Sonnino [illegible] discussing the extent of the Greek [illegible], mention was made for the time in that meeting of "temporariness," concerning the extent rather than the nature of the occupation.

I do not, of course, infer that the occupation entrusted to Greece is equal to a definite recognition of her sovereignty over the occupied area. [illegible] that when Greece was asked to proceed to this occupation, not only was the [illegible] tion made to me of its being temporary, but on the contrar[illegible] plied—though tactfully—that this occupation w[illegible] the first step towards giving [illegible] part of Western Asia Minor. Mr. Lloyd George [illegible] testify as to the correctness [illegible] my impression.

[illegible], &c.
K. VENISELOS.

Enclosure 2 in No. 172.

M. Clemenceau to M. Veniselos.

Conférence de la Paix,
M. le Président, *Paris, le 18 novembre 1919.*

LE Conseil suprême a pris connaissance de votre lettre du 17 [illegible] répondant à la communication qu'il vous avait faite, après avoir en[illegible] la lecture de [illegible] vous aviez bien voulu donner à cet égard.

J'ai l'honneur de vous informer que le Conseil [illegible] estime que les impressions que vous exprimez au sujet de l'occupation de Smyrne ne modifient en rien la déclaration faite par le Conseil suprême sur le caractère provisoire de l'occupation militaire grecque. Vous en avez été formellement averti au moment où la décision a été [illegible] par le Conseil des Quatre.

Il appartient à la Conférence de la Paix seule de décider, au moment où l'ensemble de la question d'Orient sera étudié par elle, quel sera le sort des différentes régions [illegible] l'ancien Empire ottoman.

Veuillez agréer, &c.
CLEMENCEAU.

Enclosure 3 in No. 172.

M. Veniselos to M. Clemenceau.

Délégation hellénique au Congrès de la Paix,
M. le Président, *Paris, le 15 novembre 1919.*

J'AI l'honneur d'accuser réception de la lettre que votre Excellence a bien voulu m'adresser en date du 12 novembre, au sujet de la Commission d'Enquête de Smyrne.

L'esprit d'amicale confiance dont s'inspire la réponse du Conseil suprême aux déclarations écrites et aux réserves verbales que j'ai eu l'honneur de lui exposer me [illegible] un devoir de ne pas insister sur les vices dont est entachée l'enquête par suite [illegible] incontestables irrégularités commises au cours de la procédure adoptée par la [illegible] mission.

Mais je manquerais à la déférente sincérité de sentiments que j'ai toujours témoignés au Conseil suprême si je ne signalais pas à sa bienveillante attention les [illegible] xions que, sur deux points, me suggère la réponse qu'il a bien voulu me donner.

En premier lieu, le Conseil suprême exprime l'espoir que la tension dangereuse, [illegible] it pas avoir cessé actuellement de se faire sentir sur les limites de la zone [illegible] ecque, sera peu à peu réduite par la sagesse et la justice de l'admini[illegible] t grâce à l'œuvre de démobilisation récemment terminée par le Général [illegible] lant des forces alliées en Anatolie.

Le Conseil suprême peut absolument compter sur le maintien de l'ordre le plus parfait dans la zone d'occupation de [illegible] rces helléniques. Mais ce serait se méprendre sur la réalité des faits auxquels est due la tension dangereuse persistant sur les limites de ladite zone que d'en attendre la réduction des [illegible] fets de l'action [illegible] grecque. Sa vigilance ne s'exerce, en effet, qu'en dedans de ces limites, alors que la tension signalée provient des attaques entreprises du dehors. Leurs auteurs ne sont pas [illegible] enquête où ils ont voulu discerner une défaveur pour le régime grec. Dès lors, ils répété leurs impuissantes agressions avec une fréquence d'autant plus grande qu[illegible] [illegible] ent sont [illegible] les troupes grecques doivent se borner à les repousser sans pouvoir les p[illegible].

L'examen objectif des faits conduit à la conclusion que le bon ordre régnant dans la zone d'occupation grecque sera également assuré au delà de ses limites aussitôt que les Turcs, privés de l'espoir de trouver des appuis pour fomenter des troubles, auront [illegible] it conscience de leur défaite. Ce résultat sera certainement obtenu par [illegible] décisions définitives de la Conférence de la Paix.

En second lieu, le Conseil suprême remarque que l'occupation de Smyrne n'a été [illegible] envoyer à Smyrne des troupes grecques, le Conseil suprême ne pouvait se méprendre sur la signification qui devait y être, à bon droit, attribuée par le Gouvernement et le peuple grecs. Les revendications de la Grèce sur Smyrne et la région avoisin[illegible] [illegible] ont la Conférence, longuement défendues devant le Conseil suprême et nettement [illegible] trouvées par la Commission spéciale des Affaires grecques. En allant à Smyrne, la [illegible] savait que si elle n'y avait pas encore de titre légal, elle y avait déjà un titre [illegible] vait pas ses troupes comme simples instruments d'exécution [illegible] une terre étr[illegible], comme elle l'avait précédemment fait en Russie, mais bien comme les organes les plus intéressés au succès d'un mandat international ayant pour [illegible] maintien de l'ordre dans un pays essentiellement grec. Dès lors, si l'occupatio[illegible] n'a pas constitué, au point de vue strictement juridique, un droit nouveau [illegible] de la Grèce, elle n'en a pas moins créé une situation de fait nouvelle, qui ne [illegible] ut être négligée. Si elle n'augmente pas les droits que la Grèce avait auparavant [illegible] Smyrne, et que la Commission des Affaires grecques a déjà reconnus, du moins [illegible] en corrobore et redouble la confiance légitime avec laquelle la nation hellène attend la décision finale de la Conférence de la Paix.

Je partage entièrement ce sentiment, car je suis convaincu que les droits de mon pays sur Smyrne sont en parfait accord avec la situation générale du monde com[illegible] avec les vœux et les intérêts des populations.

Veuillez agréer, &c.
E. K. VENISELOS.

Enclosure 4 in No. 1.2

M. Clemenceau to M. Venizelos

[illegible]

M. le Président,

[illegible] novembre 1919.

Le Conseil suprême a reçu la l[illegible] a bien voulu lui adresser au sujet de la Commission d'Enquête de Smyrne. Il a [illegible]ment pris connaissance rapport de la Commission et examiné ses conclusions.

Au cours de votre audition par le Conseil sup[illegible] réserves quant aux conditions imposées [illegible] le Colonel Mazarakis. Ces conditions l'aurai[illegible] Comme vous le [illegible] envisagée par la [illegible] votre dem[illegible] sujet de la communication des témoignages au commis[illegible] grec, les travaux [illegible] Commission se trouvaient déjà tellement avancés qu'il n'[illegible]ait plus possible de d[illegible] suite à ses instructions.

Tout en admettant ainsi ce qu'il y avait de bien fondé dans les réserves que vous [illegible] eu devoir formuler, le Conseil suprême ne pense pas que les résultats de l'enquête [illegible] comme entièrement viciés en ce qui concerne les faits relatifs à [illegible] de violence commis par les troupes grecques. Il a rendu [illegible] à l'impartialité des membres de la Commission et à la conscience scrupu[illegible] qui a présidé à leurs travaux.

Le Conseil est d'accord que les incidents survenus à la suite du débarquement des troupes grecques à Smyrne ont semblé indiquer l'absence presque complète des [illegible] de précaution que les circonstances exigeaient de la part des autorités civiles et militaires grecques—omission qui [illegible] rapportée par la Commission.

[illegible]

contre les coupab[illegible]

Le Conseil suprême appelle votre attention la plus sérieuse sur [illegible] tout en espérant que l'expérience faite par l'administration grecque lui permettra d'en éviter la répétition à l'avenir. Il prend acte de vos déclarations quant à l'ordre qui règne aujourd'hui dans la ville et dans ses environs. Il espère que la tension dangereuse, qui ne paraît pas avoir cessé actuellement de se faire sentir sur les limites de la zone de l'occupation grecque, sera peu à peu réduite par la sagesse et la justice de l'administration grecque, et grâce à l'œuvre de délimitation récemment [illegible] par le Général Milne, commandant des forces alliées en Anatolie.

Quant à la région d'Aïdin, les Puissances ont décidé qu'en présence des difficultés pratiques et des inconvénients politiques que peut présenter l'organisation d'une [illegible] interalliée, elles préfèrent maintenir la situation de fait existante et l'occupation grecque.

A un autre point de vue, le Conseil désire obtenir de vous des renseignements sur [illegible] démarcation fixée par le Haut-Commandement interallié.

Le Conseil suprême rappelle enfin que l'occupation de fait de Smyrne et de la région avoisinante par les troupes grecques n'a été décidée que pour des raisons de fait, et ne constitue aucun droit nouveau pour l'avenir. Il ne s'agit que d'une mesure provisoire qui laisse entièrement intacte la liberté de la Conférence de la Paix de régler les différents problèmes posés sur la question d'Orient en tenant compte de la s[illegible] générale du monde, ainsi que des vœux et des intérêts des populations.

Veuillez a[illegible]

CLEMENCEAU.

Colonel Meinertzhagen to Earl Curzon.—(Received November 20.)

No. 311. (P.O.) *General Headquarters,*
My Lord, *Egyptian Expeditionary Force, Cairo, November 10, 1919.*

IN amplification of my cable No. 49305 of the 6th instant, I have the honour to [illegible] the following report on the present situation in Syria and Palestine.

Situation in Syria.

[illegible] centres.

1. There are, however, two distinct schools of political opinion. The one is [illegible] to accept any Government which gives security and permits healthy development; the other is above all anti-French, but also would prefer the exclusion of all foreign elements and the reinstatement of pre-war conditions. This latter party is in the majority in the towns and along the Arab French borders. To the [illegible] moderate party, who are willing to accept a French mandate, belong the more educated business men, the majority of the Bedouin, and the Druzes of Jebel Druze. Great efforts have been made by the Arab authorities to win over these two latter [illegible], but it is my opinion that the Rualla tribe under Nuri Shalan are not [illegible]rned with the choice of a mandatory Power or the unity of Syria. Th[illegible] is willing to buy their friendliness with subsidies. The Druzes have alone shown a willingness to accept a *fait accompli*, and have given signs of ingratiating them[illegible] with the French, this being due to our persistent attitude of neutrality and not to any liking for the French. Their threat to give active assistance to their brethren in the Lebanon is, I consider, as empty as any Bedouin threat to leave the desert and [illegible] Feisal in military operations in the Lebanon and on the Syrian coast. I may add that I recently visited the Rualla tribe encamped some 50 miles east of Damascus, where I found them most friendly, though they pointed out that French officers would [illegible] allowed to wander about the desert in motor-cars. They were, however, willing to accept a subsidy from the French so long as it was paid to them in Damascus and not in the desert. I do, however, intend to get into closer touch with the Druzes of Jebel Druze when the evacuation is complete, at the express invitation of their he[illegible] Selim Pasha-el-Atrash.

Yasin Pasha, the leading spirit in Syria, is now known to be in correspondence with Mustapha Kemal, though actual proof could only be obtained by using violence to the disguised Turkish officers who act as carriers. Yasin is aiming at reinstating Turkish rule in Syria, not so much on national or pan-Arab grounds, as on those of personal power; in this he is an open disciple of Jemal. There is little doubt that at the present moment Yasin's influence has replaced for the bad th[illegible] and reasonable influence of Feisal. He now carries with him [illegible] majority of the people. It is even doubtful now whether Feisal can assume control [illegible] an administration which must move with public opinion or disappear.

A situation which contains a large percentage of genuine national feeling and a conviction of having been unfairly treated cannot fail to be dangerous when religious feelings are used as a stimulant and when the leading spirit is governed by [illegible]

2. Damascus is the natural centre of political feeling; other towns will be largely guided by events in that city. I therefore do not anticipate any serious trouble till we commence to evacuate Damascus. Arab feeling has been changed from anti-French to anti-European. This is now noticeable in propaganda where hostile allusions are made to the English and friendly overtures made to Turks and even Germans. Unarmed demonstrations, previously of rare occurrence and with good natured intent, have now given place to armed demonstrations of almost daily occur-

though trivial in themselves, might at any moment necessitate [illegible]
In the Lebanon there are frequent but isolated acts of violence in which French troops have on more than one occasion been used [illegible] the above factors constitute nothing more than wa[illegible]

the advice of political officers

The evacuation of Syria by our troops and the splitting up of O E T A East into a northern and southern zone, under French and B[illegible]

[illegible] in Palestine

[illegible]

antagonistic to Zionism and a British mandate over Palestine

[illegible]

The second feature is the lack of some visible sign of the birth of Zionism in [illegible]

and for easing the general economic situation.

[illegible]

2 [illegible]

4 [illegible]

4. The building of good hotels in certain centres. This is a want which is largely felt by all classes in Palestine.
5. The opening of a large store which would benefit all classes in Jerusalem with branches elsewhere.
6. The opening of the Land Registries on a limited and strictly controlled scale.
7. Permission to introduce some 500-700 skilled workmen into Palestine to develop the above schemes.

I submit this comprehensive programme with hesitation, but only after [illegible] going into each point. I am satisfied that the schemes are not only practicable but desirable from a general utility point of view. They establish first-class industries [illegible] money, they constitute work of a preliminary nature and vital to the success of Zionism, they generally benefit the whole community and fall within the scope of the laws and usages of war.

I have outlined the above programme only in an anticipatory sense. [illegible] scheme where policy is involved will be submitted to you [illegible] its inauguration.

I have, &c.
MEINERTZHAGEN, *Colonel, C.P.O.*

[156715] No. 174

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—Received November 29.)

(No. 2143. Secret.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 16, 1919.*

WITH reference to previous correspondence relative to the general political situation in this country, I have the honour to transmit herewith translation of [illegible] telegrams exchanged between Salih Pasha, Minister of Marine, and the Central Government here during Salih Pasha's mission to the "National forces." These documents have reached me from a very secret source. I am unable to vouch for their authenticity, but they bear on the face of them an impress of genuineness.

2. When Salih Pasha went to Amassia it was announced that though a complete agreement had been arrived at between the new Cabinet and the head of the national movement on all questions of broad policy, various matters of detail remained to be settled, and that the Pasha was being sent to treat about these matters direct with Mustapha Kemal and his companions. Salih Pasha returned precipitately in circumstances which are still obscure, but which left no doubt that his mission had not been a success. The official version was that it had been a success, but that certain matters of detail remained still to be settled, a formula exactly similar to that used before he started.

3. Tewfik Pasha admitted not very long ago that there was a question as to [illegible] National Defence and the Government, as to whether the Parliament should meet at Brousa or Constantinople, and in a private conversation on the 6th November the Grand Vizier definitely admitted to Mr. Ryan that Salih Pasha's mission had been a failure. His Highness observed emphatically in the same conversation that the policy of his Government was one of conciliation with the national movement, but not one of complete subservience. They were now sending, he said, two further missions to study the situation in the interior.

4. In a further conversation of the same kind on the 13th November His Highness again admitted that complete accord did not reign between his Government and the organisers of the national movement. He conveyed, indeed, the impression that matters were rather at a deadlock. Though evidently a little anxious over this, he did not appear as disconsolate as might have been expected, or seem to have any immediate fear for his position. The two new missions had, he said, reached the starting points of their labours, Samsoun and Konia, and the Government hoped almost at once to begin to receive reports from them.

5. The real position appears to be that the leaders of the national movement are [illegible] afford to hold their hand in Constantinople until they have rigged the elections, produced out of their witches' cauldron a body of deputies who can be mobilised [illegible]

[illegible] here or in the interior as circumstances require. The results of the [illegible] announced so far show that they have [illegible] independent electors of Thrace and Anatolia to return members of the finest nationalist and even committee flavour.

6. The Government [illegible] more and more a Cabinet of what is called in Turkish [illegible] "business Cabinet." Every kind of rumour is afloat as to the probability [illegible]. As I observe [illegible] No. 2052, the *Entente libérale* are making strong [illegible] the advent to power of an "anti-nationalist" Government, but they are hampered by lack of [illegible], energetic men of high standing or real unity. They may succeed in [illegible] of these disabilities, or the Sultan may conceivably try the experiment of asking the present Grand Vizier to make way for Prince Sabahuddin, about whose possible advent to power *ballons d'essai* have been flying.

7. [illegible] I think that if the Government goes out before the [illegible] Minister of War [illegible] himself identified with the national movement in its earlier stages, seems a good deal more [illegible] Foreign Affairs or the Interior to [illegible] matters in the capital in the interests of the movement.

I have, &c.
J. M. DE ROBECK, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure in No. 174.

Telegraphic Correspondence between the Grand Vizier and Salih Pasha.

(1.)

Salih Pasha, at Amassia, to the Grand Vizier, October 18, 1919.

(Secret.)

FOLLOWING from T. 10:—

With the blessing of God I have arrived at Amassia and got into communication with [illegible] and Vassif Beys, who were awaiting our mission. [illegible] I have [illegible] to submit to your Highness the [illegible] following upon those so called [illegible] Ministry of Marine, and that the result of the deliberations of the council be communicated to them.

[illegible] modifications of those taken by [illegible] brought forward by the representatives of the [illegible] at the time of the reception of the telegram sent to Sivas, dated the [illegible] First Secretary notifying the fall of the Ferid Pasha Cabinet. [illegible] to your Highness by a telegram dated [illegible] October.

1. One-third at least of the members of the delegation to be sent to Paris shall be [illegible] by the National Organisation.
2. [illegible] acceptance by the Government of candidates and deputies designated by the National Defence during the elections; the right of candidature and election to be granted to officers and senior officers having ten years' service.
3. The [illegible] Government as has already been admitted by the Government and upon which the National Defence had insisted, [illegible] the Great Powers for the recall of those persons now in [illegible] other countries with a view to obtaining their return, later on [illegible] are ready to try them either at Constantinople or elsewhere.
4. To bring certain members of the Ferid Pasha Cabinet to trial before a High Court.

[illegible] to dissipate any kind of suspicion or doubt entertained by His [illegible] Sultan with regard to rumours now current concerning His [illegible] the heir apparent

6. As was stated in article 5 of the decisions of the Sivas Congress, the commissioners of the National Organisation will exercise control over [illegible] following: (a) conclusion of peace, (b) financial matters, (c) executive and political matters until the opening of the Chamber. In the event of [illegible] resignation of the Cabinet, no Ministers will be appointed among the opponents of the National Organisation.

7. To include in the Council of Ministers certain persons in accordance with [illegible] decision of the Congress and the demand already submitted.

8. The execution and accomplishment without delay or negligence by [illegible] Government of the points decided upon in the Sivas Congress [illegible] the foreign policy of the Empire; the treaties to be concluded with [illegible] Allied Powers and other countries, especially with Russia and Bulgaria, [illegible] be based upon the sovereignty of the Ottoman Caliphate and nation; [illegible] tions with the English and French Governments to be undertaken to [illegible]

9. The Government to check the movement against the Nationalists at [illegible] Ada Bazar; to ensure security (for the National forces) in any [illegible] where similar events may occur

The National Organisation will not fail to take precautionary measures against any decisions of the Government contrary to the interests of the Organisation. Further, I have [illegible] proceed to Sivas before I have received a reply to these proposals.

I beg your Highness to be so kind as to reply to my telegram No. 3 and to inform me as to the answer which I am to return to the commissioners of the Organisation regarding the above-mentioned demands.—SALIH.

(2.)

The Grand Vizier to Salih Pasha, October 19, 1335.

REPLY to telegram of the 18th October, 1335:—

The decision of the Council of Ministers which has received the assent of His Majesty the Sultan in reply to the conciliatory proposals of the honourable commissioners (National Organisation).

In view of the principle for which the National Organisation has been constituted, namely, for the defence of the country and of the nation, a principle maintained by the decisions of the Congress of Sivas.

In view also of Ottoman and foreign public opinion, and especially of the [illegible] matters of the highest importance.

The Government, with a view to ensuring success in these matters, accepts in [illegible] councillors to the executive power until the opening of the Chamber, in order that it may not be supposed that a second power exists behind the Government.

It accepts the first article.

[illegible] the population in places where the candidates and deputies of the Organisation may be elected, provided that the elections take place in complete freedom.

As regards the second paragraph of article 2, the draft of a law has approved by the Council of Ministers and is on the point of being endorsed by the High Military Court, in conformity with which the service of senior officers is fixed at ten years only, and the right of election and of voting as a candidate [sic] is granted to these officers.

With regard to articles 3 and 4, the present Government has agreed on principle to negotiate with the Allied Powers, and after these negotiations to rely upon public opinion, and to submit them to the Chamber immediately upon its being convened.

With regard to article 5, the good intentions of His Majesty the Sultan towards the National Organisation are proved by his declarations to the nation. He will never [illegible] his Imperial protection within the limits of his sovereign rights and those of the Caliphate, and he has deigned to request you to bring to the knowledge of the [illegible] rable Commission his Imperial satisfaction with the assurances, by action and by oath, of the complete fidelity of the nation towards his Imperial person.

With regard to the question of the supervision which is mentioned in article 6, as [illegible] already been stated, the principles of admitting the reasonable demands of the commissioners as a Commission of Advisers until the opening of the Chamber has been accepted.

The modification to be effected in the Council of Ministers, according to [illegible] would not be advisable at the present moment; His Majesty the Sultan des[illegible] present Cabinet should regulate all affairs until it can obtain a vote of confidence at the opening of Parliament, and with regard to article 8, since the executive power is responsible for the decisions of the administration of the political affairs of the country, the political arrangements and treaties to be concluded with the Great Powers [illegible] other Governments will be submitted in case of necessity to both Chambers.

The Government agrees to an exchange of opinion in case of necessity with the [illegible] missioners to be known as the "Commission of Councillors" until the opening of the Chamber.

[illegible] necessary measures for the earliest possible cessation of collisions caused by a certain effervescence at Ada Bazar and Bozkir, resulting from the great attachment of the nation to the National Organisation, have been taken; but the Government requests that the Organisation should also do its part, and draws the attention of the [illegible] desirable events.

We beg you under present conditions to delay your departure to Sivas and to [illegible] the present decision of the Council of Ministers to the honourable Commission and to communicate to me the reply, also to return by the vessel placed at your disposal.—ALI RIZA, *Grand Vizier.*

[156735] No. 175.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received November 29.)

[illegible]

Constantinople, November 19, 1919.

[illegible] ber, I have the honour to transmit herewith a list o[illegible] French.

2. The telegrams are of a more or less uniform character, and possess no individual [illegible] The signatories telegraph for the most part on behalf of local "national [illegible]" committees. My object in forwarding the list is to show how widespread are [illegible] ifications of the national movement organisation, and how untiring are the [illegible] of its organisers to popularise the idea of resistance to any decision at the Peace [illegible] nce tending to the dismemberment of the territory which remained under direct [illegible] administration at the time of the armistice. My French colleague informs me he also has received a very large number of similar communications.

3. Of more importance than these telegrams from all and sundry is a recent [illegible] of a telegram [illegible] Commissioners here. This document is sufficiently important to receive your Lordship's special attention.

4. Mustafa Kemal Pasha's pronouncement was censored out of some of the local [illegible] ure wide publicity. It created some little stir in the French High Commission, [illegible] has a very direct interest in the agitation against the new form given to the occupation of Cilicia. I understand, confidentially, that M. Defrance has been considering the advisability of enlisting the participation of myself and the Italian High Com[illegible]

on a matter so exclusively the concern of the Turkish Government as such, and in language so menacing.

5. M. Defrance has not as yet taken action in this sense, but he enquired in conversation with Rear-Admiral Webb what I proposed to do in the matter. Rear-Admiral Webb replied that he had not yet consulted me, but that he thought it probable that I should take no notice of the communication beyond reporting it to your Lordship.

I have, &c.
J. M. DE ROBECK,
High Commissioner.

Enclosure 1 in No. 175.

List of Towns in Turkey from which telegrams have been received protesting against the occupation of Aintab, Ourfa, and Marash by the French troops, giving the dates of the telegrams.

Aintab ...	... October 25.	Sidi Shehir ...	November 11.
Mardin ...	... October 25, 28. November 11, 15.	Medrini ...	" " 11.
Viran Shehir	... October 28.	Orkhan Ili	11
Kilas ...	... October 28.	Eski Shehir	11
Nassibin. .	... October 29. November 11.	Selefke	11
Siverek	October 30. November 12.	[illegible]	11
Midyat ...	... October 31. November 13, 14.	[illegible]	11
Ourfa ...	... November 1, 7, 12.	[illegible]	11
Elbistan ...	... " 11, 17.	Kongal ...	11
Maden ...	" 2, 15.	Orkhan Ghazi	11
[illegible]	... " 3.	Kastamouni	11
[illegible]	" 3	Karaman	11
[illegible]	" 4	Boghazlayan	11
[illegible]	" 8	Arabusson	11
[illegible]	" 8	Selvan	11
Erzendjan	... " 8, 11.	Havza	11
Adrianople	... " 9.	Divriki .	11
Yozgat ...	... " 9.	Borlou	11
[illegible] Ghazi	... " 9.	Mirefte	11
[illegible] Kunashguezek	... " 9.	Konia	11
Kara Hissar Sharki	" 9.	Inebolu	11
[illegible]	" 11	Demir Keuy	11
[illegible]	" 11	Mahmoudié	11
[illegible]	" 11	Bor ...	11
[illegible]	" 11	Zongouldak	11
[illegible]	" 11	Keredé	11
[illegible]	" 11	Inoz	11
[illegible]	" 11	Ouloun Boulou	11
[illegible]	11	[illegible]	11
[illegible]	10	[illegible]	11
[illegible]	11	[illegible]	11
Teheroum	11	Akserai	11
Karadsa Bey	10	Kara Hissar	11
Ak Dagh Maden	11	[illegible]	11
Keupru ..	10	[illegible]	11
[illegible]	11	[illegible]	11
Ouloukishla	11	[illegible]	11
Kirkilisse	11	[illegible]	11
[illegible]	11	[illegible]	11
[illegible]	11	Ada Bazar [?Ada Bazar]	11
[illegible]	11		
Sparta	11		

Enclosure 2 in No. 175.

Translation of a telegram, dated November 12, 1919, despatched from Sivas by Moustapha Kemal (Pasha) in the name of the Representative Committee for the Defence of National Rights in Anatolia and Roumelia.

[illegible] Aidin, which were occupied by the [illegible] of the armistice and were recently [illegible] French. The *Entente* Powers therefore by no means [illegible] the Peace Conference, and against the [illegible] by article 12 of the principles of Wilson.

The massacres, oppression, and atrocities and the policy of extermination carried out in the vilayet of Aidin, which was given to the Greeks to occupy with a view to [illegible] French have occupied, using the Armenians as their instrument. These acts are the last of a series of flagrant injustices of a political nature.

We protest with all our energy against the illegal proceedings of the *Entente* Powers up to date, and we hope that they will of their own accord return to more humane and equitable sentiments towards our country and our nation, who will continue resolutely to defend its existence and its lawful rights with all the material and moral forces at its command, rather than consent to dismemberment and slave [illegible]

We wish to advise the Powers of the *Entente* that our whole nation, in the widest sense of the word, is united in this legitimate and sublime decision, a continuation of this inhuman policy which the *Entente* Powers, deaf to the legitimate voice of our nation, are following may entail fatal consequences, not only for a few countries, but also possibly for the two hemispheres.

[illegible] responsibility before Providence and humanity of such a disaster lies [illegible] unity cherished by our nation, whose only object is the defence of its rights to [illegible] We wish our legitimate [illegible] through the [illegible] of Foreign and [illegible] and we are convinced that they will not give their sanction to all this injustice.

156472 No. 176.

Foreign Office to Colonel Wilson.

Sir,

Foreign Office, December 1, 1919.

I AM directed by Earl Curzon of Kedleston to state that on your return to the [illegible] you should take the earliest opportunity of getting King Hussein to come to [illegible] for a full and frank discussion on the following lines.

You should inform him that you have just returned from London, where the whole question of his relations with Ibn Saud has been discussed by His Majesty's [illegible] The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has himself [illegible] great personal interest in the question, and is very anxious that the two rulers should compose their differences.

[illegible] the King's [illegible] [illegible] in person or before some impartial arbiter to be appointed by His Majesty's [illegible]

If it is the case, as King Hussein contends, that his ownership of Khurma and [illegible] is incontestable, there does not appear to be any valid objection to his

producing the proofs which would convince any impartial person at once of the justice of his claims.

He should realise that there is at present no question of the public demarcation of the boundary by a British Commission. It is only suggested and strongly urged by His Majesty's Government that he should agree to meet Ibn Saud personally with the object of arriving at an agreement on all points at issue between them. You should remind King Hussein that he has previously expressed his willingness to meet Ibn Saud should His Majesty's Government so desire, and add that they will readily arrange for the meeting to take place at Jeddah, Cairo, or Aden.

It is not anticipated that public opinion in the Hedjaz and elsewhere will necessarily jump to the conclusion from the fact of this meeting that the ownership of Khurma is being arbitrated upon. It may not even be necessary for an arbiter to step in at all, and only in the event of King Hussein and Ibn Saud failing to come to an agreement might it be necessary to suggest the appointment of an impartial British official to assist in arriving at a conclusion. In the event of King Hussein raising difficulties about a personal interview with Ibn Saud you should point out to him that the alternative of a meeting between plenipotentiaries of the two parties would not be likely to produce so satisfactory a result, though His Majesty's Government would prefer even this alternative to direct intervention on their part.

King Hussein must realise that if, without an agreement between the two parties, Ibn Saud were now called upon to withdraw his forces, the result might be that the whole militant power of the Akhwan would be let loose upon the Hedjaz. There was nothing in the circumstances of the recent conflict to lead His Majesty's Government to believe that King Hussein's troops would be able to resist such an advance. He might even loose Mecca and thus incur the odium of the Moslem world in general and subject his own name to the greatest stain that could rest on the memory of a Moslem ruler. No one knows better than His Majesty that British troops could not come to his assistance. He would be the last to invite or expect them to do so. In these circumstances it seems the height of unwisdom to provoke a further advance which His Majesty has not the means to resist, but which equally with him His Majesty's [illegible] viz., to avoid any such calamity and, by an agreement between the two powerful potentates principally concerned, to bring about a condition of peace and unity in the Arabian peninsula.

Ibn Saud for his part has also demanded from His Majesty's Government a definite recognition of his various claims, but has been told that His Majesty's Government must decline even to discuss them until he has made a real effort to come to an agreement without their intervention. It is believed that Ibn Saud will be quite ready to come to Jeddah and have a friendly conversation with King Hussein on the latter's territory, and he is also being told that in the event of negotiations failing His Majesty's Government will have no alternative but to propose the decision of an impartial arbiter.

His Majesty's Government do not consider it necessary at this stage to discuss the question of Khurma. They are aware of the strong feelings entertained by King Hussein on the subject, and they have not receded from the attitude which they have previously adopted. Only in the event of the King and Ibn Saud failing to come to an agreement on the matter would it be necessary for a British arbitrator to investigate the case and to arrive at a decision.

His Majesty's Government are hopeful that by these suggestions they may have once more testified their sincere regard for King Hussein and their recognition of the great services which he has rendered to the Allied cause during the war. They [illegible] this opportunity of again assuring him of their entire faith and trust in his good intentions, and in his true friendship and loyalty to Great Britain; and you are authorised to inform His Majesty that nothing would give greater pleasure to His Majesty's Government than to receive him in London in the course of next year and [illegible] it is essential that the risk of hostilities between himself and Ibn Saud should be entirely removed so that trouble should not break out in his absence.

A copy of these instructions is being communicated to His Majesty's High Commissioner, Cairo, with whom you should discuss them before proceeding to Jeddah.

I am, &c.

GERALD SPICER.

157877] No. 177.

War Office to Foreign Office.—(Received December 3.)

War Office, December 2, 1919.

I AM commanded by the Army Council to enclose herewith, for the information of Lord Curzon of Kedleston, a copy of a letter dated the 20th October, 1919, from the General Officer Commanding-in-chief, Army of the Black Sea, forwarding a "History of the Nationalist Movement in Turkey,"* which, in their opinion, gives an accurate [illegible] of the movement.

The Council are confident that Lord Curzon will appreciate the point on which General Milne's letter lays emphasis in paragraphs 4, 5, and 13, viz., that the question of the peace terms to be imposed on Turkey must now be considered in relation to the [illegible] highest importance to the request which General Milne reiterates in paragraph 4 [illegible] some knowledge of the nature of these terms beforehand in order that there may be time to make such arrangements as may be possible.

Lord Curzon will observe that, from paragraph 8 of the letter, modified ideas regarding the future State of Armenia are beginning to prevail.

I am, &c.

B. B. CUBITT.

Enclosure in No. 177.

General Sir G. Milne to War Office.

Sir, [illegible] October 20, 1919.

I HAVE [illegible] and balanced account of events much [illegible] tance of which, it is essential, should [illegible]

2. In [illegible] Turkey, and [illegible] power [illegible] still [illegible]

In the second place, its leaders have been coquetting with the idea of armed [illegible] No one can be better aware than they [illegible] in long as they are playing with fire and risking a disaster to their country. It was, however, necessary for them to adopt this attitude for two reasons:—

(a.) Because it serves as a veiled threat, which they believe will influence the Peace Conference.

(b.) Because the organisation of the populace in a military way is the normal [illegible] Turkey. Military organisation is the only organisation which the Turks understand, and the steps taken by the Nationalist Party are admirably calculated to bring all the political power into their hands, and to make the results of the coming elections a mere instrument of their will.

[illegible] It is therefore advisable to contemplate a situation in which the use of military [illegible] becomes necessary, and to consider it in the light of possible decisions to be [illegible] by the Peace Conference.

[illegible] I do not desire in any way to influence these decisions, but it is proper to point [illegible] the force required to enforce the peace terms will vary greatly according to [illegible] of those terms.

[illegible] three main questions, on which Mustafa Kemal and his followers in their [illegible] country declare a *non possumus*, are the question of [illegible] the question of Armenia, and the question of Thrace.

[illegible]

[illegible] In Armenia the crux of the question is that there are very few Armenians, [illegible] of an independent Armenia [illegible]

* Not printed.

[illegible] quire large force [illegible] at orders that no Armenians were to be allowed to be repat[illegible] without the use of force, provided that settlement is within certain limits.

9. The evidence upon which this is asserted was obtained by the I. (c) branch my staff, and can be studied in detail in a series of reports to the War Office.

10. The true value can be put on these reports only if it be clearly real[illegible] they are conversations between leading Turks who have no idea that they are overheard.

11. These conversations are therefore of very great value. They show the [illegible] an offensive against Armenia may be discounted. They also show that the Turk[illegible] are prepared to [illegible] of the 11th Division [illegible] fuel is a great diffe[illegible] and wood as dear as sugar. Therefore he proposes to [illegible] the rolling-stock on the Baynzid Karakla decauville. "A though," he says, [illegible] hope by the National [illegible] Divis[illegible]

[illegible] no reason to suppose that adjustments [illegible] Party.

[illegible] are so drastic in the treatment [illegible] Turkey that the older men, who have the spirit of compr[illegible] wilder spirits in check, then it will turn out that the [illegible] greatly prejudiced the military position of the Allies. The popul[illegible] and now united for the first time; it is difficult to calc[illegible] the force wh[illegible] available in the event of a national rising.

14. Between the solution without force and the [illegible] preceding paragraph, there are many other situat[illegible] which the Allied f[illegible] vary according to the degree of div[illegible]ion among the Turks, [illegible] extent to which the most balanced opinion among [illegible]ion can be brought on to our[illegible] In order that the situation may be considered beforehand, it is most im[illegible] forecast of the peace terms should be presented to the Allied military auth[illegible] for them to consider what, if any, additional force will be required to meet the sit[illegible] which the announcement of the peace terms will create. In this way alone there [illegible] Smy[illegible]

[illegible] forces now at my disposal are only sufficient to bring pressure to bear on [illegible] country.

I have, &c.

G. F. MILNE, *General,*
Commanding-in-Chief, Army of the Black Sea.

154459 No. 178.

Foreign Office to the British Council Officer, Supreme Economic Council.

Sir, *Foreign Office, [illegible]*

I AM directed by Earl Curzon of Kedleston to transmit herewith copies [illegible] despatches which have been received from His Majesty's High Comm[illegible] Constantinople describing the critical state of destitution which already prevails [illegible] the Greeks and Armenians of Turkey, and which, together with the arrival of [illegible]

[illegible]

3. Lord Curzon has little doubt that reports to the same effect have been [illegible] from the representatives of the Supreme Economic Council in Turkey, and endorses [illegible]

[illegible] expressed by Admiral de Robeck to the effect that if these populations are to be [illegible]d from the fate which hangs over them, the measures taken must be both immediate [illegible] early opportunity of drawing the serious attention of the Supreme [illegible] grave state of destitution prevailing in Turkey, with a view to the adoption by the [illegible] Economic Council of measures to provide relief for the suffering population [illegible] save them from death and disease. These measures might, in Lord Curzon's [illegible] of whom for [illegible] ghbourhood of Aidin, and [illegible] to Christians.

I am, &c.
J. A. C. TILLEY

458730 No. 179

Sir E. Crowe to Earl Curson.—(Received December 5.)

(No. 22.)

My Lord, *Paris, December 3, 1919.*

I HAVE had the advantage of reading your Lordship's despatch No. 1391 of the [illegible] ultimo to His Majesty's Ambassador at Paris, recording a conversation with [illegible] London, in the course of which the possibility of transferring [illegible] rence from the former to the latter capital was discussed.

[illegible] December). [illegible] He said he [illegible] M. [illegible] the [illegible] question.

2. M. Clemenceau made this confidential communication to Mr. Mateau in so loud a voice that nobody present in the room could fail to overhear what passed.

I believe that M. Clemenceau's uncompromising attitude is due to a desire to [illegible] in his opinion, contributed to diminish:—

(a.) That the military operations which have led to the downfall of the Ottoman Empire have been conducted almost exclusively by British troops, to whose exertions the victory of the Allies is entirely due.

(b.) That Syria and Palestine have been occupied by British troops to the exclusion of the French.

(c.) That the command of the sea in the Mediterranean has, as M. Clemenceau expresses it, been taken away from France by Great Britain.

(d.) That General Milne, by the predominant position which he occupies in Turkey [illegible] has overshadowed General Franchet d'Esperey, with the result [illegible] considerable friction exists between them.

4. M. Clemenceau evidently apprehends that, in the eyes of the population of these [illegible] France now plays a part subordinate to that of Great Britain, and feels [illegible] that, in addition, peace with Turkey were to be made in London instead of at Paris France would sink in their estimation to the level of a Power of the second rank. He [illegible] to such an arrangement could retain the confidence of the country. At any rate, he has more than once told me that rather than agree to it he would resign.

5. It has occurred to me that a solution of the difficulty might possibly be found [illegible] could be arranged that the negotiations which are to lead up to the conclusion of peace with Turkey should be conducted in London, the signature of the Treaty itself

taking place at Paris, like that of the peace with the other enemy Powers. I have, however, made the suggestion to M. Clemenceau, and have no means of forming opinion whether it would be likely to meet with a favourable reception on his part.

I have, &c.
(For Sir Eyre Crowe)
H. NORMAN.

[159178] No. 180.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received December 6.)

(No. 2194.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, November 23, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a report, dated the 11th November, which I have received from my representative at Samsoun, relative to the Nationalist movement in that district.

I have, &c.
J. M. DE ROBECK,
High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 180.

Captain Perring to Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck.

(No. 340.)
Sir, *Samsoun, November 11, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to report that the Nationalist movement is now very unpopular in this district and that Moustafa Kemal, owing to his having stated [illegible] was a special envoy of the Sultan, which is now discovered to be untrue, is discr[illegible] and openly attacked.

2. The only result of the movement here has been the apparent establishment of a [illegible] for the Christians, but the Turk is only prevented from massacre [illegible] open persecution by the fears of Allied intervention.

3. The various bands of brigands and irregular troops are now disap[illegible] to join up if called upon, but more with the idea of looting and massacring than taking part in any fighting.

4. It is obvious here that any attempts at mobilisation would be a complete fail[illegible] the only remaining adherents of the movement being military officers and [illegible] such as penetration into the interior by Greek troops or the formation of a large independent Armenia, it is bound to sizzle out.

[illegible] and, although considerable sums were secured, they are not likely to be increased by any further donations.

I have, &c.
J. S. PERRING.

[159187] No. 181.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received December 6.)

(No. 2203.)
My Lord, *Constantinople, November 24, 1919.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 1676 of the 11th September, transmitting copy of a report received from Lieutenant Slade, R.N.V.R., regarding a visit to towns on the southern coast of the Black Sea and commenting on the situation of the Christian inhabitants in general, I have the honour to enclose herewith copy of a communication and enclosures received from Captain Perring, my representative at Samsoun, concerning his visit last month to Unieh, Fatsa, Ordu, Kerasun, Trebizond, Rizé, and Batoum.

2. Your Lordship will observe that, as regards the all-important question of security (the settlement of which is a necessary preliminary to the successful co[illegible]

[illegible] problems), the situation in the Trebizond vilayet shows a progressive deterioration. The Kerasun district, for [illegible], is now openly controlled by a brigand [illegible] to the local authorities and whom the Vali of Trebizond is powerless, or too inert, to suppress. The improvement in the conditions at Unieh and the scattering by the mutessarif of Samsoun of the lawless e[illegible]nts in the Fatsa kazn show that much can be effected by [illegible] and a display of some measure of energy.

[illegible] piracy is disquieting. The pirates are almost exclusively [illegible] from Rizé and the small [illegible] ports of the Lazistan seaboard.

4. The methods which the Turks are employing to render life unendurable for their Christian fellow-countrymen are deserving of careful attention. The Greek or Armenian is no longer systematically massacred; he is prevented from making a livelihood in Turkey. His business is boycotted, his autcrops made dangerous of access and farmed out to Moslems, who repud[illegible] their engagements, and his houses and property retained. It is consequently not a matter for surprise that the Greek and Armenian refugees are again leaving Asia Minor in increasing numbers.

5. As regards the attitude of the Turkish officials and local notables towards the [illegible] the undisguised hostility and open defiance encountered by Captain Perring at Kerasun and the sudd[illegible] outbreak of illness which the approach of His Majesty's ship "C[illegible]nia" caused amongst the authorities at Rizé are alike illuminating. Even the more competent officials make no secret of their sympathy with Moustafa Kemal and [illegible]

I have, &c.
J. M. DE ROBECK, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure 1 in No. 181.

Captain Perring to Sir J. de Robeck.

(No. 310.)
Sir, *October 29, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to report that I have visited the following coastal towns in H.M.S. "Gardenia": Unieh, Fatsa, Ordou, Kerasun, Trebizond, Rizé, and Batoum.

I [illegible] honour to attach separate reports on each of the above towns.

[illegible] and everywhere that Greek refugees who had returned to Turkey [illegible] have either left the country again or are on the point of doing so, in [illegible] by Greeks who had remained in Turkey throughout the war. [illegible] villages and their being unable to obtain possession of their properties, or to cultivate same with knowledge that they will be able to market the crops; also owing to the fear of her persecutions.

4. Armenians in large parties (as many as eighty families in one party) have left for [illegible] to become more general. Many communities [illegible]

[illegible] cultivated his crop, the Turk prevents his market[illegible] and so compelling him to abandon his property, [illegible] way to [illegible] from market.

A [illegible] typical case of Turkish [illegible] they from Kerasun. A party of returned Greek refugees returned to their village [illegible] hours from the town. They were met by the Turkish occupiers of their homes, [illegible] and robbed of their money, and forced to return to Kerasun. I pointed out

this case to the kaimakam of Kerasun and he informed me that he was unable maintain order with the gendarmes at his disposal. This, I beg to point out, absolutely incorrect as cases frequently occur of a Christian village retaliating on Turkish neighbours, and in every case the Turkish authorities are able to send a force of gendarmes immediately to investigate and in most cases pillage the Chris village.

9. I have the h [illegible] village [illegible] property of [illegible] ded to [illegible] ng water, but as none [illegible] lled the owner and pose [illegible]

[illegible] Laz) do not live in the larger of [illegible]), but in the small coastal villages, preferably wh [illegible] to suggest that these smaller villages be visited, [illegible] 's sloops, or similar vessel.

I have, &c.
J. S. PERRING

Enclosure 2 in No. 181

Report by Captain Perring on his visit to the Coastal Towns of Unieh, Fatsa, Ordu, Kerasun, Trebizond, Rize, and Batoum.

UNIEH

October 13, 1919.

KAIMAKAM: Mahmoud Djelaledin (arrived one month ago).

A very great improvement has taken place both in the town itself and in district. All report that, with the exception of the incident reported in my No. dated the 8th August, and which has now been amicably settled, no complaints made by the Greeks or Armenians; both communities express satisfaction with kaimakam, and hope that the present state of affairs may continue. At the request the kaimakam, I wrote to the chief of the Armenian community at Keuslick tell them that, provided they took no further aggressive measures, the inci in my No. 240 was closed, and I requested them to use every means to avoid friction. In return for this letter, the kaimakam has sent a representative to investi property questions in this neighbourhood, and to arrange for its return. I also info the Armenians that unofficial means of obtaining the return of property must cease, all claims for the future were to be made through the appointed official.

All property in the town has now been returned.

FATSA

No new kaimakam has been appointed, and Hamid Bey is now holding an eng into the actions of the late sub-Governor.

Hamid Bey is staying here to settle the many disputes and to clear the district brigands; he informed me that he intended to remain twenty days, visiting villages. He has already arrested eight of the principal criminals (Turks) and dr their organisation, for which he is using troops sent from Samsoun.

No further trouble or complaints should be received from this district, and H Bey has displayed not only great energy but great firmness in dealing with previously very troublesome district. Several bands of robbers have been com exterminated.

There are two small villages within 5 miles of Fatsa that are the cause of nume incidents, and, as these are in the vilayet of Trebizond, Hamid Bey is unable to d with them. He suggested that these villages be transferred to the sanjak of Djank at present they are uncontrolled. Laz land near these villages, and, he states, use them as bases for raiding along the coast.

ORDU

[illegible] 1, 1919.

Kaimakam: Ali Bey, appointed 27th May, 1919.
Police, 6.
Gendarmes, 133.
Population: town, 14,[illegible]; villages, 311; total population, [illegible]

[illegible] the officer in charge informed me that these were lately arrested deserters, but I am informed that this is incorrect, and that many men have already been sent for training at Sivas and towns in the interior.

In the town itself security is moderate. Nobody, however, dares to venture outside his house after dusk. Outside the town no security exists for the Christian either day or night; murders are very frequent, and the local doctor informed me that [illegible] day he dressed several wounded.

[illegible] Greeks were deported, and lost heavily owing to the brutality of Kazim Bey, [illegible] unportation but also for carrying it out; he is responsible for the death of severa thousand, both Greek and Armenian.

No property is being returned, and the Turks control the entire nut trade owing to the Christian being unable to harvest any of the crop.

The Armenian community has almost ceased to exist, and the remainder are only waiting means of transportation to leave the country.

The Laz are very active in this area, and are [illegible] raiding the coast.

KERASUN

October 16-17, 1919.

Kaimakam: Badé Nadim Bey (appointed 8th October).
Population: town, 13,285; villages, 155; total population, 117,893.
Police, 8.
Gendarmes, 178.

Osman Agha rules the whole district and gives orders to the Governor and other officials. [illegible] organisation of the district, none exists, especially in the villages, where Osman Agha and his followers are absolute despots. He is openly anti-Christian and is determined [illegible] weakly admits his being unable to control the situation here with the forces at his disposal (even if inclined to do so).

The Greeks were deported to Sivas district, and lost a large number of their [illegible] hey were ordered to return to their homes, but were not allowed to do so, [illegible] uously being driven from district to district for the whole period of the war.

[illegible] ng the first opportunity to leave the country.

[illegible] are very active, and walk about openly heavily armed.

[illegible] re is no possibility of re-establishing security in this district without the use of [illegible] will have to use force.

Mehmed Nouri, chief of the port and a Turkish naval officer, was not only frankly [illegible] local prison I should have to use force to do so, and clearly gave me to understand that opposition would be offered.

The whole Turkish community live on the proceeds of their robberies and the [illegible] of the sale of Christian goods stolen during the deportations and unless [illegible] any return to [illegible]

Lazistan.

October 19 and 20, 1919

I called on the Vali, who had just returned from Erzeroum. He informed [illegible] he was in complete agreement with Moustafa Kemal Pasha, and that the Nation[illegible] movement was the only means of Turkey obtaining any form of representative gover[illegible]ment, and that the movement would greatly strengthen their delegation when eventu[illegible] they were called to Paris.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Captain Crawford (British control officer) and the French and American representatives.

[illegible] weeks informed me that no complaints could be made of lack of security in the town, but that they were unable to travel even two or three hours' journey [illegible] the interior.

[illegible] Armenian community, although very small, is very well organised; their orphanage and relief works are very successful.

No property questions have been investigated, and the Armenians informed me that as many as 800 houses are still in Turkish hands.

Rizé.

The mutessarif was stated to be ill, and apparently all officials were suddenly taken ill on the approach of H.M.S. "Gardenia." I was therefore only able to see a Government clerk and a police officer, neither of whom could give any reliable information. I was informed that there are only five Christians in the town itself, all of whom, they informed me, were absent for business purposes.

I was informed that no security exists, and that the whole community are largely interested in motor-boat traffic with Russian Caucasian ports and in [illegible] piracy along the Anatolian coast.

Batoum.

I called on the Military Governor (General Coles-Collis), who informed me that he [illegible] that General Denikin had issued orders that all refugees landing at Novorossisk were [illegible] carry out their military service in the Volunteer Army. He also informed me that he was feeding over 7,000 Armenian refugees daily.

He complained that a large smuggling of arms was taking place, and that these arms were coming from Black Sea Turkish ports. I informed him that Rizé [illegible] notoriously the centre of this traffic.

I called on the British consul general and the principal British trading firms established at Batoum.

[159836

No. 182.

War Office to Foreign Office.—(Received December 9.)

Sir,

War Office, December 8, 1919.

I AM commanded by the Army Council to forward, for the information of Earl [illegible] received from Lord Allenby, with reference to his conversations with General G[illegible] at Beirut on the 27th November.

I am to draw particular attention to paragraph 3 of this telegram regarding the northern boundary of Palestine, and am to say that the Council have not the [illegible] doubt that General Gouraud will eventually claim to occupy the country down to the southern boundary of the blue area, which is, as Lord Curzon is aware, south of the [illegible] Allenby desires to establish as a temporary line between his own troops and those General Gouraud.

I am to say that the Council agree with Lord Allenby in thinking that a definite [illegible] arrangement which should be made between the the local commanders on the spot, I am to point out that, as is shown in Lord Allenby's telegram of the 27th November, General Gouraud acts under the orders of his own Government in these matters, and will doubtless quote such orders on the subject to Lord Allenby when the time comes. Lord Curzon will remember that it was not until orders were sent by the French Government that General Gouraud would consent to any delay in penetrating into the Bekaa.

The Army Council, therefore, consider that much time, correspondence, and friction may probably be avoided if the French Government is officially approached at once on this matter, and I am to ask that Lord Curzon will take the necessary steps as early as convenient.

In the meantime the Council are despatching the attached telegram to Lord Allenby.

I am, &c.
B. B. CUBITT.

Enclosure 1 in No. 182.

Mr. Churchill to Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby.

[illegible]

Enclosure 2 in No. 182.

Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby to Mr. Churchill.

(Telegraphic.)

CONTINUATION of my E.A. No. 2892.

1. After General Gouraud had informed me he was determined to proceed with the occupation of the Bekaa, we agreed to send Colonel Walters Taylor and a French [?] staff officer to Damascus to announce the decision to the Arab authorities, and that General Gouraud did not intend to interfere with Arab administration, and would permit Arab troops to remain in Bekaa under certain conditions. I sent a personal message in code to Emir that General Gouraud's decision had my full approval, and that I trusted the Arabs to maintain the same relations with French troops as they had with mine.

2. I think that the Arabs may possibly allow French troops to relieve ours [illegible] Though Gouraud himself is anxious to be on good terms with Arabs, it is my impression that he will have difficulty in resisting political pressure from that party of French opinion which is frankly hostile to the Arabs, and would be glad of any pretext to occupy Damascus and the interior.

3. I discussed the northern boundary of Palestine with Gouraud, and informed him [illegible] present without prejudice to future arrangements. I understood [illegible] Therefore I consider it important that [illegible] E.T.A. south is temporary [illegible]

4. I returned to Cairo to-day.

[160263.] No. 183.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received December 10.)

(No. 2213. Secret.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 27, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith for your Lordship's information Intelligence Summary No. 14, issued by Advance Headquarters at Smyrna, which I have received from my representative there.

I have, &c.

J. M. DE ROBECK, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure in No. 183.

Operations and Intelligence Summary No. 14.—Northern Asia Minor.

(Period November 13-19, 1919, inclusive.)

General.

(Secret.)

APART from the unauthorised forward movement of the Archipelago Division at the end of October, no further move forward of the Greek forces has yet been reported to have taken place. This delay is probably due to the fact that on [illegible] map on which was marked the exact line which they should occupy in accordance with the decision of the Peace Conference. This definite line differed in several important details from the liberal interpretation of the line which had been prepared and issued by Greek Headquarters to their divisions for the purpose of carrying out the operation. In consequence of the receipt of these orders, Greek Headquarters modified their original orders and substituted an order, dated the 10th November, which was in conformity with these instructions.

2. The only portion of the national forces which has given any indication of future attitude in view of the present provisional settlement of the limits of the Greek zone is the command of Demirdji Mehmet, "Commander of the National Forces of Aidin and Mughla." He has sent threatening telegrams to General Milne and has also replied to General Milne's instructions to the Ottoman Government [illegible] 3000 metres from the line of demarcation by a refusal to withdraw, since that would expose yet more of the Moslem population to the "tyranny and cruelty of the Greeks." In other areas on the Greek front the national forces have taken no action except for a slight skirmish on the front of the Archipelago Division.

3. Within the Greek area conditions are apparently critical in the Odemish district, where the numerous bands in the Massifs north and south of the Odemish valley are rapidly becoming a scourge to the whole countryside. No further attempts have been made by them to interfere [illegible] the British [illegible] Turks who are rightly or wrongly supposed to be in league with them. The Greek 1st and 2nd Divisions are undertaking an operation, beginning on the [illegible] in order to clear up the district between Avasuluk and Tireh.

4. The Vali of Aidin has protested again against undue Greek interference with the rights of the Moslem civil administration, particularly in the case of [illegible] Weekly Summary" No. 6, paragraph 30) where the Ottoman gendarmes and authorities were prevented by the Greeks from conducting the enquiry; and concerning the wholesale imprisonment and deportation to Greece of some Turks from the Odemish area. In the latter instance, whatever may be the merits of the individual cases of arrests, it would appear to be a reasonable military precaution to endeavour to prevent assistance being rendered to the bands within the Greek area, but the judicial procedure after arrest and subsequent deportations would appear to provide justifiable reasons for the Vali's protest.

Greek Dispositions and Activities.

Dispositions and Movements of Troops.

5. Instructions have been issued from Greek Headquarters to all divisions for the occupation of the new line authorised by the Peace Conference from the sea to Badeiama, inclusive, copies of a tracing sent by British Advanced Headquarters showing the new line being attached. Up to date, however, no official intimation has been received of any further occupation since the unauthorised move in the Pergama area mentioned in Summary No. 12.

6. Greek Headquarters have been informed that south of Badeiama, *i.e.*, on the Geure-Omerli front no change in their present line is to be made.

7. The only local change occurring during the week has been the move of one battalion, 1st Regiment from Aidin to Tireh, which took place on the 11th and 12th instant.

8. The strength of the Greek army in Asia Minor, according to a statement issued on the 12th November, is as follows:

	Officers	O.R.s
Fighting services	[illegible]	55,493
Divisional troops	[illegible]	[illegible]
Corps troops	[illegible]	[illegible]
	2,103	72,761

of whom 5,947 are in hospital, as compared with 6,289 shown in the return of the 2nd November.

Activities.

[illegible] front during the last week. The only [illegible] week was an encounter which took place [illegible] on the march from Aidin to [illegible] engagement lasted an hour and a half, [illegible] Greek losses were nine killed and twenty [illegible]

[illegible] The [illegible] trouble in the [illegible] of a concentration [illegible]

[illegible]

2. [illegible] from the [illegible] Avasuluk, will concentrate [illegible] Tireh. This force has [illegible] 23rd November.

[illegible] are believed to number [illegible] Mahalle [illegible] expected to [illegible] the 1st divisional troops will not be [illegible] Avasuluk.

Italian Dispositions and Activities.

14. No changes reported during this week.

Italo-Greek Relations.

15. [illegible] about the village of Kopler (*vide* "Weekly Summary" No. 13, paragraph 12) [illegible] the line of demarcation is clear, *i.e.*, the bed of the Mushluk Dere.

Delimitation of Greek Zone

16 General Nider was informed on the 15th November that the Supreme Council had decided that the Aidin area, which he was to have been occupied by Allied troops [illegible] nople, left Smyrna with the 83rd Brigade Headquarters on the morning of the 20th November

Boundary Line between Greek and Italian Zones

17 The Italian military representative having [illegible] 14th November [illegible] the matter

Turkish Regular Forces

18 Intelligence Officer, Pergama, reports that there are 500 men and 25 [illegible] two 10 5 cm mountain guns. No change is reported in the numbers in the Karagach district.

Situation in Western Anatolia

Eastern Portion of the Italian Area.

19 The Chief British liaison officer, Rhodes [illegible] that they enjoy only a transitory popularity and that their prestige with [illegible]

20. The Nationalist forces could at any time compel the Italians to withdraw [illegible] headquarters recognise this possibility [illegible] present, however, they are stated to have drawn up no plans for a withdrawal [illegible] taken any definite measures

21. They consider that the zone which comes under their interests includes [illegible] of Aidin [illegible] Kosla [illegible] nk of Adalia, and possibly the sanjak of Sichan Ova (Afion Kara Hisar [illegible]

22. The population in the remote districts is not enlisting in or subscribing for [illegible] whether the elections will reflect the people's wishes at all, as armed national forces supervise the polling. Meanwhile recruiting continues by force

23 Little information was volunteered to Colonel Haskard by the Italians A certain amount was obtainable by questioning, but it is evident that either their intelligence work is very bad or they have orders to give as little information as possible.

24. The Italians are introducing a new uniform for their troops in Anatolia [illegible] Political Officer to the Eastern Mediterranean Command, with headquarters at Rhodes

South of the Ottoman Railway

26. The British liaison officer, Scalanova, reports on Turkish authority that in the Kocharli area the Italian cavalry are enlisting natives as militia and clothing them in Italian uniform, and states that so far 500 have been recruited. This story is accepted with the greatest reserve, and further information has been asked for

27. On the 8th November a Greek was murdered in broad daylight outside Sokia The murderer was captured on the 10th November and was to be hanged the next day He is said to be a Cretan Turk

28 The Turkish refugees in the Kocharli area (see "Summary" No. 13, paragraph 17) are under the charge of Mehmet Bey, who has done a great deal of good. A small hospital has been set up, they have doctors, and he has built huts for those that he could not house They require clothing, blankets, and medicine, however, and will need seed-corn and farm animals if they return to their villages. Most of them are from villages that have been burnt between the Italian and Greek lines, and it is now too late in the year to build mud houses.

29 The Greeks have put out of action two ferries between the Meander bridge and above Kemer. The ferry opposite Kemer is still working

30 On the 17th November Naval Chaplain Embling, Shefik Bey, and the "Corps Commander" (presumably General Officer Commanding XIIth Turkish Army Corps from Kosla) travelled together for some distance on the Grova-Aidin road The Turks were going to Kocharli The Corps Commander stated that the Turks would await a Greek attack rather than attack themselves.

Ottoman Railway Area.

31 Rumours of an impending British occupation spread rapidly in Aidin and, appearing to be derived from a good source, caused many of the inhabitants [illegible] to apply for permission to leave on the ground that the Turks were coming [illegible] leave, taking with them not only their own household goods but quantities of effects [illegible] to absent owners, and it is almost certain [illegible] this plunging goes entirely [illegible]

32 Information from local sources states that in the Tourbali district recruiting is still carried on at night by [illegible] 250 men are said to have been collected so far. An influential Turkish farmer of this district is [illegible] if the irregulars persisted in their present attitude, he [illegible] 20 to [illegible] The villagers, on [illegible] there is shortage of seed

34 In the Odemish district, especially north of the town, the bands are very active indeed, and, according to the intelligence officer, constitute a serious menace to Greek troops, who have lost twenty five men killed and four officers and thirty men wounded in less than three weeks, without apparently having been able to inflict anything like the same losses on the bands

35 The consequence of these losses has been the severe repressive measures mentioned in recent summaries and numerous arrests It is stated that from Greek occupation 60 be Odemish alone 400 Turks have been deported [illegible] in prison there at the moment awaiting trial on a charge of being in touch with the bands. Moreover, a system of passports has been introduced whereby it is [illegible] place occupied by Greek troops, to have a passport. As these passports have to be visaed [illegible] occasion, hours and sometimes days of detention result for people who can ill spare them The practical outcome of this is that the peasants refuse to bring their produce into places occupied by the Greeks and to work in their fields, so that the economic life of the country is being ruined

36 Greek Headquarters reports that the "Turkish armies under a General" are expected at Bozdagh for an attack on Odemish in the near future

S C P. Railway Area.

37. In connection with restrictions on imports into the Greek zone from the Afion Kara Hissar direction (see "Summary" No. 12, paragraph 31), it is interesting to note a telegram, a copy of which has been received from Greek Headquarters from Lieutenant-Colonel Delaunay, French Director-General of Railways, Constantinople, to Captain Champigny, Director of the S C P. Railway, to the effect that he was not to permit more than ten or at the most fifteen wagon loads of wheat to be sent to Smyrna per day from the whole of the area between Ahmeth and Afion Kara Hissar. According to a Greek agent, the Kaimakam of Ushak on the 7th November handed the railway inspector a letter in which he demanded the entire cessation of the transport of foodstuffs to the Greek zone.

38. On the 10th November the officer in command of the garrison at Ushak sent a letter to the stationmaster requesting the despatch of two wagons to Kapaklar in order to bring wheat to Alashehir. At Bal Mahmoud Turkish soldiers are preventing the shipping of foodstuffs. The Mudir of Banaz has received orders from Kutaya for the stationmaster allowing him to despatch all wheat at the time on hand in the station, but forbidding any further transportation of cereals. Similar conditions prevail almost everywhere on the line between Afion Kara Hissar and Sareis.

39. The general situation at Manisa is good, and no incident of any sort has been reported since the murder of two Turkish women on the 16th September (see Weekly Summary No. [illegible] paragraph 31). [illegible] freely to their work without any molestation whatever. That this is due to General Nagropontis there can be little doubt, since previous to his arrival in July things were very unsettled indeed in this district. He has set himself steadfastly to improve the discipline of his troops and gained the confidence of the Turks by straightforward dealing, and has been loyally aided by the Mutessarif in his efforts.

40. He continues, however, to be nervous about his strategic position and seems to fear that, if his reserve troops were withdrawn from Manisa, he might be confronted with a rising in the town. This however, is very unlikely, especially [illegible] he was before successful in checking under far more difficult circumstances.

41. The position of the Mutessarif is anomalous, as is that of every Turkish official in the Greek zone, since he has no gendarmerie or police which can enforce his orders and can only deal with routine and purely Turkish matters. The taxes of the district have been sold to a Greek, who is finding difficulty in collecting them from the Greek villagers, who refuse to pay taxes to the Turkish Government or rent to the Turkish landlords, when they think there is no Government to force them to do so.

42. The Greeks complain continually that the S C P. lines are used to pass Turkish agents and spies through the lines to and from Panderma and Afion Kara Hissar, and even hint that the French are too intimate with the irregulars on these lines. The same complaints, however, have been made by the Turks, and the true state of the case probably is that the railway affords unhampered passage to both sides.

43. A ferry for artillery and infantry has been constructed for use on the Kum Chai, over which a bridge is also projected at Muntevelt.

Soma Aivali Area.

44. A prisoner taken by the Greeks at Aivali on the 10th November states that the Turks who took part in the attack on Kalem Keui some days previously were specially recruited for it and afterwards disbanded and returned to their villages.

45. Lieutenant Colonel Kel Ali, in command of the forces at Karagach, left on the 5th November for Constantinople with 100 demobilised Arabs. His place has been taken by Major Reshid Bey.

46. According to a report from Intelligence Officer Pergama, there are at Balikesri 1,000 irregulars under Naim Bey, ex-Chief of Police at Smyrna. It is rumoured that Ahmet Bey, at the head of the Circassian bands from the Gennen district, has notified the irregulars that they must disband immediately, and that he would secure obedience to his commands by force, if necessary.

47. According to papers captured by the Greeks in their recent advance, there are now nearly 2,000 irregulars in the Soma district. This is not considered an unlikely figure, as the activity of the Greeks in this sector would naturally provoke

an increase in the forces against them, since it makes an appeal to the villager, who is always the first to desert to work his land, but who on seeing his land and family in danger, returns at once to the colours.

Economic Situation in Aidin Vilayet.

48. The spell of cold weather which began a few days ago is showing how acute the economic situation is in almost all districts of the interior. Reports from several areas state that no sowing has yet been done for various reasons. At Manisa, although conditions of security behind the Greek lines are good, the comparative absence of rain so far has prevented sowing, while in Odemish the state of the country precludes any considerable effort to work the land. From Sokia shortage of seeds, added to the condition of public safety, has prevented any useful work being done.

49. The only signs of any practical interest in the economic situation being taken by the Greek Government is the fact that the Commander at Pergama has prepared a list of farmers and cultivators requiring seeds. According to information contained in a wire from the Greek High Commissioner at Constantinople, the Vali of Smyrna has reported this to his Government and impressed on them the necessity of anticipating the provision by the Greeks of seeds for Turkish farmers owing to the loss in prestige which the Government would inevitably sustain, should it fail to do so.

In general the restriction of imports mentioned in paragraph 37 above, if persisted in, cannot fail eventually seriously to affect the whole question of food supply, especially in Smyrna itself, and a further rise in prices is inevitable.

Issued by General Staff, Advanced British Headquarters, Smyrna, November [illegible], 1919.

[161752] No. 184

Field-Marshal Viscount Allenby to Earl Curzon.—(Received December 15.)

No. 571.)
Mr. [illegible]

Cairo, *November* 22, 1919.

With reference to my telegram No. 1614 of the 21st November, I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship a copy of the literal translation of the Arabic letter from King Hussein to Emir Feisal which was forwarded to me for transmission.

As I reported in my above-mentioned telegram, I have returned this letter to the British agent, Jeddah, and instructed him to hand it back to the King.

I have, &c.
ALLENBY.

Enclosure in No. 184.

King Hussein to Emir Feisal.

(Literal translation.)

Sir,

Mecca, 5th Safar, 1338 (*November* 1, 1919).

I CABLED you on the 30th Moharram, 1338, informing you of the receipt of your letter of the 25th September, 1919. I enclose herewith a copy of the same telegram as well as copies of former telegrams for confirmation.* After this and before any discussion I only pray God to be your support and guide.

Sir, as for your enquiry about the date and the case of conscience which were created by your accusations in the matter of what happened in connection with the conditions of our preliminary agreements with Great Britain, and especially your [illegible] pocket, I do not know, Sir, what to say about this, except to beg you to consider my letter to his Excellency the High Commissioner of the 20th Zil Ka'da, 1330, a copy of which I sent to you and of which you acknowledged the receipt. You will find in it that which will not only acquit us of what you have referred to, but will also show

* Not printed.

something additional in our favour. Thank God I maintain those principles until this [illegible] Hadi [illegible] been for strong insistence I would not have sent [illegible] which he says, "I am pleased to inform you that His Britannic Majesty's Government has approved all your demands. [illegible] of aversion to protesting against [? arguing with] Great Britain, also now prevents me from naming the date of another letter of his Excellency's, in which he says, "Great Britain [illegible] to what may be agreed upon." I spoke very frankly in my letter mentioned [illegible] (20th [illegible]) [illegible] agreements wrongly or that something had happened which necessitated [illegible] them! And then to say that it is urgent for me to withdraw from the situation and give it up! On that date I receive your remarks on what concerns correspondence. Reflect, Sir, on all that [illegible] and then accuse me of whatever you [illegible] Supposing, Sir, that there was nothing of that; was it right of Great Britain, after admitting that we have fought with her side by side, when neither France nor Italy could help her, to gratify France by giving her our country and our [illegible] Therefore, the result is, Sir, that if I encounter an incident (notwithstanding patience and tolerance promised), and if anything interferes with my decisions, as you have already done more than once, I will withdraw that same moment. I [illegible] understand this as you understand the day from night. Moreover, if the Syrians decide to fight for their liberty and independence, I will not hesitate in going over to them to co-operate with them in my capacity as an individual Arab, so that they may know that I did not betray them. God will not guide traitors. This, Sir, is the extent of my intellect. You will excuse me if I do anything which you may think wrong. [illegible] are according to intentions. God is Master of all, and He is my Guardian over you.

HUSSEIN.

[161867] No. 185.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received December 15.)

(No. 2249.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, November 28, 1919*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, a copy of an interesting report received from Captain P. Hadkinson, Relief Officer attached to this High Commission, concerning conditions in the vilayet of Brusa and the sanjak of Balikesir, and to invite your Lordship's special attention to his remarks on the subject of the National Movement.

[illegible] Mr. Ryan [illegible] opportunity of mentioning to his Highness the Grand Vizier the matters of brigand repression of the brigand bands and the disgraceful condition of Brusa prison. This latter is also being brought to the notice of the Director-General of Prisons and will be looked into personally by Lieutenant Wilson and his French and Italian colleagues during their forthcoming visit to prisons in the interior.

I have &c.

J. M. DE ROBECK, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure in No. 185.

Captain Hadkinson to Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck.

Constantinople, November 12, 1919.

AFTER a sojourn of two months in the vilayet of Brusa and in the sanjak of Balikesir, during which I visited the principal towns and localities, I beg to report on the situation as follows:—

General Security.

Although the authorities have at last awakened to the fact that the state of the country leaves much to be desired, [illegible] fortnight active measures to suppress brigandage have been adopted, still the latter is on the increase, and every day sees new bands springing up. This state

of affairs cannot but be attributed to the complete apathy of the Brusa court-[illegible] 105 persons arrested so far for brigandage.

I made very strong representations to the Governor-General about this, and [illegible] out to him that the public execution of a few of these bad characters would [illegible] He not only fell in with my views, but also expressed the hope that our [illegible] military authorities with the object of getting the court-martial to sit, at the [illegible] ting that not only capital punishment should be meted out to all the [illegible] but also to see that the sentences were carried out.

I subsequently called upon the newly-appointed military governor, who informed me that since taking up his duties he had [illegible] on of troops to [illegible] another to Gemlek, and a third to Karaja Bey, and as a result brigands were daily being arrested. He further informed me that the court-martial had at last been formed, and that so soon as the President, expected from Constantinople, arrived, it would sit and deal severely with these criminals.

[illegible] passengers and relieved them of all they possess[illegible] ys got away with their booty.

[illegible] Greek brigand "Kirmani" and his band are still at large, and more [illegible] ng has lately again taken place between the Albanians and Circassians at [illegible]

[illegible] intentions of the Government may be, these latter are at present unable to cope with the situation.

National Movement.

The Western national movement, which originated with the occupation of [illegible] have now amalgamated, and are spreading all over the country, but not as [illegible] much favour, especially in places where heavy sums of money are levied for the maintenance of the militia; on the other hand the people are sick of the war and [illegible] inclined to continue under arms, however well they may be paid. Having [illegible] ir, and coming into touch with a good many of the leaders, I am to-day [illegible] n ever convinced that the Committee of Union and Progress is at the bottom [illegible] this national movement, whatever may be said to the contrary. I have [illegible] lly satisfied myself that about three-fourths of the leaders I have come across [illegible] Committee of Union and Progress members. I have had this confirmed by [illegible] Vali of Brusa, from whom I obtained a good deal of information on the subject, as well as on the situation in general.

There can be no doubt whatever that the stronger this national movement comes the more difficult will it be to suppress it, and the ultimate pacification of the country will under the circumstances be a very difficult and lengthy matter, for the majority of the [illegible] country who, it is expected, will resort to brigandage or Bolshevism, the day they will be disbanded.

General Elections.

[illegible] farce. The urns are being tampered with. From what I [illegible] seen and [illegible] the final results are sure to show a big majority of ex-Committee of Union and Progress members. In one town I was assured that, out of about 500 voters, 410 having abstained from voting, the [illegible] an ex-Committee of Union and Progress member, in charge of the urns,

completed the number by inserting an equal number of votes in favour of a member of his party

Wherever I have passed through it is the same old story, pressure is brought bear on the Christian element, as well as on the uneducated lower classes, for persons favoured by the local authorities. In Bilejik, the Arm complained they were threatened with reprisals if they did not vote for a Merjimek Zade Ahmed, an ex-Committee of Union and Progress member, of murdering about 30 Armenians and helping in the deportations

The elections, as carried on at present, are a disgrace, and should certain put a stop to, or else not recognised by the Allied Powers, for they are far representing the wishes of the people of this country

French Propaganda.

Continues very active and openly all over the Brusa vilay of this month a French hospital was inaugurated at Brusa and all the T civil and military authorities were officially invited and attended (I was the official not invited) Speeches were exchanged, there was much fraternising, all the Turkish children present were presented with cakes, books, and poste these latter commemorating the event Whilst proceeding from one locality to other, or visiting towns, I very often came across French officers, who official mission, but who I discovered were actively engaged on propaganda some instances under my very nose

Prisons

Of all the premises I have so far visited those of Brusa break the record regards sanitary conditions. The detentive prison, or building in which arrested are incarcerated prior to their being tried, is about the vilest it has given me to set foot in. I found, huddled together, in six averaged sized 207 men, among which several were suffering from syphilis, in an advanced and other contagious diseases. I even came across, lying in a corner and putrid and dying state, a man suffering from the former disease

The atmosphere in the rooms was simply stifling and nauseous, and in instance I could not stand it, and was obliged to leave the cell before comp my investigations The Governor-General, to whom I gave a piece of my m informed me that several times already he called the attention of his Governm to the deplorable conditions of the prisons, but so far did not succeed in obta buildings in course of construction, and which will comfortably contain over 2 prisoners On my urgent representations, however, the Governor got Administrative Council of the province to vote 500*l* with which four big ro of the new building can be completed and a good number of the prisoners tra ferred there

In view of this very unsatisfactory state of affairs, I beg to suggest that for it is a sin to keep human beings, however bad they may be, under such deplo sanitary conditions.

Work of Commissions.

Owing to the present marked hostility towards the Christians, I have in certain localities considered it advisable to put off restoring property. In Brusa, however, the Armenians took exception, because one of the decisions of the Mixed C sion was not executed, and withdrew their member I asked the Head Priest, "Mourahaz," to reappoint him or someone else, but he replied that, in view of present situation, it was preferable to wait till peace was signed, or at such time as matters settled down somewhat. According to the Gove endorsement in this particular case, it is evident that the Ottoman Government the High Commission and the Minister of the Interior, concerning the execution decisions arrived at by the Mixed Commissions

At Bilejik the Mixed Commission, composed of two Armenian and Moslems, presided by the Mayor, have looked into and settled, from the 15th to the 4th October, 1919, one hundred claims. Hundreds of other cases, ref

to the restitution of Armenian houses occupied by Turkish refugees, have been dealt with direct by the local authorities, but the buildings, as usual, have been in such a dilapidated condition that the majority are uninhabit about 5,000, deported from this town, have returned, the remainder are to be considered as lost.

P. HADKINSON, *Relief Officer*

[161870 No. 180

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon (Received December 1

(No. 2252.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 2, 1919*

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that although the National districts met with determined opposition on the part of the ition is local, although almost certainly connected with activities of the Liber and Nighiaban parties in Constantinople, and has shown itself strongest in the Konia vilayet and in the districts between Brousa and the Dardanelles. It is to my mind clear that the Nationalists have at present no strong support in the general population of Anatolia, the movement is not so much "national" as a -political organisation which, based upon the army, and making use of the elements of the population which come to the front in times of disorder, has dominated the generally docile and law-abiding population of the provinces.

2. As giving a concrete expression to the resentment felt by all Turks alike at of Smyrna, the movement was in its early days popular. Its main tive, the removal of Damad Ferid's Cabinet, was something definite to be ned Since that time, except for making the elections, its rôle has been one of sive expectation, and enthusiasm has waned Forced levies of money on towns and villages have caused much resentment amongst the population, already bled white by the costs of a long war

3. The opposition movement in the Balikesr-Brousa district is now in its full vigour It is headed by a certain Circassian, Ahmed Anzavour by name, who bears reputation, and was formerly a of the district of Ismidt He has gathered a considerable body of adherents round him, and has defeated with loss certain forces sent against him by the local military commanders.

4. The movement in the Konia district has officially been settled Under Damad Ferid's Government the Governor General of the vilayet of Konia was Jemal Bey, an enlightened and capable administrator He took a strong line against the Nationalists, and having many supporters in his province kept his district loyal after the rest of the country had been overrun by the Nationalists, he returned to Constantinople only when the situation had become hopeless, and the Cabinet was on the point of falling

5. The procedure adopted by the Nationalists was, as a rule, to send detachments of a small number of men under a few energetic officers to the various local centres there established their own partisans as rulers, and imprisoned or otherwise disposed of any opponents They then proceeded to levy contributions for the Nationalist

6. Such a party appears to have entered the Bozgir district (about 50 miles west of Konia) early in October. It first demanded a contribution, this being subjected to, its members attempted to collect it by force, but met more than their match, and only a few returned to Konia. The Nationalist authorities in Konia sent a further force to subdue the "rebels," but the latter had in the meantime been joined by adherents from the and repulsed this attempt inflicting considerable loss on their assailants and, it is stated even capturing two machine guns A third and more considerable force of Nationalist troops, however, then entered the district, and is reported to have burnt two or three villages, the defenders withdrawing into the mountains.

7. Attached is the translation of a petition addressed to the British High of the inhabitants of Konia for the stables of twenty seven this district.

The event at Bozgir attracted a considerable measure of attention at

Constantinople, and a mission under General Hurshia Pasha was lately sent to the Konia district by the Government to report on the situation, and bring about some satisfactory arrangement between the opposing forces. This mission has not yet returned, and it is unknown what effect its arrival has produced.

I have, &c.

(For the High Commissioner),
RICHARD WEBB.

Enclosure in No. 186.

Translation of a Petition from the Notables of Twenty-seven Villages.

To the British Political Representative, Constantinople, c/o the British Control Officer, Konia.

THE Union and Progress Committee, organised at Bozgir (south-west of K[illegible] near Sorghula Geol) under the title of National Forces, have ordered mobilisation [illegible] of the educated classes, the notabilities, and leading residents, be proclai[illegible] National Forces.

With the object of obliging the population to re-organise the National Forces they [illegible] opened fire with artillery and machine guns on the people of Vara[illegible] village, in the Sirlatat district and thus caused the death of a considerable number of both Moslems and non Moslems. They have also destroyed by artillery fire and bombs some eight or ten houses in Kayajik, Akhirli, Odan, and Epek villages together with the human beings, the animals and furniture therein. Owing to the interruption of postal and telegraphic communication we cannot report [illegible] atrocities to higher authorities.

Since for the space of a month the tranquillity and peace of the district have been infringed, and the re-establishment of peace appears to be an impossibility since, also, owing to the Armistice terms, our Government is not sufficiently stro[illegible] with the Nationalist forces, therefore we beg the assistance of the Bri[illegible] Government in doing what is necessary with all possible speed.

We beg you, therefore, Sir, upon receiving this report, to stretch forth your hands in help, in order to save Bozgir from the fire and tyranny of the National forces.

(Signed by notabilities of following villages)

Seghoujak Kovanlik, Papoushdji, Hadji Yonouslar, Doulu Karabair, Houlouslar, Seoyut, Gidret, Bekle, Chat, Yalinizja, Kiraz, [illegible] Aghaj, Baybaghin, Fakiler Tebe Eisi, Ekitse, Saristad, A[illegible] Pounar, Akhirli, Goundeckun, Ali Cherchi, Karaja Erd, [illegible]

October 28, 1919.

[161872] No. 187.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received December 15.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 2, 1919.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith for your Lordship's information copy of a report, dated the 15th November, by the Naval Intelligence Officer at Ismid, relative to local opposition to the Nationalist movement, which I have received from General Staff Officer (Naval).

I have, &c.
(For the High Commissioner),
RICHARD WEBB.

Enclosure in No. 187.

Report on Local Opposition to Mustapha Kemal Pasha.

IN a recent report I stated that there was in this district a counter-movement opposed to Mustapha Kemal and his so-called "National Defence" forces. The leader [illegible] opposition movement was a Major Bekir Bey, who recently collected a force of [illegible] 600 armed men in the neighbourhood of Adabazar. There they came into collision with part of Kemal's men. Some shots were fired without doing serious harm to either side, and as Kemal's followers were stronger, those of Bekir Bey dispersed [illegible] abandoned their leader, who went into hiding.

The Turkish authorities took immediate steps to crush the new movement and [illegible]ed the arrest of Bekir Bey. As he was not to be found, a large reward, I am told, was offered for his capture, but without result.

2. Meantime Bekir Bey succeeded in escaping to Ismid, where he had in a friend's house. On my return here from hospital a few days ago a message was brought to me [illegible] house late one night, when he talked a great deal about the political [illegible] The substance of his conversation was to the following effect:

(1.) He and his followers are supporters of the former Grand Vizier Kiamil Pasha, [illegible] realise that in such friendship lies their only hope of salvation from ruin.

(2.) The so-called National Party under Mustapha Kemal Pasha is merely a [illegible]escence of the Committee of Union and Progress under a new high-sounding [illegible] and all the leading men in that movement are former prominent Unionists, many of whom have a very black record.

(3.) As the Government had allowed Mustapha Kemal to form his [illegible] [illegible]ually acquire such strength, he considers that he should also have [illegible] freedom in forming his party and supporting his policy even with the [illegible] of Kemal's organisation. The fact that the Government, [illegible] many with Kemal, has at once sought to crush his (Bekir's) [illegible]ent is taken by him as clear proof that the Government and the Unionists are [illegible] working together and that the former is conniving in the distribution of arms and general opposition to the Allies.

(4.) As Bekir's party was formed expressly for the purpose of cultivating friend[illegible] [illegible] all events protected from persecution by the Government. That help, he suggested, [illegible]ould partly consist in supplying his party with money and arms, as they are all poor, while the Unionists had a large amount of money in their hands. They also had [illegible]red the support of most of the newspapers by bribery.

3. Bekir Bey, I understand, has now succeeded in escaping to Constantinople on a goods train.

4. In the course of a conversation with the governor here, I casually referred to [illegible]'s movement, without, however, informing him of my interview with the latter. [illegible] governor said Bekir was a vain and ambitious person, who managed by his about [illegible] pretended support he was receiving not only from the people of Anatolia but from [illegible]ritish Government to succeed in deluding a few stupid people and inducing them [illegible] him, but that as soon as they realised his unreliability they promptly deserted [illegible].

W. GORDON CAMPBELL, *Captain, R.M.*

November 15, 1919.

[162639] No. 188.

Mr. Wardrop to Earl Curzon.—(Received December 17.)

[illegible]

[illegible] phra.) *Tiflis, December* 10, 1919.

IN conversation 7th December, Azerbaijan Prime Minister told Colonel Stokes [illegible] Mirza [illegible] to negotiate [illegible] with Persia and gave impression that His Majesty's Government approved.

Prime Minister asks whether His Majesty's Government authorised or suggested or supported proposal.

He thinks confederation with Georgia and Armenia essential, but had [illegible] thought of Persia. He considers it is possible, however, that His Majesty's Government might prefer confederation of the two States.

I have told Colonel Stokes that I presume Prince was merely expressing his personal opinion.

(Addressed to Tehran, No. 7.)

[159836] No. 189.

Earl Curzon to the Earl of Derby.

(No. 1479.)

My Lord, *Foreign Office, December 17, 1919.*

I TRANSMIT herewith for your Excellency's information copy of letter [illegible] of British and French military occupation in Palestine and Syria [illegible] territory administrations are not identical with the boundaries of the various zones the agreement of May 1916, which was referred to in the *aide-memoire* presented by the Prime Minister to M. Clemenceau on the 13th September [illegible]

3. In this *aide-memoire* the Prime Minister proposed that the garrison in Syria west of the Sykes-Picot line and the garrisons in Cilicia should be replaced by [illegible] force, and the garrisons at Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo should be [illegible] an Arab force.

4. It was, however, stipulated that British troops should remain in Pa[illegible] defined in accordance with its ancient boundaries of Dan to Beersheba, and that [illegible] the boundary of Palestine was determined, the British Commander-in-chief should [illegible] the right to occupy outposts in accordance with the boundary claimed by the Bri[illegible] Government.

[illegible] His Ma[illegible] in occupation of that portion of occupied enemy territory administration west [illegible] lies opposite to occupied enemy territory administrat[illegible] T[illegible] prompted His Majesty's Government to modify to this extent the proposals set [illegible] in the Prime Minister's *aide-memoire* was the imminent danger of a regrettable out[illegible] on the part of the population of Syria, who regarded any alteration in the ex[illegible] temporary administrative boundaries as an indication of permanent changes of a na[illegible] calculated to prejudge the decisions of the Peace Conference.

[illegible] Actuated no doubt by the same motive, the French Government [illegible] understood to have also agreed to accede to the request of His Highness Emir F[illegible] and to refrain for the present from occupying the districts wh[illegible] eastern boundary of the blue zone and the existing administrative boundary bet[illegible] occupied enemy territory administrations east and west.

[illegible] The logical corollary to these two concessions to local feeling is that [illegible] existing boundary between the spheres of British and French occupation [illegible] remain unaltered, and His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided to w[illegible] their troops from that portion of occupied enemy territory administration west in [illegible] they had hitherto intended to retain them, and to restrict the area of their occupa[illegible] in Palestine to occupied enemy territory administration south.

8. Your Lordship should take an early opportunity of communicating this d[illegible] to the French Government, pointing out that it is a substantial concession as com[illegible] with the proposals contained in the Prime Minister's *aide-memoire*, and expressing [illegible] hope that in the light of the considerations outlined in this despatch they will raise [illegible] objection, and will inform General Gouraud accordingly. You should make it clear [illegible] the same time that this decision has been arrived at by His Majesty's Governm[illegible] [illegible] of Palestine, which will require to be examined and readjusted in the [illegible] settlement.

I am, &c.

CURZON OF KEDLESTON

[163278] No. 190.

Colonel Meinertzhagen to Earl Curzon.—(Received December 19.)

(C.P.O. 74.) *General Headquarters, Egyptian Expeditionary Force, December 5, 1919.*

My Lord,

WITH reference to your confidential letter of the 23rd October, I have the honour to forward the following remarks:—

There is no direct evidence to show that the Banco di Roma is acting in a manner [illegible] T[illegible] [illegible]ent indirect evidence to warrant the conclusion that the Banco di Roma is a [illegible]l agency prompted by the Italian Government, and that it directs its efforts, [illegible] commercial and political, against those of Great Britain. There is little doubt in [illegible] own mind that these conclusions are correct.

[illegible]e main points to be considered in basi[illegible] an opinion are:—

1. In Egypt the bank is known to be at any rate in sympathy with the national movement, and therefore working against Great Britain. It is unlikely that it is guided by a different policy in Palestine.
2. In Palestine the bank is freely making loans on provisional contracts. Such unsound business can only be justified on political grounds.
3. They utilise an active propaganda machinery for commercial penetration in Palestine.
4. The Cairo City Police report on the 31st October of this year that three persons were sent to Syria in September last for political work against Great Britain on behalf of the Italian Government, their object being [illegible] stir up Arab feeling against the British administration. Their instructions were received from the manager of the Banco di Roma.
5. The Banco di Roma has clandestinely opened branches in various localities in Syria in spite of instructions forbidding such action.
6. There is a mass of indirect evidence of a less serious nature, which tends to confirm the suspicion that the bank's activities, both political and commercial, are directed against Great Britain, and that the methods they employ are not those customary in a respectable banking establishment.

I have, &c.

R. MEINERTZHAGEN, *Colonel,*
Chief Political Officer.

[163275] No. 191

Colonel Meinertzhagen to Earl Curzon.—(Received December 19.)

(C.P.O. 92.) *General Headquarters, E[illegible] Expeditionary Force, Cairo, December 2, 1919.*

My Lord,

AT the request of the Chief P[illegible] Officer, Bagdad, I have the honour to forward to you a copy of a report No. 37 from the Political Officer at Damascus, dated the 15th October, 1919.

I understand that the Chief Political Officer, Bagdad, in communicating with your [illegible]ship desires to refer in particular to this report.

I have, &c.

(For Chief Political Officer),
W. F. STIRLING,
Lieutenant-Colonel.

Enclosure in No. 191.

Report No. 37.

[illegible] G.H.Q., Cairo.

[illegible]

THE political situation in Damascus and Syria generally remains somewhat obscure. [illegible] mandate as much as ever, are nevertheless becoming resigned to it, and the ardent Nationalist and pro-English party are rather despairing.

Some of the notables are already approa[illegible]g the French with a view to s[illegible] their future should the latter come to th[illegible] Amongst th[illegible]em are Mohamed Faun[illegible] [illegible]sna El Azm, Abdul Rahman Pas[illegible] [illegible]eikhs Mithgal and Mashur [illegible] [illegible] two of the sheikhs of the Aney[illegible]ppo, are also reported to [illegible] to work for the French.

The Nationalist and anti-French movement, in fact, appears to be rather losing its force, and should the French come in with troops, they would be unlikely, I think, to meet with any organised [illegible] [illegible] W[illegible]nst majority [illegible] This is a new reas[illegible] [illegible]ised by the Christian supporters of the Nationalist movement and they are [illegible] [illegible]tly uneasy as to the [illegible]ssible results of their efforts to inculcate nat[illegible] [illegible] bee[illegible] [illegible]rty, and the activities of these are turning more and more towards encouraging the [illegible] although given favourable conditions this is by no means impossible, and will certa[illegible] be attempted by the leaders of the Bagdadi party and other extreme sections. It [illegible] however, inevitably lead to a rapprochement with the Turks and with Mustafa K[illegible] It is safe to say that the majority of the Moslems in Aleppo vilayet, and a very large number in the vilayet of Damascus, are in sympathy with Turkish aspirations, and would prefer union with Turkey to being under an unpopular European Power.

T[illegible] of two pamphlets which were recently distributed in Aleppo—one from Mustafa Kemal, setting out his aims, and the other addressed to the people of Syria. Also a report of an agent, a Mosopot[illegible]

2. While the report is p[illegible] [illegible] truth of the [illegible] [illegible]ortion family has a[illegible] growing in strength [illegible] [illegible]y have failed to appeal to th[illegible] desire secur[illegible] [illegible]mmense ineptitude of the Administration [illegible] tolerance, extended to the Bedouin, espec[illegible] hand, they are not sufficiently extreme for the more ardent Nationalists and irreconcilable anti-French party.

[illegible] added to the popularity of Sherifian rule. King Hussein's name carries no we[illegible] whatever, and there is no question in Syria of accepting him as Caliph.

The request made by Emir Zeid on the 14th to be allowed to return to Mecca [illegible] he realises that his position is becoming difficult. I can think of [illegible] reason for his wishing to leave Syria. His position and that of Feisal is undoubtedly unenviable, since they are mistrusted and disliked by many of the people, [illegible] can hope for no act[illegible]

[illegible] all the lower and middle classes were pro-Turk, and trouble might be expected i[illegible] E[illegible] withdrawn, though they stated there would be no organised [illegible] of C[illegible]s, as all the people of Damascus wished for was peace and s[illegible] I think, however, the risk is considerable, in view of the state of feeling in [illegible] Islamic movement now on foot.

[illegible]

5. Large numbers of prisoners of war continue to return. There have recently arrived in Damascus amongst them four officers from the Yemen and eighteen [illegible] Tripoli. [illegible] Turks. [illegible] professional soldiers, and the only army which can offer them a career is the Turkish army; it would appear, therefore, that if the release of prisoners continued Mustafa Kemal is not likely to suffer from shortage of officers.

6. The commanders of the three brigades of the Arab Army have recently been changed. The General Officer Commanding Aleppo brigade is now Rushdi Safadi, an Arab officer trained in Germany, and on the staff at Constantinople throughout the entire war. He returned from there about two months ago. The General Officer Commanding Damascus brigade and the post commandant Damascus are both Turks, though domiciled in Damascus. They also returned only a month or two ago. The General Officer Commanding Deraa brigade, an Arab from north of Aleppo, was [illegible]

military attaché at Vienna, and during the war served entirely on the European fronts. He returned to Syria two months ago. These officers are certainly considerably more [illegible] than those they have replaced, but their politics will require watching.

7. An incident occurred recently at Kuneitra, which has now been amicably settled. A certain Circassian, a relative of Emir Said-el-Jezairly, managed to obtain some twenty-five to thirty recruits for the gendarmerie in O.E.T. West. The Arabs and Bedouin sought to find in this an excuse for a quarrel with the Circassians, and issued an ultimatum to the Circassians demanding the return of these gendarmes. The Arab Government despatched troops to the spot and ordered the Arabs to abandon their attitude, and I am informed that the matter has now been peacefully settled. An armoured car also visited Kuneitra on the 12th, and produced an excellent [illegible]

J. N. CLAYTON, *Major.*

Damascus, October 15, 1919.

Appendix I.

Circular (printed in Turkish).

1. We do not want to have a [illegible]r with foreigners.
2. We do not want to have a foreign Government in our country.
3. We promise security to the public without distinction in religion.
4. We shall defend the rights of our nation until death, in order to avoid its fall into the han[illegible]

[illegible] belong to Turkey against Wilson's [illegible]

[illegible] one keep to his work and business. Our arm is justice.

W[illegible] put to death without mercy everyone who stands against what we [illegible], whether he be a Moslem or a Christ[illegible]

[illegible] Mo[illegible]s who love our Sultan. We have the right to the Caliphate.

9. Our nation have taken up arms for this cause, from east to west, from Erzerum [illegible]

10. Those who gave right to 300,000 Armenians did not give right to 16,000,000 Turks. In order to [illegible], and no matter what life [illegible] worth, we shall defend our right.

Appendix 2.

A Letter to the Syrians (in Turkish).

[illegible] Brethren,

I speak to you with a beseeching voice, emanating from a heart full of sorrow [illegible] [illegible] upon the [illegible] by the evil and wrong doers.

Let us put an end to this misunderstanding, and let us stretch our hands to make peace together and point our arms towards the traitors who wish to tear up Islam, otherwise every repentance will be of no use whatever later.

Do not be cheated by their false promises. You have before you the secret agreements between the enemies of religion. There is not one among you who does not know the principle of Gladstone. Wake up, and do not fall asleep again. We do not intend to take possession of the country of the Moslems, but we wish to save it from those who think that it is a very d[illegible]gestible morsel, [illegible] those are the enemies of Islam. The victorious Unitarians (Mowahedeen) will attack their enemies who exceed them in number, depending on the divine care and orders.

Konia and Khadawandikar are now connected, and by the liberation of Konia the [illegible] between the Arabs from the east have been cut. Our Mujahidin will [illegible] soon be the guests of their Arab brothers, and by their union they will conquer and destroy their enemies. Long live our brothers in religion, and may the enemy be conquered!

Appendix 3.

Report on Mesopotamian League.

The league is dominated by [illegible] the extremist section, which [illegible] Hakki, Director of Technical Services, Arab army.

The latter have a small following, possibly numbering about thirty officers, and too much importance should not be attached to the movement, as in case of trouble the members might be expected to throw in their lot with the extremists.

At a recent meeting arranged with Miss G. Bell, a political officer from Mesopotamia, passing through Syria, the above leaders of the Moderate Party stated they were willing to accept a British mandate for Mesopotamia, but asked for a measure of self-government by the people. A great deal of time was taken up in talking of the faults of the present Administration, and no very clear suggestions as to the policy desired were put forward. It was fairly apparent that the first requirement of the Moderate Party would be employment for themselves in the new Government.

It is reported [illegible] now complete understanding between the various [illegible] in this country. These include the Ahali-el Iraqui [illegible] National Defence [illegible] Sunni). The Arab Club is the [illegible] and is practically controlled by them, and there is stated to be a particularly close union between them and the Iraquins.

Meetings at Damascus.

Apparently the league has called for a conference, and the following leaders are now in Damascus:—

Jaffar Pasha El Askari, Military Governor of Aleppo;
[illegible] Commander, Aleppo;
[illegible] Governor of Amman;

in addition to Yasin Pasha and Maulud Pasha, the latter acting as adviser to Emir Zeid.

Private meetings between those members of the league are taking place daily, and whether by intention or accident at this moment, the proclamation by Mustafa Pasha Kemal, calling on the Syrians to re[illegible] army as friends and to assist him to drive out the Allied troops from Syria, [illegible] Damascus.

It is reported that the object of the present conference is th[illegible] for a ge[illegible]ing over the whole of Arabistan, in conjunction [illegible] by the army under Mustafa Pasha Kemal. The movement is defi[illegible]. A most impo[illegible] of it as religion, it is st[illegible] traitors to Islam and will be thrown off. In the latter [illegible] can look for practically no support whatever, either [illegible]

No doubt it is suspected that Feisal will accept an arran[illegible] and public opinion has veered so strongly in favour of the Turks that he will be accused, not only of selling Syria to the French, but also of having betrayed Islam to the British by siding against Turkey during the war.

On the other hand, there are many of the upper classes in Syria who are secretly [illegible] There is also a large body of the middle and lower classes who wish only to settle [illegible] under a strong Government and to carry on trade or agriculture, and do not want any more war.

At the same time the position is that a strong and determined body of men, who absolutely control the army and probably the gendarmerie, is preparing to declare a holy war should circumstances permit.

[163681] No. 192.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received December 20.)

(No. 2271.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 4, 1919.*

I HAVE [illegible] recording a conversation with the Turkish Minister for Fore[illegible] the 19th November.

2. Mr Ryan engaged in this conversation with a definite object, the nature of which is explained in paragraph 8 of his memorandum, and conducted it on lines which had my previous general approval.

3. It seemed to me the more timely to state frankly the position of His Majesty's Government in regard to the Kurdish question, as there is a considerable tendency in [illegible] try similarly hostile to it.

4. These elements include in the minds of those who imagine His Majesty's Government to be at work on a deep laid intrigue, both the political opponents of the present Government and the Kurdish separatists, whom events have driven into a kind of conjunction.

5. However much I may mistrust the general trend and ultimate objects of the national movement, I have most carefully refrained from any action calculated to identify this High Commission with political opposition to it, or to embarrass the present Government, whose avowed policy is to conciliate without completely [illegible] to its organisers.

6. I have been at pains to make this attitude of non-interference in current [illegible] politics, and of reserve in regard to the question of the future of Kurdistan, clear to local political circles of every complexion, as well as to my French colleague, who is told of my supposed anti-nationalist activities just as persistently as I am assured that the French are backing the national movement with all their force.

7. The conversation recorded in the enclosed memorandum constitutes one of my efforts to represent matters in a truer light.

[illegible]

I have, &c.

J. M. DE ROBECK,
High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 192.

Memorandum by Mr. Ryan.

I HAD a long conversation on the 19th November with the Minister for Foreign Affairs which presented certain points of interest.

2. After speaking of certain current affairs, I told Reshid Pasha that I wished to tell him something regarding our attitude towards the Kurds, as to which there had been [illegible] give him this explanation when taking exception to an attempt to arrest the Secretary of a Kurdish club, but as he was in hurry to get away that day I had postponed it.

3. [illegible] Kurdish club. Our Government had directed

us to discourage the sending of numerous delegations to Paris and London, but to undertake to transmit any written statements of aims and aspirations. We followed that rule with everyone. At the same time we had maintained, equally with everyone, an attitude of complete reserve as to what they had to expect in the future.

4. We had, I said, been not less reserved with the Kurds than with [illegible] Our view was that they undoubtedly constituted a separate [illegible] wished to link their futures with those of the Turks or to [illegible] and that, now that the future of peoples were being [illegible] other nationalities to express aspirations. As for the [illegible] the High Commissioner [illegible] had not the [illegible] interested in it as [illegible] element on both sides of our military [illegible] of [illegible] He had made a short preliminary tour, [illegible] started on a more extended tour of which the Turkish [illegible] ment was appr[illegible] authorities. This brought him [illegible] who had thrown in his lot with the national movement, ordered the arrest of the Bedrhans, and even of Major Noel himself. Major Noel saw in this something diffi[illegible] him recommendations, and in all good faith he telegraphed to us to protest. [illegible] interpretation on all this, and leaped to the conclusion that there was [illegible] partitioning compact between Ferid Pasha, who wanted to quell [illegible] and perfidious Albion, which wanted to create a Kurdistan [illegible] dea, I said, was moonshine. Major Noel was a specialist in Kurds, and [illegible] sts, he had personal sympathies with the people he knew all about. [illegible] already said, one of enquiry, not of propaganda. [illegible] why His Majesty's Government had encouraged the Bedrhans to accompany him [illegible] the hope that their influence could be used to promote peace and quietness in a troublesome region during the transition period. The project of using such influences in that [illegible] had been frequently discussed with Ferid Pasha. The Bedrhans themselves had [illegible] told distinctly that that was the only purpose for which His Majesty's Government [illegible] favoured their going to Kurdistan.

8. My object in making this statement was to make it clear that any action [illegible] by us from time to time on behalf of individual Kurds was not to be taken as [illegible] that we were running Kurds, either as nationalists or as possible elements in a coalition against the present Government or the national movement; also to counteract to [illegible] the sedulous efforts which are being made to work up feeling against His Majesty's Government by attributing to them as an already settled thing a policy of complete dismemberment of Turkey. I was careful to avoid saying anything which might suggest that His Majesty's Government would decide against Kurdish aspirations, and I distinguished clearly between the present and the future.

9. The Minister said it was true that our attitude has been misrepresented. [illegible] thanked me for the information I had given him, and said it would be very useful. [illegible] here to voice Kurdish aspirations, as being really representative. I said that [illegible] our attitude which he could see as he chose, I could only answer his present question personally and confidentially.

10. Our practice was, I said, to listen to anyone who seemed to represent any serious element of national opinion. We did not, as in a law court, ask people to produce powers of attorney before hearing them. We sized them up and formed our own opinion of their seriousness and representative character. In the case of the Kurdistan [illegible] stand for the whole of Kurdistan, and my own feeling was that the bulk of the Kurds

[illegible] a plane of thought and custom to make it possible to apply [illegible] criteria. I was, however, satisfied that the Kurdish club came [illegible] ion of people entitled to a hearing, i.e., they were serious and did [illegible] ements of the Kurdish race.

[illegible] had asked the question because he had reason to believe [illegible] t represent the bulk of Kurdish opinion. I said that if that [illegible] people who did represent it would also [illegible]

[illegible] Pasha then said that he was going to ask [illegible] t question. W[illegible] son for leaving the Turkish question in abeyance? The opinion was [illegible] explained—he would not say in Government circles, but in Turkish [illegible] generally—that the Allies were deferring a settlement of set purpose in order [illegible] Turkey might be ruined completely, materially and morally. I said that I was [illegible] ason for the delay, it was not that. So far as I knew, it was [illegible] lty of the problem. It was desired to provide a special regime [illegible] a and some sort of a regime for Turkey proper, i.e., Asia Minor and Constan[illegible], which would harmonise all interests. The Conference had looked much to the [illegible] States and the attitude of the United States had so far been rather disappointing. [illegible] y of finding satisfactory solutions in these circumstances was the genuine [illegible] ation of the delay.

13. Reshid Pasha then said that speaking as [illegible] ate person to another, [illegible] would tell me that the English attitude had been a mistaken one from the beginning of [illegible] armistice. We had had the sympathy of every element in Turkey and we had [illegible] nothing to stimulate it. I said I knew that the sentiments of the [illegible] portion of [illegible] country were pro-English. If we had lost opportunities thereby, as we had it was [illegible] His Majesty's Government were perfectly determined not to be [illegible] l from [illegible] Allies. We had subordinated our own particular interests to that pr[illegible]

14. Reshid Pasha asked why it was not possible to discuss the future of the [illegible] ry in an informal way with Turkish statesmen, who after all had governed the [illegible] vous elements for centuries and knew them as no one else could. To his remark [illegible] the Turks had governed the country for centuries, I could not resist exclaiming, [illegible] vous l'avez fait si mal!" and adding that, though I was always talking to him [illegible] t Greeks and Armenians, I pitied the governed Turks just as much. He admitted [illegible] justice of this *boutade*, which brought the interesting portion of the conversation to [illegible] end. The Minister went off into a long account of conversations with Colonel Sealy [illegible] London towards the end of 1912, in which he foretold with approximate accuracy the [illegible] of events in the Balkans and Constantinople. The point was that the truth of [illegible] forecast was due to his knowledge of the peoples concerned.

A. RYAN

British High Commission, [illegible]
November 27, 1919

[illegible] 369 3 No. 193

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received December 20.)

No. 2286.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 4, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith, for your Lordship's information, a [illegible] High Commission and representatives of the Greek High Commission and the Armenian and Greek Patriarchates, held on the 26th November.

2. The proceedings were of exceptional interest; the lively anxiety, approximating [illegible] es to despair, of the representatives of the two main races of the Ottoman [illegible] tians as regards public security and relief is revealed throughout.

3. With respect to security, the situation presented is one of almost unbroken [illegible] The prevalent lawlessness is forcing the Greeks and Armenians of the interior [illegible] of the villages to take refuge in the large towns in Allied occupation, where they will further tax the already severely strained resources of the Relief Committees.

4. Various suggestions for improving the situation, whether by arming as rural [illegible] are put forward and discussed. One and all, however, encounter difficulties, [illegible] it be a shortage of effectives or the objection—largely technical and academic

though it would appear that the distribution of arms is contrary to the terms of the armistice.

5. The reinstatement by the Nationalists, after his hardly-achieved dismissal, of the anti-Christian kaimakam of Boghazlian, in the vilayet of Angora, is [illegible] and is not the first occasion on which such action has been taken by Mustapha Kemal [illegible] organisation in defiance of the Central Government.

6. As regards relief, the situation during the coming winter will be an unfortunate one. In Cilicia [illegible] Armenian refugees are said to be expected in addition to 8,500 already in receipt of [illegible] clothing of such a large number are utterly beyond the resources of the [illegible] nationale arménienne," and, although the French authorities are stated to be [illegible] their attention to the matter of accommodation and may be expected to grant some further assistance, there is some justification for the remark of Dr. Tavitian that the refugees are faced with two alternatives—starvation in Cilicia [illegible] in Anatolia.

7. Finally, all present agreed that the furnishing of relief during the coming winter can no longer be met by voluntary subscriptions; some form of advance from Allied funds is necessary if many thousands of deaths are to be avoided.

I have, &c.

J. M. DE ROBECK

High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 193.

Minutes of the Twenty-Eighth Meeting between the Armenian Greek Section and Armenian and Greek Representatives.

Present:

Lieut.-Colonel Graves.
Lieut.-Colonel Hims.
Mr. Hurst.
Lieutenant Tucker, R.N.V.R.
M. Pallis, representing the Greek High Commission.
Dr. Theotokas, representing the Greek Patriarchate.
M. Calvocoressi, representing the Greek Patriarchate.
Dr. Tavitian, representing the Armenian Patriarchate.
M. Tchakirian, representing the Armenian Patriarchate.

1. *Public Security.*

DR. THEOTOKAS said that, as brigandage could visibly be practised with almost complete impunity, the number of bands was increasing daily. At Chatalja the Mutesarif had guaranteed to restore order in ten days, but since the end of [illegible] of brigandage. On 12th November members of a band had entered Chilé and beaten a Greek [illegible] subsequently carrying him off. A French gendarme who was there had done his best to [illegible] the latter had abstained from doing so, saying he had no confidence in his [illegible] were in league with the bands.

As regards the interior, eight Greek [illegible] by their Christian inhabitants, who had left for Cilicia, Smyrna [illegible]

In reply to a question from Colonel Graves, Dr. Theotokas stated that he [illegible] opposed to Armenians) travelling in the interior.

Dr. Tavitian received a telegram from Boghazlian [illegible] Christian kaimakam, Avni Bey, had at length been dismissed, but the Nationalists [illegible] reinstated him. In this district Avni Bey was also preventing the Armenians from obtaining their stipulated share of the produce where fields owned by them were being cultivated by Turks. Dr. Tavitian pointed out that ever since the armistice there had been constant complaints from Boghazlian.

At Aintab, he continued, the Turks were well-armed, and waiting for a favourable

moment to attack the Armenians. A large number of Turkish officers were much in evidence in the town.

Dr. Theotokas suggested that, as French gendarmes were already at certain places such as Chilé, it might be practicable to distribute them in small groups, in view of the general insecurity everywhere prevalent.

As regards the Adana Plain, where there had recently been some bad cases of [illegible] by bands, Dr. Tavitian stated that the situation was now normal; the disorder of the tchetes had been demanded.

Colonel Graves pointed out that there were considerable bodies of troops in Cilicia [illegible] the action could thus be taken; whereas with a few gendarmes nothing could be done against regular bands.

Dr. Theotokas: They were threatened with a fresh immigration of returned Greek refugees on a large scale, owing to insecurity. Refugees were also leaving the villages and coming into Constantinople, thus placing an additional burden on the funds of the Greek Relief Committee.

If the Lazs, who were invariably the most dangerous element, knew that there were arms in the villages they would not attack them so readily.

M. Pallis asked whether there were still no chance of rifles being distributed to [illegible] for self protection.

Colonel Graves: The matter was not lost sight of, but it was one of very great difficulty, as, according to the terms of the armistice, all rifles, &c., had to be given up. Nevertheless, as so many of the brigands and malefactors were armed, it was natural that one should wish the law-abiding section of the population to be equally well off in order to be able to protect themselves.

Dr. Theotokas asked whether, if the despatch of gendarmes was out of the question, it would not be possible to distribute small detachments of troops. There [illegible] villages which had been attacked up to four times, and the situation was intolerable.

Dr. Tavitian suggested the possibility of Turkish gendarmes, with Allied officers.

Dr. Theotokas mentioned the idea of a sort of militia recruited amongst the Christians, with European officers.

Colonel Graves pointed out that we were unfortunately not administering the Government of Turkey; we were here to see that the terms of the armistice were [illegible]

Dr. Theotokas: The Turks were arming Moslems to attack Christians; this was [illegible] to the terms of the armistice.

Dr. Tavitian concurred, and said that if only the terms of the armistice were properly observed they would be quite satisfied.

Dr. Theotokas: In one district of the Marmora region 200 to 300 rifles had been [illegible] found there.

Relief.

[illegible] to Colonel Graves, M. Pallis said that the Greek Patriarchate had prepared a note to the High Commissioners regarding the possibility of obtaining [illegible] for relief purposes [illegible] funds.

Dr. Tavitian stated that confiscated Armenian funds in Turkish hands would constitute a good security for such an advance, as regards the Armenians, such funds being considerable.

[illegible] Patriarchate had approached the Turkish Government as regards [illegible] help for their orphans, and the Turks had offered to give £T. 1,000 a month.

According to a telegram received the previous day from a member of the American Mission at Harput, they were seriously contemplating the necessity of shutting down the Armenian Orphanage there owing to scarcity of funds.

Colonel Graves: They were all agreed as to one thing. Relief work could no longer be carried on with voluntary subscriptions; people had given all they could by [illegible] The matter was one of feeding, housing, and clothing hundreds of thousands of people for months—they would have to reckon up to the harvest of next year—and the expenses would run into millions.

A letter had been received from the Director-in-chief of Relief and Repatriation [illegible] as large numbers of Armenians were being sent from Syria to Cilicia.

Dr Tavitian said that the periods of greatest difficulty were those immedia[illegible] succeeding the arrival of large batches of refugees, while their distribution [illegible] accommodation were being arranged. The lack of houses had caused difficulty. [illegible] French were distributing the new arrivals as far as possible in villages (thus 4,000 [illegible] them were to be housed at Shaykh Murad, near Adana), and were proposing to erect temporary sheds.

Dr. Tavitian then gave certain information and statistics regarding refugees at Aleppo and in Syria genera[illegible]

The Armenian refugees at Aleppo were of two classes: One was the temporary class, who were placed in barracks, and to whom the British authorities gave [illegible] were going to be sent away to Cilicia. The other class was those who were staying in the town. The grant of 2 piastres a day which had previously been made to [illegible] was now discontinued. There were 10,000 of them, and they were now more or [illegible] able to earn a living.

In the Der-Zor district there were still at least 50,000 Armenians in the hands of Moslems, of whom 20,000 round Suruj and Urfa alone; they were the last survivors of those deported from the eastern vilayets.

In Cilicia they were expecting 28,000–30,000 refugees. He believed that [illegible]

[illegible]

The "Union arménienne" [illegible] very short of funds.

3. *Islamized Christians.*

Dr. Tavitian, continuing, said that they still had 500–600 addresses of Arm[illegible] orphans with Moslems in the Constantinople district.

M Tchakirian suggested that, instead of the present arrangement, two of [illegible] Inter-Allied policemen might be reserved particularly for the recovery of such ch[illegible] for his own zone in Constantinople.

Colonel Graves concurred in the suggestion, and proposed its discussion with British authorities concerned.

Constantinople, November 26, 1919.

[163719] No. 194

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received December 20.)

(No. [illegible])

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 9, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to your Lordship, herewith, a report [illegible] conversation which Mr. Hohler had yesterday with the Kurdish chief, Sheikh [illegible] Abdul Kadir Pasha, on Kurdish affairs.

2. I venture to think that the question of Kurdish independence is one [illegible] deserves most careful study on the part of His Majesty's Government, as [illegible] not, the Kurds place their hopes mainly in His Majesty's Government.

3. The fact that the Kurds appear to have arrived at an agreement with the Armenians is one of great interest, and if the agreement is solid it should be of great value in solving many difficulties.

I have, &c.

J. M. DE ROBECK, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure 1 in No. 194.

Memorandum.

[illegible] D[illegible] visit from Abdul Kadir this morning, who stated that at the [illegible] the Kurds found themselves in a very difficult position, [illegible] with Ferid Pasha at their head [illegible] and to come into power, and [illegible] nature to him, promising the Kurds [illegible] autonomy under [illegible] at the time of his previo[illegible] had made fairly large, though far from equally far reaching promis[illegible] seen making proposals to him, offering the Kurds administrative autonom[illegible] Turkish officials, but at the same time they were adopting provocatory and [illegible] towards him and his fellow-countrymen in Constantinople. In the mean[illegible] Mustapha Kemal was becoming increasingly dangerous, and he felt great anxiety [illegible] this man in combination with the Azerbaijanis, instigated by Halil Pasha and [illegible] might do. The price he was to pay for the concessions to [illegible] *entente libérale* was to throw the Kurds against Mustapha Kemal, [illegible] Government under Ali Riza wished was that they should receive the [illegible] of the Kurds, and should put up with Mustapha Kemal, whom they would [illegible] your to restrain from any overt action. He said he wished to form his course [illegible] gland, for he considered that [illegible] policy of Great Britain, much more [illegible]

[illegible] Peace delegations [illegible] Pasha, [illegible] giving express[illegible] that implied [illegible] had this High [illegible] ent was weakening, so th[illegible] o believe that the British High Commissioner in Transcaucasia had been successful in promoting tranquil relations between the Azerbaijanis and th[illegible] ed to a revival of the Nationalist movement in the spring, but that was three or four months distant, and I could not but believe by that time the Peace Conference [illegible] with Turkey [illegible] the fact that it was from the Peace Conference and not from any Turkish Government that the Kurds had to look for the fulfilment of their aspirations, yet, with the progress of the [illegible] happen. The Peace Conference would [illegible] decisions, but he was inclined to wonder what measures it would take to enforce [illegible] "Though your enemy is only an ant, so long as [illegible] go to sleep." With great tact he insinuated the [illegible] the Kurdish people would have in making good their claim to [illegible] dence, if the Allies had not sufficient forces to overawe the Turks into a full [illegible] of the peace terms.

3. I enquired whether the opposition to Mustapha Kemal desired by the Entente

[illegible] the Party entailed the use of force, he said it did. I observed that this seemed unnecessary, owing to the weakening of the movement to which I had already ref[illegible] and also that, in view of the fact that His Majesty's Government desired, in [illegible] interests of all parties, that peace should be established and maintained [illegible]

4. With regard to the vexations treatment about [illegible] the Kurdish [illegible] in Constantinople, I remarked that His Majesty's Government had stated that they would not tolerate political oppression of one party by another; all depended on the [illegible] our influence to prevent such conduct as he had described.

5. I was again much impressed by the firm resolution that Sheik Abdul Kadir showed in pursuing his aim of independence for Kurdistan and for separation from the Turks.

T B HOHLER

British High Commission, Constantinople,
December 8, 1919.

Enclosure 2 in No. 194.

Kurdistan and Armenian Representatives to M. Clemenceau.

Paris, le 20 novembre 1919.

M. le Président,

NOUS soussignés, représentants des nations arménienne et kurde, avons l'honneur de faire connaître à la Conférence de la Paix que nos deux nations, aryennes toutes [illegible] leur indépendance, et particulièrement pour les Arm[illegible] domination cruelle des Gouvernements turcs, et, en général, tant pour les A[illegible] que les Kurdes, leur délivrance du joug du Comité Union et Progrès, [illegible] Gouvernements officiels et occultes leur ont été si néfastes, aux uns et aux autres [illegible] N[illegible] la Conférence de la Paix [illegible] Arm[illegible] d'un Kurdistan indépendant, avec l'assistance d'une grande [illegible] des [illegible], après avoir entendu le vœu de nos nations respectives, pour accorder à nos pays son aide technique et économique pendant la période de reconstruction.

[illegible] l'attribution des territoires contestés, indiqués [illegible] frontières respectives présentées [illegible] la Paix [illegible] délimitation définitive des frontières des deux futurs États, nous déclarons form[illegible] nous en remettre à la [illegible] la Paix [illegible] d'avance que sa sanction sera déterminée sur la base de la justice et du droit.

Nous confirmons, en outre, notre complet accord de respecter les droits légitimes des minorités dans les deux États.

Veuillez agréer, &c.

Pour le Kurdistan
CHERIF,
Président de la Délégation kurde à la Conférence de la Paix

OHAN DJIHANNIAN,
Président de la Délégation de la République arménienne à la Conférence de la Paix.

Pour l'Arménie
BOGHOS NUBAR,
Président de la Délégation nationale arménienne.

Enclosure 3 in No. 194

General Cherif Pasha to M. Clemenceau.

Paris, le 25 novembre 1919.

M. le Président,

LE retard mis à la conclusion de la Paix avec l'Empire ottoman a procuré une chance inespérée au Comité Union et Progrès pour s'emparer de nouveau du pouvoir en Turquie, en créant aux [illegible] grves [illegible] règlement équitable des affaires d'Orient.

Les Gouvernements qui se sont succédé depuis l'armistice à Constantinople composés des débris du Comité Union et Progrès et de l'Opposition, les principaux [illegible] à temps dans leur pays, ont fait à la [illegible] mesures qu'ils ont prises [illegible]

Toutes les nationalités [illegible] les autres peuples qui composaient l'Empire austro-hongrois [illegible] même traitement que les autres peuples qui composaient l'Empire austro-hongrois. D'ailleurs, les déclarations des Alliés de fait [illegible] droit laissent espérer en Orient le même droit à faire valoir leurs revendications à toutes les nationalités qui s'y trouvent.

Au nom de la nation kurde, j'ai l'honneur de solliciter du Conseil suprême de la Conférence de la Paix, avec la dernière énergie, que nous puisons dans la légitimité de nos revendications nationales, le soin d'étudier sérieusement la question kurde, laquelle [illegible] aucune présumption, des conditions essentielles pour [illegible] en Asie Mineure [illegible] considérer le Kurdistan [illegible] de le partager en deux zones d'influ[illegible] L'effusion de sang qui s'ensuivrait se[illegible] fatale d'une nouvelle imprévoyance diplomatique [illegible] l'organisation technique et économique, pour [illegible] d'une grande Puissance que désignera, dans sa sagesse, la Société des Nations avec l'assentiment de la nation kurde.

C'est la solution la plus équitable et la plus digne des vainqueurs qui ont fait les plus grands sacrifices pour la paix de droit et de justice. D'ailleurs c'est ce que la nation kurde est en droit d'attendre des sentiments d'équité et de sagesse du Conseil [illegible] de la Conférence de la Paix.

Dans le Kurdistan, se trouve une minorité arménienne. Équitablement parlant, cette question peut se résoudre plus facilement que l'on n'est tenté de le croire.

Nous autres Kurdes, nous ne voulons en aucun point empiéter sur les droits de qui que ce soit.

Les Arméniens aussi bien que les Turcs, Arabes, Nestoriens et autres, qui res[illegible] tement, à cause de leur minorité, incapables de former une agglomération admin[illegible] [illegible] dans l'État kurde, l'entente la plus parfaite, et les droits de [illegible]

[illegible] les revendications kurdes [illegible] Arm[illegible] nécessaire à [illegible] internationale [illegible] contrées où nous formons aujourd'hui, et depuis [illegible] raison majorité de la population.

Nous avons pleine et entière confiance dans la décision que prendra la Commission internationale susmentionnée, persuadés d'avance que sa sanction sera déterminée sur la base des principes de nationalités, de justice et de droit.

Ainsi qu'il appert de la déclaration collective [illegible] de la Conférence de la Paix en date du 20 de ce mois, une entente cordiale s'est heureusement établie, sous nos auspices [illegible] respectifs à Paris entre les nations arménienne et kurde. Pour maintenir et raffermir cette harmonie, nous [illegible] le plus tôt un prompt règlement à [illegible] respectives [illegible] Conseil.

Veuillez agréer, &c.

Le Président de la Délégation kurde
à la Conférence de la Paix,
CHERIF

Enclosure 4 in No. 194.

Boghos Nubar to General Cherif Pasha.

Paris, le 20 novembre 1919.

Mon cher Président,

COMME suite à l'accord heureusement intervenu aujourd'hui même entre nous, comme représentants de nos nations respectives, il est entendu que nous nous engageons à ne faire publier, par nos services de propagande, aucun écrit ou brochure nuisible à nos nations respectives. Il va de soi que, pour ceux qui existent déjà, on ne cherchera plus à en tirer parti dans un but d'hostilité.

Il reste bien convenu que, pour les questions territoriales, nous nous en sommes remis à l'arbitrage de la Conférence de la Paix [illegible] et d'autre nous y apporterons un large esprit de réconciliation, d'amitié [illegible]

Veuillez agréer, &c.

Le Président de la Délégation nationale arménienne
à la Conférence de la [illegible]

BOGHOS NUBAR.

Enclosure 5 in No. 194.

General Cherif Pasha and Boghos Nubar to M. Clemenceau

M. le Président, *Paris, le 20 novembre 1919.*

NOUS nous faisons un plaisir de remettre ci-joint à votre Excellence copie d'une lettre adressée à M. le Président de la Conférence de la Paix, signée par nous, représentants de la Délégation de l'Arménie intégrale et de la Délégation kurde à la Conférence de la Paix. Votre Excellence verra que, contrairement aux assertions de nos adversaires, prétendant que les Arméniens et les Kurdes ne pourraient vivre en bonne intelligence, nous avons conclu un accord en vue [illegible] revendications nationales.

Veuillez agréer, &c.

Le Président de la Délégation kurde à la
Conférence de la Paix,
CHERIF.

Le Président de la Délégation nationale
arménienne,
BOGHOS NUBAR.

(Cette lettre a été adressée aux Présidents des Délégations anglaise, américaine, italienne et japonaise auprès de la Conférence de la Paix.)

[165691] No. 195

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received December 29.)

(No. 2317.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 11, 1919.*

I HAVE in more than one recent despatch remarked on the extreme eagerness which is now being shown in official Turkish circles for the early conclusion of peace, and the insistence with which the Grand Vizier and other Ministers insist, whenever an opportunity offers, on the necessity for an early solution.

2. About three weeks ago great publicity was given to the fact that the Turkish Government had made a formal representation to the Allies with the same object, and the greatest anxiety was manifested in the press and among the public as to the result. One suggestion which has been put forward to account for this eagerness on the part of the Turkish Government is that Mustapha Kemal has urged them to take such action, feeling that he is uncertain how much longer he can hold the national movement together.

3. I had myself no definite knowledge of such a representation until the 27th November, when I [illegible] High Commissioners a telegram from Rome, stating that a telegram from the Turkish Grand Vizier, dated the 15th November, had been laid before the Supreme Council. My French colleague then explained to us that the Minister for Foreign Affairs had asked [illegible] the same request had been made to the Italian High Commissioner and myself.

4. Your Lordship is no doubt already aware of the contents of the Grand Vizier's telegram, but I enclose, for convenience of reference, a copy received from my French colleague after the meeting mentioned above.

I have, &c.

J. M. DE ROBECK,
High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 195.

Grand Vizier to M. Clemenceau.

Le dernier délai accordé à la Délégation bulgare pour la signature du Traité de [illegible] est expirer le 15 novembre courant, et prenant en considération la lettre [illegible] de votre Excellence adressée au chef de la Délégation ottomane en date du [illegible] juin écoulé, je viens la prier de vouloir bien fixer le jour auquel celle-ci pourrait se trouver en France afin de se mettre finalement en relations avec le Congrès des Puissances alliées.

[165694] No. 196.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received December 29.)

(No. 2321.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 12, 1919.*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 2166 of the 19th November, I have the honour to enclose herewith a translation of a further telegram from Moustapha Kemal Pasha complaining of the proceedings of the French authorities at Adana.

The strenuous attitude taken up by the leaders of the Nationalist movement in regard to the new arrangements in Syria and Cilicia goes far to discredit the view widely held in this country, and especially by the advocates of what is called an "English policy," that there is a definite working understanding between the French and the Nationalists.

3. It is probably true that many individual Frenchmen, including persons in official position, sympathise with the national movement, and would for one reason or another welcome a solution of a Turkish question based on what is the main plank in the Nationalists' programme, namely, the maintenance of an undivided Turkish [illegible]

4. I have no reason to suppose that the highest French [illegible] pushing this policy in anticipation of the decisions of the Conference. [illegible] doing so, there could be no greater set-back to their efforts than the action of the [illegible] Government in choosing this moment to take charge in Syria and Cilicia.

5. Further indications that the French are not really taking too much trouble to soothe Nationalist susceptibilities is afforded by the fact that they filled the columns of certain local French papers with glowing descriptions of the benefits conferred by French administration on the vilayet of Adana.

6. Following upon the enclosed telegram from Moustapha Kemal Pasha, I have received a number of telegrams of the usual type from committees of national defence, &c., at various places in the interior complaining of the alleged action of the French in forcing the people of Adana to fly French flags.

I have, &c.

J. M. DE ROBECK, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure in No. 196.

Telegram despatched from Sivas on November 28 by Moustapha Kemal Pasha in the name of the Representatives of the Association of the Defence of Rights.

(Translation.)

THE French, acting in principle contrary to the clauses of the armistice by continuing in occupation of the Adana district, have recently through police agents and gendarmes distributed French flags among the whole population of the town and have forced the inhabitants to hoist them not only over private houses, imposing a fine of 100*l.* in case of non-compliance, but also over official buildings.

According to information received from Adana, the whole Mahommedan population is in the last degree pained and disgusted at this act, which is contrary to international law. We protest energetically in the name of Ottoman national unity against this act and we demand redress.

[165708 No. [illegible]

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received December [illegible])

(No. 2336.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December 13, 1919*

WITH reference to my despatch No. 2311 of the 7th December, relative to a conversation between Mr. Hohler and Sheikh Abdul Kadir on Kurdish affairs, I have the honour to forward herewith for your Lordship's information report of a conversation which Mr. Hohler had on the 9th December with the Armenian Patriarch, [illegible] a understanding alleged to have been arrived at between the Kurds and the Armenians.

I have, &c.

J. M. DE ROBECK, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure in No. 197

Memorandum.

I HAD a conversation this afternoon with the Armenian Patriarch to enquire as to the understanding alleged to have been arrived at between the Kurds and the Armenians. His Beatitude said that some time ago there had been [illegible] on between him and the Kurdish club here, but they had rather be[illegible] were divergent sections in the club. The tendency was for the older members [illegible] inclined to continue with the Turks, whereas the younger ones considered th[illegible] at policy had been tried for too long without the slightest success, also there were differences of opinion among the various tribes. He had, however, now received from Paris the statement to the effect that Boghos Nubar Pasha and Sherif Pasha had signed an agreement, but the details had not yet reached him. As soon as they did it was his intention to recommence negotiations, not only here but also in the provinces, though they were greatly hampered by the action of the Turks, who refused to allow liberty for travelling. His Beatitude said that the Armenians had never suffered from the Kurds [illegible] had only perpetrated massacres when incited thereto by the Turks. Otherwise they had lived throughout history alongside and amongst the Kurds on perfectly good terms. I suggested that whilst an independent Kurdistan freed, so far as possible, from all traces of Turkeydom would appear to give the most genuine guarantees possible for the lives, the liberty, and the honour of the Armenians, it would [illegible] risk for any [illegible] were not in very clear majority, and I enquired whether, as a [illegible] prevalent in olden times had not been one of tribal rule and inter[illegible] any central Government. His Beatitude entirely endorsed this, [illegible] Kurds were merely dwellers in the mountains addicted to pastoral pursuits, whilst the Armenians lived in the plains and followed husbandry. He would welcome the re-establishment of such a system. He said that he believed the majority of the Kurds to be desirous of independence, and that only a few tribes, the chief of which was the Milli at Viranshehr, decided in favour of pro-Turkism. He reiterated the conviction that the Kurds and Armenians could get along perfectly well together if left alone, and if the Turks could be, so far as possible, eliminated from among them. I expressed the personal opinion that the success of the negotiations gave promise to the best hopes of many of the Armenian difficulties, and whilst I was [illegible] of the view of His Majesty's Government, I could not but believe that the [illegible] which would meet with their entire approval, especially as they had lately been instrumental in procuring the conclusion of a pact between the Armenians [illegible] Caucasus and the Azerbaijanis. I pointed out, however, to his Beatitude [illegible] to information which had just reached us from Mr. Wardrop, the Armenians had broken that [illegible] by recent attacks on several villages in the Zangezur district. He said he would use his influence to stop any future infraction of t[illegible]

M. Zaven said that, as with the Kurds, so the Armenians had always lived on

tolerable terms with the Azerbaijanis. Hostilities, massacres, and reprisals had only broken out when Azerbaijan had become a kind of succursal of Turkey, full of Young Turk agents.

T. B. HOHLER.

December 9, 1919.

[165712 No. [illegible]

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de R[illegible] —(Received [illegible])

(No. 2341.)

My Lord, [illegible]

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. [illegible] asking for a list of port, railway, mining, and industrial concessions held by foreigners other than British subjects in any part of the late Turkish Empire, I have the honour to forward herewith a list which is believed to be fairly comp[illegible] [illegible] h many of the companies are described as Ottoman, the capital invested [illegible] is named is mainly foreign, of the nationality given in each case.

I have, &c.

J. M. DE ROBECK, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure in No. 198

List of Port, Railway, Mining, and Industrial Concessions held by Foreigners other than British Subjects in late Turkish Empire.

Company	Nationality.	Capital.
Brasseries réunies Bomonti Nectar	Swiss	Fr. 6,000,000
Brasserie de la Part		
Société générale de Chemin de Fer et Travaux publics ...	French	[illegible]
Société du Chemin de Fer ottoman d'Anatolie	German	[illegible] 12,000,000
Société Impériale ottomane du Chemin de Fer de Bagdad ...	German	[illegible] 15,000,000
[illegible] du Chemin [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] Adana	[illegible]	£ [illegible]
[illegible] Fer Moudania-Brousse	French ... ... / Belgian	Fr. [illegible]
[illegible] Chemins de Fer orientaux	German ... ... / Austrian	Fr. [illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Compagnie des Eaux de Scutari-Cadikoy	[illegible]	£ [illegible]
Compagnie ottomane des Eaux de Beyrouth	German	Fr. 4,000,000
Compagnie ottomane des Eaux de Smyrne	French	Fr. 3,750,000
Société anonyme ottomane d'Électricité (Constantinople)	French ... ... / Belgian	Fr. 12,000,000
Société ottomane d'Électricité de Smyrne	German	£ stg. 100,000
Société anonyme ottomane de Tramways et d'Électricité de Damas	[illegible]	[illegible]
Société anonyme ottomane de Tramways et d'Électricité de Beyrouth	French	F [illegible]
Société Impériale ottomane d'Éclairage par le Gaz et [illegible]	French ... ... / [illegible]	F [illegible]
[illegible] ottomane du Gaz de Beyrouth	French	Fr. 2,200,000
[illegible] ère ottomane de Constantinople	French	£ T. 600,000
[illegible]	[illegible]	Fr. 5,000,000
[illegible] Chemins de Fer métropolitains [illegible] entre Galata et Péra	German	£ T. 185,000
[illegible] Mines de Balia-Karaidin ...	French	Fr 8,000,000
[illegible] des Charbonnages de Tchamly	[illegible]	F 12,000,000
[illegible] ottomane d'Héraclée	French	Fr. 15,000,000
[illegible] anonyme ottomane des Bateaux de la Corne d'Or ...	German	£ T. 50,000
Société anonyme ottomane industrielle et maritime...	[illegible]	£ T [illegible]
Compagnie de Remorquage, Pilotage et Sauvetage...	[illegible]	Fr [illegible]
Société anonyme ottomane des Quais, Docks et Entrepôts de Constantinople	[illegible]	Fr 23,875,000

Company.	Nationality.	Capital.
Société anonyme ottomane des Docks et Ateliers du Haut-Bosphore	French	Fr. 264,000
Compagnie ottomane du Port, des Quais et Entrepôts de Beyrouth	French	Fr. 6,000,000
Société du Port et des Quais d'Alexandrette	German.	
Société du Port et des Quais de Chio	French	Fr. 5,000,000
Société du Port de Haïdar-Pacha	German	Fr. 8,000,000
Société des Quais de Smyrne	French	Fr. 14,500,000
Société de Publications françaises et étrangères	French	Fr. 250,000
Société des Bains de Koury-Yalova	Belgian.	
Société immobilière des Bains de Mer de San-Stefano ...	?	Fr. 12,500,000
Régie contéressée des Tabacs de l'Empire ottoman—	Austrian ... ... / French	Fr. 40,000,000
Société du Tombac (I.O.S.)	... ...	Fr. 12,500,000
Société des Tramways de Constantinople	German	£ T. 907,854
Société des Tramways Smyrne-Guez Tepe	German	£ T. 25,000
Société nationale pour le Commerce, l'Industrie et l'Agriculture dans l'Empire ottoman	French	£ T. 200,000
Société ottomane de Commerce, d'Agriculture et d'Industrie...	German	£ T. 75,000
Société générale d'Entreprises dans l'Empire ottoman (Roads) (Routes)	French	Fr. 4,000,000
Compagnie industrielle du Levant	Belgian	Fr. 4,500,000
Société anonyme ottomane de Construction	Italian	£ T. 22,000
Société commerciale, industrielle et financière	Italian	£ T. 100,000
Société anonyme du Crédit "Union ottomane"	?	£ T. 10,000
Compagnie ottomane du Chemin de Fer Hodeida-Sanaa ...	French.	
Gaz de Dolma Baghché (Perrier)	French.	
Société ottomane des Tramways Ilssais (Nord et Sud de Beyrouth)	French	

[165716] No. 199.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received December 29.)

(No. 2344.)

Constantinople, December 16, 1919.

My Lord,

WITH reference to your Lordship's telegram No. 1807 of the 25th November, relative to an enquiry which is being conducted by the Committee of Greek Claims in Paris into questions concerning the Greek administration at Smyrna, I have the honour to forward herewith, for your Lordship's information, copy of a joint note on the subject, dated the 10th December, which has been addressed to the Greek High Commissioner by the Allied High Commissioners.

I have, &c.
J. M. DE ROBECK, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure in No. 199.

Joint Note communicated to Greek High Commissioner.

LES Hauts-Commissaires soussignés ont l'honneur de faire savoir à M. le Commissaire hellénique à Constantinople que la Commission des Affaires internationales a été chargée par le Conseil suprême de procéder à l'examen des questions relatives à l'administration hellénique à Smyrne.

Les Hauts-Commissaires soussignés ont, en conséquence, été chargé d'établir certains faits précis relativement à l'ingérence des autorités helléniques dans les affaires administratives et judiciaires qui relèvent soit de services interalliés, soit de l'autorité ottomane.

Dès que les Hauts-Commissaires alliés auront réunis ces documents, ils ne manqueront pas de les soumettre au Commissaire hellénique à Constantinople pour qu'ils soient l'objet d'une étude contradictoire.

Les Hauts-Commissaires sont convaincus que cette enquête aura les plus heureuses conséquences et que, loin de gêner les services helléniques à Smyrne, elle facilitera leur délicate mission en précisant leurs attributions et en définissant leur rôle.

A. DEFRANCE.
RICHARD WEBB.
MAISSA.

Constantinople, le 10 décembre 1919.

[165720] No. 200.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received December 29.)

(No. 2353.)

Constantinople, December 16, 1919.

My Lord,

WITH reference to my telegram No. 2132 of the 9th December, 1919, I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of the notes addressed by the Armenian and Greek Patriarchates to the Allied High Commissioners at Constantinople, appealing for an advance of funds for relief purposes from the Allied Governments, to be recovered from Turkey in the financial settlement on the conclusion of peace, as the voluntary contributions on which the various relief organisations chiefly depend are quite inadequate to meet the requirements of the distressed Christian populations of Turkey during the present winter.

2. These appeals were the subject of discussion at the High Commissioners' meeting on Friday, the 12th December, when my French and Italian colleagues concurred with me in the opinion that it was incumbent on the High Commissioners to do their utmost to represent the very serious situation disclosed in the notes of the Patriarchates to the Supreme Council, on whom the responsibility for the decision to be taken would then lie. My Italian colleague desired to point out that the sufferings of a portion of the Moslem population also deserved attention, this observation applying more particularly to the Turkish refugees from the Smyrna vilayet, of whom there are reported to be at least 30,000 in a state of extreme destitution in the district lying south of Aidin.

3. The French and Italian High Commissioners, who have already sent home copies of the notes of the Patriarchates, agreed to send telegrams also to Paris and Rome to urge the matter to the attention of their respective Governments, M. Maissa again emphasising the desirability of mentioning in this communication the needs of the Moslem refugees.

I have, &c.
J. M. DE ROBECK,
High Commissioner.

Enclosure 1 in No. 200.

M. Dorotheos to Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck.

Œcumenical Patriarchate,
Constantinople, November 6/19, 1919.

Sir,

THE sympathy and encouragement which the work of relief to the suffering Greek population of Turkey has always received from the British High Commission lead me to submit to your Excellency the following appeal :—

As your Excellency is aware, the number of Greeks deported to the interior of Asia Minor during the European war amounted to about 500,000, of whom only about half are estimated to have survived.

The Central Commission of Relief to the Greek Deportees, appointed by the Patriarchate, in order to carry out the work of repatriation and relief of the sufferers, has spent up to date 613,586*l.*, this sum being derived from private funds subscribed by the Greeks of Constantinople and from a subsidy granted by the Hellenic Government, which has been most generous in its support, in spite of the very heavy calls upon it for relief in Salonica, East Macedonia, and Smyrna. Relief on a generous scale has also been provided by the American Commission of Relief in the Near East, particularly in the northern and north-eastern vilayets of Anatolia.

Unfortunately the resources of our Commission are rapidly becoming exhausted, and we are informed that the American Commission finds itself in a similar position. If there was a near prospect of the armistice coming to an end and the present condition of anarchy in the interior of Asia Minor being terminated, we should have less reason to be anxious about the future. But unfortunately there is every prospect of the present situation continuing over the winter, nor can we look to the Turkish Government for any substantial assistance in repairing the suffering which it has inflicted on its Christian subjects.

Numbers of the deportees have returned to their villages to find their homes either completely demolished or so damaged that they cannot provide sufficient shelter against the cold of the winter.

The population is equally destitute of warm clothing and blankets. Our Commission, owing to its limited funds, has been obliged to confine its activities almost exclusively to Thrace and the shores of the Sea of Marmora, thus neglecting the Black Sea region which is one of those where the Greek population has suffered most. Numberless orphans are still wandering about uncared for in the villages owing to lack of accommodation in the existing orphanages and lack of funds to open new ones.

It is obvious that, without relief measures on a large scale, there is bound to be great mortality this winter among the refugees, and especially among the old, the women, and children. The enormous discrepancy between the requirements and the funds available is shown by the fact that out of an estimate of 4,000,000, which in a statement handed in May last to Lieutenant-Colonel Pears, representative of the Supreme Economic Council here, was estimated as the minimum required for the effective relief of the Greek population in Turkey, only 800,000*l.* have been available, contributed exclusively by the Hellenic Government.

In view of the impossibility of our being able to obtain any further appreciable assistance either from the Hellenic Government or from private sources, I have the honour to suggest to your Excellency that it might be possible to place the matter before the Allied Governments, with a view to obtaining an advance or a relief grant, similar to those which were granted to various countries at the beginning of this year through the agency of the Supreme Economic Council. A sum of 1,000,000*l.*, though falling far short of the real requirements, would, in my opinion, suffice to tide over the winter. This sum, if not given as a relief grant, might be considered as first charge on any sum which Turkey will be obliged to pay as an indemnity by the Peace Treaty.

I feel sure that the Allied Governments, who by now are all too familiar with the indifference of the Turkish Government towards its Christian subjects and who must realise that the inevitable protraction of the armistice is exposing these Christians to further hardships, which were originally not contemplated, will be prepared to examine this request for assistance in a sympathetic spirit.

I have, &c.

The Locum Tenens of the Œcumenical Throne,
DOROTHEOS, *Metropolite of Brusa.*

Enclosure 2 in No. 200.

Armenian Patriarchs to Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck.

M. le Haut-Commissaire, *Constantinople, le 3 décembre* 1919.

LA prolongation inopinée de l'armistice a créé à la nation arménienne, et particulièrement aux Arméniens de Turquie, une situation des plus alarmantes. Au lendemain de la victoire des Alliés, tous nos nationaux, mus par un élan de solidarité suprême, avaient uni leurs efforts pour secourir, de toute façon, ceux de leurs frères échappés aux horreurs des déportations et des massacres. Ainsi, furent recueillis et hospitalisés environ 12,000 orphelins, en attendant que les circonstances permissent de sauver au fur et à mesure ceux qui erraient à travers l'Empire ou que détenaient les Turcs, et dont le total s'élève, d'après les évaluations les plus mesurées, à plus de 100,000. Nos moyens d'action étant particulièrement restreints, nous avions échelonné nos ressources générales de façon à faire face aux besoins indispensables prévus pour une période maximum de quelques mois. Mais cette période une fois dépassée du double, voire du triple, il ne fut plus possible aux Arméniens de secourir les misères dont l'accumulation, la vérité, le caractère imprévu, allaient au delà des supputations les plus pessimistes. La nation se trouve aujourd'hui réduite à constater l'insuffisance absolue des ressources dont elle dispose pour subvenir aux nécessités les plus immédiates. Au seuil de l'hiver, de nouvelles complications viennent de surgir ; les autorités turques empêchent aux Arméniens tout déplacement à travers l'Empire, ce qui ôte aux uns la possibilité de travailler pour vivre, et aux autres les chances d'échapper aux dangers qui menacent par le fait des agissements des nationalistes et de l'attitude hostile et agressive des Turcs fanatisés. De sorte que, si aucun remède n'était apporté à cet état de chose déplorable, des centaines de milliers d'Arméniens des deux sexes et de tout âge seraient voués à une mort certaine.

Dans ces conditions, le Patriarcat arménien avait, à la date du 2 septembre 1919, adressé au Gouvernement ottoman, une note pour lui demander de disposer en faveur de ces orphelins, de la quote-part leur revenant de droit sur la surtaxe perçue, sous diverses formes, par l'administration turque au bénéfice des orphelins. Le Département de l'Intérieur a, par sa note responsive du 18 novembre 1919, fait connaître au Patriarcat arménien "qu'il était conforme à la gloire de l'État d'allouer une somme mensuelle de 1,000 livres turques aux orphelinats arméniens." Le Patriarcat se réserve de répondre, par une note longuement motivée, à cette étrange communication de la Sublime Porte, qui semble ne tenir aucun compte du passé et des écrasantes responsabilités incombant au Gouvernement turc.

D'autre part, les démarches déjà tentées auprès du Conseil suprême économique pour faire attribuer une avance aux Arméniens, n'ont point donné de résultat. Dans ces conditions, nous considérons que le dernier moyen qui s'offre de sauver d'une mort certaine les victimes précitées, consiste à faire un suprême appel aux sentiments de justice et d'équité des Alliés, afin qu'ils veuillent bien consentir au Patriarcat une avance de 2,000,000 de livres sterling, pour compte du Gouvernement turc, à valoir sur les créances en espèce et en nature de ce dernier envers la nation arménienne.

En effet, indépendamment des indemnités dues à la nation du chef des déportations, massacres, pillages, destructions de biens meubles et immeubles, &c., le Gouvernement turc est dépositaire, suivant l'article 16 de la loi ottomane sur les biens abandonnés :

1. Des biens appartenant aux Arméniens et dont les propriétaires restent inconnus (Eddkhassi medjhouli).

2. Des biens meubles, objets de culte, objets d'art, manuscrits, ex-votos, &c., que seize siècles de généreuse piété chrétienne avaient entassés dans les 209 couvents et 2,000 églises saccagés par les Turcs.

3. Des immeubles de rapport appartenant à ces institutions et dont les revenus ont été encaissés pendant la durée de la guerre, conformément à la susdite loi.

Le caractère incontestablement légal de ces créances, lesquelles chiffrent par des dizaines de millions, et qui, en tout état de cause, devront être acquises à la nation arménienne, n'échappera point à l'appréciation impartiale des Alliés. Aussi, espérons nous fermement que leur généreuse sollicitude à l'égard de la nation martyre, s'exercera en ces graves circonstances, pour nous aider à remplir les dures et pressantes obligations qui nous incombent.

Veuillez agréer, &c.

Le Chef de la Communauté arménienne-protestante,
ZENOPE BEZDJIAN.
Le Locum-Tenens du Patriarcat arménien-catholique,
A. SAYEGHIAN.
Le Patriarche des Arméniens,
ZAVEN.

[165721] No. 201.

Vice-Admiral Sir J. de Robeck to Earl Curzon.—(Received December 29.)

(No. 2354.)

My Lord, *Constantinople, December* 16, 1919.

I HAVE the honour to transmit herewith copy of the minutes of proceedings at the meeting of the Armenian-Greek Section of this High Commission on the 10th instant.

I have not thought it necessary to forward copies of the reports read by the representatives of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates at this meeting, as their contents are fully summarised in the enclosed minutes, but I have the honour to bring to your Lordship's notice the following points to which they draw special attention :—

1. The general state of insecurity in the unoccupied provinces of Turkey, and the critical situation prevailing in certain districts of the vilayet of Broussa, where there appears to be a renewed attempt to terrorise and drive out the surviving remnants of Armenian population on the part of the Turkish authorities, supported by the irregular bands of the Nationalist organisation. The inhabitants of a few Armenian villages in the district of Isnik, who had escaped deportation and massacre in 1915, have armed and organised themselves for self-defence since the proclamation of the Armistice, and

there is no doubt that in some cases they have committed reprisals upon their Turkish assailants, thus affording a pretext for the persecution which they are now undergoing. I regret that the narrow limits now placed by the Treasury upon the expenditure for relief and repatriation will render it difficult, if not impossible, for this High Commission to accede to the Armenian Patriarch's request for the appointment of a British officer to this district, or to give any practical assistance in preventing or alleviating the sufferings complained of.

2. Complaints that the Christians are forced by the local authorities to take part in the elections to the Turkish Parliament, in spite of their almost universal unwillingness to have any share in proceedings which are a mere mockery of genuine Parliamentary representation.

3. Complaints of the levying on returned deportees of taxes alleged to be due for the period of their exile. A joint note has been addressed to the Porte on the subject by the Allied High Commissioners, a copy of which was forwarded to your Lordship with my despatch No. 2285/5035/58, dated the 3rd December, pointing out that a decree was promulgated shortly after the signature of the Armistice exempting returned refugees from such taxation and requesting that the practice should cease.

4. Renewed complaints of Avni Bey, the Kaimakam of Boghazlian, whom as dismissed by the Central Government, but reinstated by Mustapha Kemal's Nationalist organisation. The Armenian Patriarchate is now informed that this man has been transferred as Kaimakam to one of the cazas of the Konia vilayet—a characteristic Turkish method of disposing of a bad governor.

5. The increasing need for relief, and the failing resources of the various organisations now endeavouring to afford assistance to the distressed Christian populations of Turkey. Copies of the notes of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs to the High Commissioners appealing for Allied financial assistance for this purpose are being forwarded to your Lordship under a separate despatch, No. 2353/5046/19 dated the 16th December, and their contents was summarised in my telegram to your lordship No. 2132 of the 9th December.

I have, &c.
J. M. DE ROBECK, *High Commissioner.*

Enclosure in No. 201.

BRITISH HIGH COMMISSION, CONSTANTINOPLE.
December 10, 1919, 11·30 A.M.

Minutes of the 20th Meeting between the Armenian-Greek Section and the Armenian and Greek Representatives.

Present:

Lieutenant-Colonel Graves.
Lieutenant-Colonel Biggs.
Lieutenant Tucker, R.N.V.R.
Miss Liley, for Mr. Hurst.
Mr. Pallis, representing the Greek High Commission.
Dr. Theotokas, representing the Greek Patriarchate.
Mr. Calvocoressi, representing the Greek Patriarchate.
Dr. Tavitian, representing the Armenian Patriarchate.
Mr. Tchakirian, representing the Armenian Patriarchate.

1. *Public Security.*

Dr. Tavitian reported that, according to information received from Boghazlian, the Turks there had begun to drive away from their houses Armenian women and children whom they had been retaining since the early days of the deportations. Each day numbers of orphans applied for relief, and out of about 200 widows who sought help it was only possible to provide for half this number owing to shortage of funds.

In this locality also Avni Bey, Kaimakam prior to the Armistice and again reinstated by the Turks, has been making a tour throughout the whole district inciting the Turks against the Christian elements, and atrocities and thefts were numerous as a result.

Dr. Tavitian continued that reports had been received regarding the critical condition at Brousa and the surrounding districts. On the 5th November a large

brigand band had attacked a native village in the district of Isnik, resulting in three men being killed and eleven severely injured. The Turks took advantage of this assault to declare that they had been attacked by Armenians and the gendarmerie arrested eight of the leading young men, submitting them to intense torture, burning the houses of the Armenians, and reducing all Christians throughout the whole district to a state of panic. The condition is most critical, and it was asked whether a British officer, accompanied by an Armenian or Turk, could be appointed to circulate in this region and to endeavour to restore calm. The Armenians fear that the Turks will use these disturbances as an excuse to disarm the Armenians completely, when they would be more than ever at the mercy of the Turks. Massacres or deportations are also feared.

Dr. Tavitian also pointed out that the arrangement made that the harvests were to be equally shared between the Turks and Christians was not being adhered to. According to information from the region of Brousa the Turks were ill-treating the Armenians to the utmost extent and depriving them of the olive harvest; bands were organised for this purpose, and from one village 10,000 to 12,000 kilog. of olives had been taken by the Turks. The terrified Armenians do not dare go out of their houses to protect their property. The Armenians state that as long as the commander of the gendarmerie, Abdul Rezak, retains this position there will be no security for them, and request that he be dismissed.

In continuation he stated that at Balikessir the situation is also most critical. The Nationalist Party is very strong there and are exciting the population against the Christians by publishing articles in a newspaper, "Izmiré Doghron" ("Towards Smyrna"), one of them being entitled, "The Armenian Savagery."

Similar reports regarding the serious state of insecurity had also been received from Eski Shehir, Tchalgara, Sivas, and other places. At Sivas there was a large brigand band headed by Keurkhello Bahram; these attacked the Christians, robbing them of their farming implements, and carrying away the corn and flour from eleven mills which belonged to Armenians. This was the second time the millers had been robbed, and they are now without any means of livelihood whatever.

At Ceasarea the Christians were forced to take part in the elections and several Armenians were killed in the disturbances which ensued.

Complaints regarding the unfair division of the harvests had also been received from Brousa, and a state of great insecurity prevailed throughout all that region. The Turks were attacking the villages and pillaging the churches, and taxes were being levied on returned Christians, and on their churches, contrary to agreement.

Dr. Theotokas said that all reports received by the Greek Patriarchate from Christians in the Interior were absolutely of the same nature as those read by Dr. Tavitian. Assassinations were a daily occurrence, attacks against whole villages were frequent, villages and churches were sacked, brigandage was rife and Christians lived in terror of their lives. Insecurity was specially great round Konia and that district, owing to organised Nationalist bands; also at Ordou, Kerassounde, and elsewhere. At Ordou, as elsewhere, the Christians were forced to take part in the elections, being led by gendarmes who administered heavy blows to any who objected.

As an example of the atrocities perpetrated on the Christians, Dr. Theotokas related an attack made by the order of the Mudir at Haimana, in the Sandjak of Angora, by the Turkish night watchmen on the houses of the Christian notables, who were absent from home, when the doors were broken in, the women and children turned into the street in the middle of the night and their belongings searched.

Another case was quoted from which it appeared that the head of a leading Greek family, named Doxaki Lefteri, of Silivri, had been in prison for three months on a totally false charge of being responsible for the disappearance of a certain Sheikh Talaat. In the same week as Talaat disappeared two Christians were assassinated near Tsaodo by the gendarmes of Chorlou. The authorities took no notice of this double assassination, which they knew to have been committed, but imprisoned Doxaki for the disappearance of Talaat, for which he was not responsible, but after three months of imprisonment the local authorities pronounced him innocent, and ordered him to be released. The matter, however, was brought up to the Hiyeti-Ittihamié ("Chambre des mises en accusation"), which ordered that Doxaki should still be detained. His health is suffering severely, and fear is entertained on his behalf if he is not soon released.

Similar reports of outrage and ill-treatment are being received constantly from Pasha-Keuy and other places in the Sandjak of Scutari, as well as from Gallipoli, Balikessir, Rodosto, and elsewhere. It would appear that the leaders of the

Nationalist organisations met in the latter half of November at Balkesir to confer together on the systematic recruitment of Moslems and the measures to be taken against the Christians.

Dr. Theotokas further drew attention to the fact that in spite of the agreement which had been made that returned refugees should not be taxed, taxes were levied on them in numbers of places. Colonel Graves said that a letter had been addressed to the Porte on this subject, which he trusted would have the desired effect and that these taxes would be remitted, for while certain towns and villagers had been mentioned the measure applied to all.

Dr. Theotokas stated that a further difficulty encountered, especially round Rodosto, by repatriated Christians was that on their return they found that Turks had taken possession of their houses, and were even pulling down their churches to build barracks with the material. Thus returning Christians were forbidden by the Turks to enter their own houses.

2. *Relief.*

Colonel Graves said that a letter had been received both from the Greek and Armenian Patriarchate, addressed to the three Allied High Commissioners, on the matter of the urgent need for help in obtaining funds for relief purposes, and that the question was to be considered at the approaching High Commissioners' meeting. He added that in the meantime the attention of the British Government had been drawn to the urgent need and critical situation, and that it was hoped that some help would be forthcoming.

Dr. Theotokas said that the censor prevented Armenian articles appearing in the press, which had been written in the hope of gaining sympathy and help for the destitute Christians, and asked Colonel Graves if he could do anything in the matter.

Dr. Tacitian stated that as regards funds they were living from day to day, and if money was not forthcoming from Europe or America they would be obliged to dispose of church property and valuables to raise funds; the most valuable property, however, had been removed by the Turks, who had sacked the convents where the objects of greatest value had been kept. The question of the depôt which had been discovered in Stamboul, where valuables belonging to Armenians had been deposited by the Turks, was referred to, and Colonel Graves stated that the matter was being taken up and the Turkish Government held responsible to return these goods to the Armenian community. The question of the large sums which the Ottoman Government must have acquired from rents of Armenian property was also noted.

M. Pallis reported that the work of his Commission in distributing relief in the form of agricultural implements, seed, and animals to returned refugees, had nearly come to an end, as the money was almost exhausted and a small portion was being retained in order to afford help to cases of urgent need.

3. *Islamized Christians.*

M. Tchakirian asked whether any answer had been received from the inter-Allied Police, with regard to the measure proposed at the previous meeting, for specially appointing two or three picked men of the inter-Allied Police to recover children from Turkish houses. Colonel Binns replied that he had taken the question up, and that though the number of policemen was greatly reduced he thought that some such arrangement would be made.

4. *Transport.*

Dr. Theotokas raised the question of the transport difficulty, as formerly the Turkish Government paid for returning refugees up till the 15th September, but this was now forbidden by the Central Government, in addition to which the Anatolian Railway now offered no reduced fares whatsoever. He stated that there were a large number of refugees at present at Konia, who really belonged to the Constantinople district, but who were prevented from returning to their homes on account of lack of funds for their transport.

Meeting ended at 12·30.

(Next meeting, 24th December.)

[165674] No. 202.

The Earl of Derby to Earl Curzon.—(Received December 29.)

(No. 1235.)

My Lord, *Paris, December 27, 1919.*

I HAVE the honour to transmit to you herewith, with reference to my telegram No. 1241 of to-day's date, copy of the note which I have received from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs regarding the boundary between the French and British spheres in Syria.

I have, &c.

(For the Ambassador),

NEVILE M. HENDERSON.

Enclosure in No. 202.

Note respecting Boundary between French and British Spheres in Syria.

PAR une note du 20 décembre courant, son Excellence l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre a bien voulu entretenir le Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la question des limites entre les sphères d'occupation militaire française et anglaise respectivement en Syrie et Palestine, et exprimer le sentiment que le Gouvernement français serait d'accord sur le maintien de l'occupation anglaise au nord de la Palestine dans une partie de la zone bleue, contrairement aux demandes du Général Gouraud.

Le Président du Conseil, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères par intérim, a l'honneur d'informer Lord Derby qu'il insiste de la manière la plus pressante pour que satisfaction soit donnée au Général Gouraud, qui, s'appuyant sur la décision de la Conférence de la Paix en date du 15 septembre 1919, ainsi que sur les instructions qu'il a reçues, estime indispensable que l'occupation militaire française s'étende sur la zone bleue entière. Si l'on se reporte à la décision précitée du Conseil suprême, on voit que toute autre solution serait une violation de la résolution des Alliés.

Le mémorandum du Premier Ministre britannique exprimait les vues de Mr. Lloyd George, mais il n'a pas été accepté par M. Clemenceau (qui a exprimé, à son tour, ses vues dans un mémoire responsif du 13 octobre). La seule décision à laquelle on puisse référer est celle de la Conférence de la Paix.

Il y a lieu de remarquer, d'autre part, que si les limites des zones d'administration déterminées par le Maréchal Allenby ne concordaient pas avec les zones fixées par les accords franco-anglais de 1916, après une étude minutieuse des régions syriennes, cette modification a été faite arbitrairement et malgré les protestations formelles du Haut-Commissaire français, M. Picot.

Quant à la décision française de retarder l'occupation de la Béka, elle a été inspirée uniquement par le désir de donner une satisfaction à l'Emir Feysal et de faciliter l'accord avec lui conformément aux demandes du Gouvernement britannique. Ce n'est nullement le cas pour le caza de Safed, car l'Emir Feysal, loin de désirer le maintien de l'occupation anglaise sur ce point, souhaite vivement que les troupes anglaises d'occupation se retirent non seulement de cette région, mais des parties de la Transjordane occupées.

Il y a lieu d'ajouter qu'en se conformant à la résolution du Conseil suprême du 15 septembre dernier, qui prescrit le remplacement des troupes anglaises par des troupes françaises dans toute la zone bleue, les Gouvernements français et anglais ne préjugent nullement la solution définitive des frontières, qui est du ressort de la Conférence de la Paix.

Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris,
le 26 décembre 1919.
